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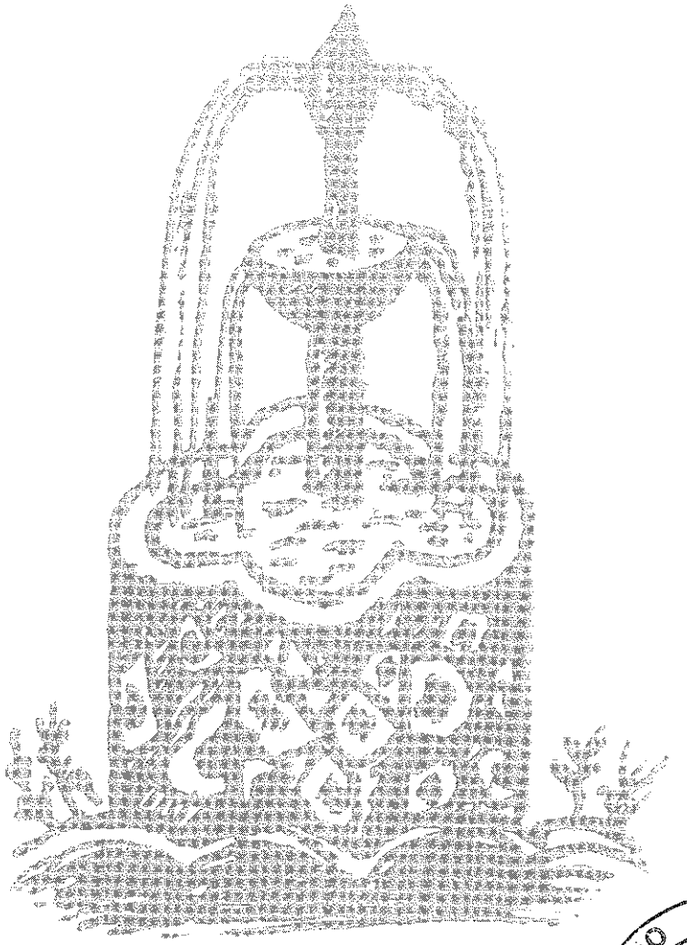

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2. *Notices bibliographiques* par K. BENTEIN, K. DEMOEN, R. MEESTERS, et P. YANNOPOULOS 451

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GUIDELINES

Articles and other editorial communications should be sent to Professor Dr. Peter Van Deun, University of Leuven, Faculty of Arts, Greek Studies, Blijde Inkomststraat 21, box 3318, B-3000 Leuven, Belgium (peter.vandeun@arts.kuleuven.be).

Reviews and books for review should be sent to Professor Dr. Marc De Groote, University of Ghent, Faculty of Arts and Philosophy, Department of Linguistics, Blandijnberg 2, B-9000 Gent, Belgium (marc.degroote@ugent.be).

1. File format

Manuscripts for consideration should be sent electronically as Microsoft Word files and must use only Unicode fonts. If the text contains special characters, tables, or illustrations, the Word submission should be accompanied by a paper printout or PDF. Only articles written in English, French, German, Italian, or Spanish will be considered for publication, and all articles should be accompanied by an abstract of a few lines in English, French, or German (preferably in a language other than that of the article). All pages must be numbered consecutively in a header, and should not use headers or footers except for page numbering.

Layout guidelines for CTE-documents

Text editions made in Classical Text Editor (CTE) should be sent as both CTE and PDF files. CTE documents will be printed from the PDF file, which means that strict rules apply for their layout: The text block (viz. the page without the margins) should measure 183 mm (7.2 inches) in height and 113 mm (4.45 inches) in width.

- 'Format' > 'Document' > Tab 'Page': Paper Size A4 Portrait (with both the functions 'Suggest to printer' and 'Suggest for PDF' enabled), Vertical Position: Top=5,9, Bottom=24,2, Mirror: Never.
- 'Format' > 'Document' > Tab 'Templates' > Paragraph: From margin=4,35, Bounding Width= 11,3, Left=0,0, Right=11,3, Justified.
- Enable these functions for the main text ('Format' > 'Document' > Tab 'Templates' > 'Template:Text'), and then base your apparatuses/notes ('Format' > 'Document' > Tab 'Templates' > 'Template:Notes 1/Apparatus 1/...') upon the main text ('Based On:Text').

Please use only Times as a font, in 10.5-point type for the main text and in 8.5-point type for the apparatus. Line spacing should be set at 12.8-point for the main text and 9.6-point for the apparatuses. Chapter and line numbers, preferably in 9-point type, are to be put in the margins. Please do not use boldface type in the main text.

- For font, font size and spacing in the main text, choose 'Format' > 'Document' > Tab 'Templates' > 'Template:Text' > 'Font'.
- Repeat for all apparatuses and notes ('Format' > 'Document' > Tab 'Templates' > 'Template:Notes 1/Apparatus 1/...' > 'Font') and make sure to choose the appropriate

font and font size for text references, line numbers, etc. as well ('Format' > 'Document' > Tab 'Templates' > 'Template:Notes 1/Apparatus 1/...' > 'Settings' > Tab 'Options').

Do not include any headers, footers or page numbers.

2. Peer review and editorial procedure

Byzantion follows a policy of double blind review. The final decision on acceptance for publication rests with the Editorial Board. Authors will be notified about the acceptance of their articles by the editor in chief, Prof. Dr. P. Van Deun, within six months of submission. Minor or substantial revision may be requested as a condition for publication.

The deadline for submission of articles is November 1 (for publication the following year) and the deadline for reviews is March 31 (for publication in that year's volume). After acceptance, articles will be sent to the publisher (*Peeters Publishers*, Leuven) around April 1, after which authors will receive proofs in electronic (PDF) format, together with an 'author's contract' (for copyright protection) from the publisher. The signed author's contract should be sent directly to *Peeters Publishers* and the corrected proofs should be returned to Prof. Dr. Peter Van Deun. Only corrections of typographical errors and layout misunderstandings are possible at this stage, and substantial changes, revisions, or additions will no longer be accepted.

3. Layout requirements

- Footnote numbers should be attached directly to the reference word (without a blank space and without brackets)
- Ordinal numbers: 1st, 2nd, 20th; Ist, IInd, XXth (in English); 1er, 2e, 20e, Ier, IIe, XXe (in French)
- In French, use À, È, É, Ê, Œ
- Roman numerals (if indicating century or page): I, XII
- Apostrophe: ’
- Quotations marks: "..." (or in French, Spanish or Italian articles: « ... »); additional quotation marks: '...'
  e.g. The verb "to go" is difficult to conjugate
  He said: "The verb 'to go' is difficult to conjugate"
- For brackets within brackets please use square brackets,
  e.g. (as in P. Van Deun - C. Macé [eds], *Encyclopedic Trends in Byzantium?* [*OLA*, 212], Leuven - Paris - Walpole, 2011)
- References to Cyrillic publications should be transliterated in a consistent way, preferably according to the international ISO/9 standard.

4. Bibliographical guidelines:

All bibliographical references are to be put in the footnotes (not in parentheses in the main text), with full bibliographic information when mentioned for the first time and abbreviated titles further on. Please do not add a list of 'Literature cited'; all bibliographical information should be included in the footnotes. Reference should be made only to the actual pages cited or referred to (and therefore not necessarily to the first and last page of each article).

- Initials are to be used for the first name of modern authors (with a blank space between initials); the surname should be written in small caps, e.g., P. Van Deun.
- All titles of modern publications (book, article, journal, collection, or series) are to be put in italics.
- Commas are to be put (1) after the author's name; (2) after each title (also after a journal or series title, before the volume/issue number of the journal or series); (3) between the place and date of publication.
- The place of publication is given in the language of the publication cited.
- A hyphen is used (1) to indicate the range of page numbers, and (2), preceded and followed by a blank space, to separate authors and places of publication.
- Please indicate page numbers, lines and columns with p. and pp. (in German articles only S.), l. and ll., col. and coll.
- Pages numbers are always to be given in full (no truncation, that is, not as 476-7 or 1024-32).
- Please use Idem, Eadem, *ibidem* (not *id.*, *ead.*, *ibid.*).
- For articles or chapters in journals or book publications, use 'in' (or 'dans' in a French, 'en' in a Spanish article) before the journal or book title.
- Please use the abbreviations listed below.

EXAMPLES

First time references:

P. Van Deun, *L'Unionum definitiones (CPG 7697, 18) attribué à Maxime le Confesseur*, dans *REB*, 58 (2000), pp. 123-147.

P. Van Deun - C. Macé (eds), *Encyclopedic Trends in Byzantium?* (*OLA*, 212), Leuven - Paris - Walpole, 2011.

B. Roosen - P. Van Deun, *Les collections de définitions philosophicothéologiques*, in M. Cacouros - M.-H. Congourdeau (eds), *Philosophie et sciences à Byzance* (*OLA*, 146), Leuven - Paris - Dudley (MA), 2006, pp. 53-76.

Short references:

Van Deun, *L'Unionum definitiones*, pp. 124-125.
Van Deun - Macé, *Encyclopedic Trends*.
Roosen - Van Deun, *Les collections de définitions*, pp. 53-54.

The observance of these guidelines by authors will facilitate the editorial work and enable the quick publication of contributions.

ABBREVIATIONS

AASS	*Acta Sanctorum*
AB	*Analecta Bollandiana*
ACO	*Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum*
AHR	*The American Historical Review*
ArchAth	*Archives de l'Athos*
ASE	*Annali di storia dell'esegesi*
BA	*Byzantinisches Archiv*
BBA	*Berliner Byzantinistische Arbeiten*
BBGG	*Bollettino della Badia greca di Grottaferrata*
BECK, *Kirche und theologische Literatur*	H.-G. BECK, *Kirche und theologische Literatur im byzantinischen Reich* (*Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft*, XII.2.1), München, 1959 (= 1977)
BETL	*Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium*
BF	*Byzantinische Forschungen*
BHG	*Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca*
BHL	*Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina*
BHO	*Bibliotheca Hagiographica Orientalis*
BMGS	*Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*
BNJ	*Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbücher*
BSGRT	*Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana*
Bsl	*Byzantinoslavica*
Byz	*Byzantion*
BZ	*Byzantinische Zeitschrift*
CA	*Cahiers Archéologiques*
CAB	*Corpus des astronomes byzantins*
CCSG	*Corpus Christianorum, Series Graeca*
CFHB	*Corpus Fontium Historiae Byzantinae*
CIG	*Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*
CIL	*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*
CJ	*Codex Justinianus*
CPG	M. GEERARD, *Clavis Patrum Graecorum*, 5 vol., Turnhout, 1983, 1974, 1979, 1980 and 1987; M. GEERARD – J. NORET, *Clavis Patrum Graecorum. Supplementum*, Turnhout, 1998; J. NORET, *Clavis Patrum Graecorum*, III A, editio secunda, anastatica, addendis locupletata, Turnhout, 2003

CSCO	*Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium*
CSEL	*Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*
CSHB	*Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae*
CTh	*Codex Theodosianus*
DACL	*Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie*
DB	*Dictionnaire de la Bible*
DHGE	*Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastiques*
DOP	*Dumbarton Oaks Papers*
DOS	*Dumbarton Oaks Studies*
Dsp	*Dictionnaire de spiritualité*
ΔΧΑΕ	*Δελτίον Χριστιανικῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας*
EEBS	*Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν*
EO	*Échos d'Orient*
FHG	C. MÜLLER, *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, 5 vols., Paris, 1841-1883
GCS	*Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte*
GNO	*Gregorii Nysseni Opera*
GOThR	*The Greek Orthodox Theological Review*
GRBS	*Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*
HUNGER, *Hochsprachliche profane Literatur*	H. HUNGER, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner* (*Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft*, XII.5), 2 vols., München, 1978-1979
JG	I. ZEPOS - P. ZEPOS, *Jus Graecoromanum*, 8 vols., Athens, 1931
JHS	*Journal of Hellenic Studies*
JÖB	*Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik*
JÖs	*Jahrbuch der Österreichischen byzantinischen Gesellschaft*
JRA	*Journal of Roman Archaeology*
JRS	*Journal of Roman Studies*
JThS	*The Journal of Theological Studies*
KAZHDAN, *History of Byzantine Literature (650-850)*	A. KAZHDAN, *A History of Byzantine Literature (650-850)*, in collaboration with L. F. SHERRY and Ch. ANGELIDI (*Institute for Byzantine research. Research series*, 2), Athens, 1999
KAZHDAN, *History of Byzantine Literature (850-1000)*	A. KAZHDAN, *A History of Byzantine Literature (850-1000)*, edited by Ch. ANGELIDI (*Institute for Byzantine research. Research series*, 4), Athens, 2006
KRUMBACHER, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur*	K. KRUMBACHER, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur von Justinian bis zum Ende des oströmischen Reiches (527-1453)*. Zweite Auflage bearbeitet under Mitwirkung von A. EHRHARD - H. GELZER (*Handbuch der klassischen Altertums-wissenschaft*, IX.1), München, 1897

LAMPE, *Lexicon*	G. W. H. LAMPE, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, Oxford, 1961
LBG	*Lexikon zur byzantinischen Gräzität*
LchI	*Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*
LM	*Lexikon des Mittelalters*
LSJ	H. G. LIDDELL - R. SCOTT, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, a new edition revised and augmented throughout by H. S. JONES, Oxford, 1940[9], with a *Supplement* ed. by E. A. BARBER, Oxford, 1968 (several reprints)
MANSI	J. D. MANSI, *Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, Florence - Venice, 1759-1798
MGH	*Monumenta Germaniae Historica*
MM	F. MIKLOSICH - J. MÜLLER, *Acta et diplomata graeca medii aevi*, 6 vols., Wien, 1860-1890
Mus	*Le Muséon*
NE	*Νέος Ἑλληνομνήμων*
OCA	*Orientalia Christiana Analecta*
OCP	*Orientalia Christiana Periodica*
ODB	P. KAZHDAN *et alii* (eds.), *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, 3 vols., Oxford, 1991
OLA	*Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta*
Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Studies	E. JEFFREYS - J. HALDON - R. CORMACK (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Byzantine Studies*, Oxford, 2008
PG	*Patrologia Graeca*
Pinakes	*Πίνακες / Pinakes: Textes et manuscrits grecs* (I.R.H.T., Section grecque, Paris): http://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/
PL	*Patrologia Latina*
PLP	*Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit*, Wien, 1976-1996
PLRE	*The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, 3 vols., Cambridge, 1971, 1980 and 1992
PmbZ	*Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit. Erste Abteilung (641–867)*, hrsg. von der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, nach Vorarbeiten F. WINKELMANNS erstellt von R.-J. LILIE, C. LUDWIG, T. PRATSCH, I. ROCHOW, B. ZIELKE u. a., 7 vols., Berlin - New York, 1998-2001
PO	*Patrologia Orientalis*
PTS	*Patristische Texte und Studien*
RAC	*Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*
RBK	*Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst*
RE	*Real-Encyclopädie (Pauly-Wissowa)*

REA	*Revue des études anciennes*
REB	*Revue des études byzantines*
REG	*Revue des études grecques*
RGK	E. GAMILLSCHEG - D. HARLFINGER - H. HUNGER, *Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten 800-1600*. 1. *Handschriften aus Bibliotheken Grossbritanniens*. 2. *Handschriften aus Bibliotheken Frankreichs*. 3. *Handschriften aus Bibliotheken Roms mit dem Vatikan* (*Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse. Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Byzantinistik*, 3), Wien, 1981, 1989 and 1997
RH	*Revue Historique*
RHE	*Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*
RHT	*Revue d'histoire des textes*
RM	*Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*
ROC	*Revue d'Orient Chrétien*
RSBN	*Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici*
SC	*Sources Chrétiennes*
SE	*Sacris Erudiri*
SH	*Subsidia hagiographica*
ST	*Studi e Testi*
Syntagma	G. RHALLES - M. POTLES, *Σύνταγμα τῶν θείων καὶ ἱερῶν κανόνων*, 6 vols., Athens, 1852-1859
TB	C. G. CONTICELLO - V. CONTICELLO (eds.), *La théologie byzantine et sa tradition*, II, Turnhout, 2002
TIB	*Tabula Imperii Byzantini*
TLG	*Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*, TLG®, registered trademark of the University of California: http://www.tlg.uci.edu/
TM	*Travaux et Mémoires*
TU	*Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur*
VigChr	*Vigiliae Christianae*
VV	*Vizantijskij Vremennik*
WBS	*Wiener Byzantinistische Studien*
WS	*Wiener Studien*
ZRVI	*Zbornik Radova Vizantološkog Instituta*

In memoriam

JUSTIN MOSSAY
(1920-2012)

La philologie des langues anciennes en Belgique, en particulier celle du grec, vient de perdre une de ses figures marquantes. Car Justin Mossay était avant tout un philologue, il en avait l'âme et les exigences. La philologie était pour lui une école de liberté et de contrainte, la liberté de découvrir des textes ou des manuscrits, de déchiffrer des écritures ou de reconstituer une tradition manuscrite ; la contrainte imposée par les matériaux conservés, par les règles des disciplines et les exigences critiques. C'est entre ces deux pôles que l'activité philologique prenait, pour lui, sa véritable place, son utilité et sa grandeur. Ce fut le sens de sa recherche comme de son enseignement.

Justin Mossay est né à Lierneux, le 20 juillet 1920, au sein d'une famille pour laquelle il nourrit un profond attachement, en particulier pour ses parents. Sa formation à la prêtrise se déroule au séminaire Léon XIII, à Louvain, de 1938 à 1941, puis au grand séminaire de Liège, de 1941 à 1945. C'est durant ces années qu'il devient aussi bachelier en philosophie. Il entame ensuite les études de philologie classique, qu'il achève en 1949 avec la présentation d'un mémoire intitulé « Le thème du pâtre dans l'Anthologie Palatine » préparé sous la direction du Chanoine Rome. Il obtient l'agrégation de l'enseignement moyen du degré supérieur en 1955, ce qui lui permet de devenir professeur de la classe de poésie, d'abord au Collège Saint-Martin, à Seraing (1955-1956), puis au collège Saint-Barthélemy, à Liège (1955-1966). Il garde de ces années un souvenir lumineux, une connaissance et une affection pour les textes de l'antiquité classique, et un goût de l'explication qui lui fait rechercher le sens profond derrière les détails.

Parallèlement à son activité de professeur au collège, il prépare une thèse de doctorat en philologie classique à l'UCL sous la direction du professeur Gérard Garitte, thèse défendue en 1963 (publiée en 1966) sous le titre « La mort et l'au-delà dans saint Grégoire de Nazianze » (**5**). Il y développe une méthode philologique et de critique littéraire qui servira de modèle pour ses futurs élèves. Il y entame aussi ce qui sera une longue familiarité avec l'œuvre du Père de Cappadoce.

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En 1966, Justin Mossay est lauréat du concours des bourses de voyage, et nommé chargé de cours à l'Université Lovanium, à Léopoldville, en tant que titulaire de la chaire de grec, qu'il occupera durant deux ans. De ces années d'Afrique, il garde une expérience enthousiaste, qu'il saura relater avec force détails. Dès 1968, il est appelé à Louvain pour devenir, à l'UCL, le suppléant du professeur Garitte pour les cours d'histoire byzantine, d'explication de textes byzantins législatifs et littéraires, d'encyclopédie des sciences auxiliaires de l'histoire byzantine, et d'institutions byzantines. Il est nommé chargé de cours, puis professeur, enfin professeur ordinaire dès 1974. Jusqu'à son éméritat, en 1985, il est titulaire des cours de byzantinisme, auxquels il ajoute les cours d'ecdotique, de paléographie grecque et d'histoire de la littérature grecque.

Si les publications des premières années gardent la trace de ses premiers enseignements et portent sur des questions touchant à la littérature grecque classique (**1**, **8**, **11**, **12**, **15**, **18**, **19**), elles prennent rapidement un tournant, celui du IVe s., et se portent sur son auteur de prédilection, celui dont il avait fait la connaissance en préparant son mémoire de licence sur l'Anthologie Palatine et auquel il avait ensuite consacré son doctorat, Grégoire de Nazianze. Il aborde le dossier du Nazianzène avec une double caractéristique : en philologue et en élève du professeur Garitte. Philologue dans l'âme, il ne peut se résoudre à commenter des textes sans s'assurer d'abord de l'exactitude de ceux-ci ; pour cela, il faut interroger les éditions, et, si elles paraissent insatisfaisantes, projeter d'en produire une nouvelle. C'est ce dans quoi il va se lancer et qui l'occupera jusqu'à la fin de sa vie. Élève du professeur Garitte, il a entrevu les possibilités offertes par l'étude des versions orientales des textes grecs. À défaut d'avoir pu étudier lui-même ces matières, il veille à s'entourer de l'expertise de ses collègues louvanistes, et, durant toute sa carrière, encouragera ses étudiants à compléter leurs connaissances helléniques par l'apprentissage des langues de l'Orient chrétien. À ce titre, Justin Mossay contribue au développement de l'école louvaniste de philologie de l'Orient chrétien et byzantin.

Dès ce moment, Grégoire de Nazianze est au centre de ses préoccupations scientifiques. Justin Mossay fédère les énergies et participe au lancement d'un projet ambitieux visant à préparer une *editio critica maior* des œuvres du Père de Cappadoce, en grec et dans les versions orientales (**23**, **27**, **31**). Le projet associe aux spécialistes de l'UCL (Jacques Grand'Henry, Guy Lafontaine, André de Halleux) des collègues de l'Université de Münster sous la houlette du professeur Martin Sicherl, un autre philologue de grand renom ; pour les travaux sur les versions géorgiennes, les contacts que Gérard Garitte puis Guy Lafontaine avaient noués avec les savants de l'Institut des Manuscrits de l'Académie des Sciences de la R.S.S. de Géorgie, à Tbilisi, inaugurent une collaboration intense, qui se poursuit encore aujourd'hui. Le projet prend forme, les travaux préparatoires avancent, et le colloque international que Justin Mossay organise à Louvain-la-Neuve en 1981 permet de traduire les premiers efforts en un véritable programme, international et de longue haleine (**43**).

Pour sa part, Justin Mossay se consacre à la préparation d'une édition grecque des Discours de Grégoire, les Poèmes étant réservés au professeur Sicherl. La tradition manuscrite des Discours est d'une abondance exceptionnelle (plus de 1500 témoins antérieurs à l'an 1500, est-il usuel de dire). L'heuristique ne sera pas une mince affaire. Justin Mossay entame alors un périple dans les catalogues, mais surtout dans les bibliothèques du monde entier, pour dresser un inventaire aussi exhaustif que possible de cette tradition. Six volumes de *Repertorium Nazianzenum* en sont le résultat, publiés de 1981 à 1998 (**34**, **50**, **64**, **70**, **72**, **76**, et *corrigenda-addenda* **89**), ainsi que de nombreux articles présentant des témoins particuliers (e.a. **26**, **35**, **37**, **38**, **39**, **40**, **41**, **44**, **46**, **65**, **71**, **77**, **79**, **81**, **82**, **83**, **84**). Derrière ces publications, que d'expériences ! Justin Mossay visite les bibliothèques, mais aussi des collections privées ; il veille à emmener certains de ses étudiants pour les initier au métier, faisant de ses recherches des leçons pratiques d'ecdotique ou de paléographie pour ses élèves. Déchiffrer des pages de Grégoire de Nazianze dans des manuscrits du monastère d'Iviron, au Mont Athos, à la lumière d'une lampe à pétrole s'approchant dangereusement du parchemin, demeure une expérience particulière… Au détour de ces expériences, que de rencontres aussi, et, au retour, que de récits ! « Notre chasse aux manuscrits a été très longue, parfois difficile et souvent plaisante, mais elle n'a pas évité les aléas du terrain » écrit-il à la fin de sa vie (**88**, p. 357).

L'heuristique n'est pas l'édition ; celle-ci reste à réaliser, mais exige encore d'importantes études pour démêler l'écheveau des collections et des familles de témoins. Justin Mossay participe au programme des *Sources Chrétiennes* en éditant 7 Discours sur un choix de manuscrits (**30**, **33**), et essaie, plus tard, d'éditer deux discours sur base de leur tradition complète (**85**), mais il sait que la démarche est encore prématurée ; il veut montrer la voie, il appartient à ses élèves de la poursuivre. Car là aussi réside un des aspects essentiels de la carrière du philologue : former pour que l'œuvre continue. Justin Mossay, qui consacre une grande partie de son temps à ses nombreux enseignements, peut enfin se consacrer pleinement à ses recherches à partir de son éméritat, en 1985. Arrivé tardivement dans la carrière académique, il expérimente cette situation particulière de voir son projet de recherche prendre toute son ampleur après son éméritat. Grâce au concours de ses collègues et successeurs, le projet consacré à Grégoire de Nazianze obtient des financements importants, mais Justin Mossay demeure

un élément central de l'entreprise, s'intéressant sans relâche aux travaux des autres membres du groupe.

Si ce projet ne révèle pas tout de l'homme, il en dit beaucoup. Dans ses enseignements, comme dans ses recherches, Justin Mossay fait preuve de trois qualités essentielles : talent pédagogique, ouverture d'esprit et disponibilité.

Talent pédagogique. Tous ceux qui ont suivi ses cours ont pu apprécier la capacité du professeur Mossay à captiver et à enthousiasmer. Les cours de byzantinisme, par exemple, étaient l'occasion de faire vivre littéralement, sous les yeux des étudiants, le millénaire byzantin, avec ses grandeurs et ses petitesses.

Ouverture d'esprit. Bien que n'étant pas orientaliste lui-même, le professeur Mossay a toujours été attentif à l'étude des langues et des littératures de l'Orient chrétien, où il voyait le complément idéal des études byzantines et à laquelle il encouragea plus d'une fois ses élèves. Son ouverture d'esprit lui a aussi permis de donner à sa carrière académique une importante dimension internationale, reconnue, par exemple, par son séjour à Harvard University, en 1981, en tant que Dumbarton Oaks Fellow in Byzantine Studies, ou par ses nominations comme membre de la Görresgesellschaft zur Pflege der Wissenschaft, en Allemagne, et de l'Académie Parnassos, en Grèce. Ouverture aussi, qui l'a fait s'impliquer dans la préparation et la publication d'une concordance lemmatisée des œuvres de Grégoire de Nazianze, démarche courante aujourd'hui mais qui était encore novatrice au début des années 1990 (**58**, **61**).

Disponibilité. Le professeur Mossay a consacré aux autres sans doute plus de temps qu'à ses propres recherches. Il a dirigé et animé durant des années le grand projet international d'édition et d'étude des œuvres de Grégoire de Nazianze. Il a aussi joué un rôle important dans la défense des études byzantines et orientales en Belgique, notamment par ses responsabilités au sein de la Société belge d'études byzantines. Durant plusieurs années, il a assuré la publication de deux revues scientifiques importantes, *Byzantion* pour les études byzantines, et *Le Muséon* pour les études orientales, permettant ainsi la continuité de ces domaines dans notre pays. Il est président de l'association « Byzantion » de 1975 à 2004, et assure la rédaction de la revue durant de nombreuses années, où son nom apparaît aux côtés de celui d'Alice Leroy-Molinghen de 1975 à 1993. Le premier volume de l'année 2000 lui est offert en hommage reconnaissant. Il préside le conseil d'administration de l'association « Le Muséon » de 1987 à 2004. Dans les deux cas, il prend sur lui la charge de la rédaction, pour faire la jonction entre deux générations.

Le professeur Mossay était un homme attentif à ses élèves et s'intéressant à eux. Pour lui, être un professeur signifiait aussi être un professeur de vie.

Si cela passait parfois par de longues conversations, il fallait être capable de déceler le sens profond de cette longueur, et cela exigeait souvent de ses auditeurs de la patience et de l'expérience. Ce sens était double. L'abbé Mossay, comme l'appellent ses élèves, avait le don de distiller des parcelles d'informations et de leçons au détour de phrases apparemment anodines, et il revenait à l'auditeur de les récolter, comme des perles, et de les enfiler sur le fil du sens profond. Mais il y avait aussi autre chose, une dimension plus secrète encore, une pudeur qui conduisait l'abbé Mossay à masquer sous les phrases l'expression de ses sentiments et à occuper la conversation pour éviter les questions auxquelles il ne souhaitait pas répondre.

Le professeur Mossay avait la qualité d'un maître d'exception, celui qui sait pousser ses élèves plus loin que lui-même n'avait été et plus loin qu'ils n'auraient été eux-mêmes. La reconnaissance des élèves pour un tel maître est difficile à exprimer, et sans doute n'aurait-il pas voulu qu'elle soit exprimée et l'aurait-il évitée en se lançant dans une longue conversation.

Son premier travail scientifique dans le cadre de son mémoire de licence en philologie classique, en 1949, portait sur le thème du pâtre dans l'Anthologie Palatine. Il consacre son dernier article, paru en 2010, au thème du berger dans des textes de Grégoire de Nazianze (**94**) : comme un au revoir. La boucle est bouclée.

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PAPYRUS AND PARCHMENT: ADDITIONAL PROBLEMS IN THE TRANSMISSION OF 8TH-CENTURY THEOLOGICAL TEXTS*

It has to be stressed right from the beginning that despite the first part of the title (Papyrus and Parchment) the approach to the topic is going to be technical and limited. I consider this paper rather as an addendum or a possible supplementary contribution to the general topic than as a presentation directly pertaining to the issues the transition from papyrus to parchment has raised. In other words, what I am mostly going to write about are attitudes in writing and copying methods of the authors and the copyists that used papyrus and parchment, because, mainly, of the time-period in which they worked. I will also touch upon the problems that these attitudes and methods may have caused in addition to the standard technical problems that the copying of a text from one material to another involves. In my brief concluding part I have included one or two suggestions that may tie the whole topic to modern editorial practices and needs.

Most of the present paper is based on my work on three Iconophile texts of the 8th century, the critical edition of which is almost complete. The texts in question are: 1) the *Opusculum Adversus Iconoclastas*, (hereafter *AI*), a work preserved only by codex *Parisinus gr.* 1115 and dating to the year 770/1[1], 2) The *Nouthesia gerontos* (*Νουθεσία γέροντος*, hereafter *NG*)[2],

* I wish to thank Dr. Erich Lamberz and my daughter Maria-Irene Alexakis for their editorial work on this paper. All mistakes are my own responsibility.

[1] *CPG* 8121, it is preserved in fols. 235^{v}-239 of the Paris manuscript and has been printed in *PG* 96, coll. 1347-1361, and *PG* 109, coll. 499-516. The late Prof. Paul Speck has published a thorough study of the text that also includes the translation of almost all of it into German in P. SPECK, *Ich bin's nicht, Kaiser Konstantin ist es gewesen* (*Ποικίλα Βυζαντινά*, 10), Bonn, 1990, pp. 579-635. For its dating that is based on internal chronological information and other issues, see A. ALEXAKIS, *Codex Parisinus Graecus 1115 and Its Archetype* (*DOS*, 34), Washington DC, 1996, pp. 93-99.

[2] The text has not been assigned any *BHG* or *CPG* number, occupies fols. 142-171^{v} of codex *Mosquensis Hist. Mus. gr.* 265, and has been published twice, first by B. M. MELIORANSKIJ, in *Georgij Kiprijanin i Ioann Ierusalimljanin, dva maloizvestnych bortsa za pravoslavie v VIII veke*, St. Petersburg, 1901, pp. V-XXXIX, and more recently by A. MITSIDES in *Ἡ παρουσία τῆς Ἐκκλησίας Κύπρου εἰς τὸν ἀγῶνα ὑπὲρ τῶν εἰκόνων*, Leukosia, 1989, pp. 153-192. The text has been also studied by SPECK, *Ich bin's nicht*, pp. 565-577. I am currently working towards the publication of this and the other two works with the *CCSG*.

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transmitted only by codex *Mosquensis Hist. Mus. gr.* 265 (*Vladimir* 197)[3] that dates before 787[4], and 3) the *Adversus Constantinum Caballinum* (= *ACC*), a text that exists in three recensions, namely, a) a shorter one (*BHG* 1387f,g, *CPG* 8114)[5] transmitted by 17 manuscripts that range from the 9th to the 17th century, among which a palimpsest of the 9th century (*Paris. gr.* 443)[6]. This version constitutes the earliest one, dating probably from the period 766-770[7] and seems to be also the earliest of all three texts. b) An intermediate version[8] that needs an additional *BHG* number preserved by codex *Hierosol. Crucis* 41 of the 10th c. and its 16th c. direct apograph (*Hierosol. Sabait.* 338), and: c) A longer version (*BHG* 1387e)[9] that is transmitted by no less than 23 manuscripts spanning the period between the 10th and the 19th centuries[10]. Incidentally, I will refer to a few other texts of the same period, but, as I previously stated, most of the material comes from the aforementioned texts. As is evident, I focus on texts that were produced in a period that the phasing out of papyrus and its substitution for parchment was not complete, and during which the use of papyrus was still current in places like the papal chancery and other administrative centers[11].

[3] For the manuscript see VLADIMIR (Archimandrite), *Sistematičeskoe opisanie Moskovskoj Sinodalnoj (Patriaršei) biblioteki*, vol. 1, Moscow, 1894, pp. 226-230, and B. L. FONKIČ – F. B. POLJAKOV, *Grečeskie rykopisej sinodalnoj biblioteki*, Moscow, 1993, pp. 73-74.

[4] A discussion of the date of the composition of the *NG* with no clearly conclusive character can be found in ST. GERO, *Byzantine Iconoclasm during the Reign of Constantine V with particular Attention to the Oriental Sources* (*CSCO* 384, *Subsidia* 52), Louvain, 1977, pp. 25-36, and ALEXAKIS, *Codex Parisinus*, pp. 110-116.

[5] This version begins and ends as follows: *Incipit*: Πιστεύω εἰς ἕνα Θεὸν πατέρα παντοκράτορα... *Desinit*: καὶ μὴ μετὰ τῆς ἀκεφάλου... ἀμήν. For a printed edition of this shorter version, based on one manuscript, which attributes *ACC* to the Patriarch Methodios, see D. AFINOGENOV, *Konstantinopolskij Patriarchat i ikonoborčeskij krizis v Vizantii*, Moscow, 1997, pp. 182-188.

[6] For *ACC* in this manuscript see J. NORET, *Le palimpseste 'Parisinus gr. 443'*, in *AB*, 88 (1970), p. 149.

[7] ALEXAKIS, *Codex Parisinus*, p. 114.

[8] *Incipit*: Πιστεύω εἰς ἕνα Θεὸν πατέρα παντοκράτορα ... *Desinit*: ἡ πίστις ὑμῶν σέσωκεν ὑμᾶς, πορεύεσθε εἰς εἰρήνην, ἧς γένοιτο ... ἀμήν.

[9] *Incipit*: Ἐπειδήπερ πολλοὶ ἐπεχείρησαν ἀνατάξασθαι ... *Desinit*: ἡ πίστις ὑμῶν σέσωκεν ὑμᾶς, πορεύεσθε εἰς εἰρήνην, ἧς γένοιτο ... ἀμήν. This version has been published in *PG* 95, coll. 309A-344B. For its possible dating (780-787 AD) see ALEXAKIS, *Codex Parisinus*, p. 110, and for further study and various dating proposals see SPECK, *Ich bin's nicht*, pp. 321-440.

[10] For a thorough analysis of the versions a) and c), problems concerning authorship and dating (which more or less is consistent with the dates proposed here), see now M. F. AUZÉPY, *L'Adversus Constantinum Caballinum et Jean de Jérusalem*, in R. DOSTÁLOVÁ – V. KONZAL – L. HAVLÍKOVÁ (eds.), *ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΣ. Studia byzantina ac slavica Vladimíro Vavřínek ad annum sexagesimum quintum dedicata, Bsl*, 56 (1995), pp. 323-338.

[11] For the use of papyrus in the papal chancery up until the eleventh century, see, for example, B. BISCHOFF, (Engl. transl. by D. Ó. CRÓINÍN and D. GANZ), *Latin Palaeography: Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, Cambridge, 1986, p. 8.

With this possibility taken into consideration, and although *ACC* is transmitted by a number of parchment manuscripts, while *NG* by only one, it is still acceptable to assume that both may have originally been written on papyrus. If not so, then, at least some of their sources, as will be suggested below, must have been preserved on papyri, still extant by the time these works were written. Finally, despite the late date of codex *Paris. gr.* 1115 that preserves *AI*, (1276 AD), it is also possible that the *AI* was originally written on papyrus. Still, the mistakes and the corrupt sentences or passages in all these three works may be the result of a number of other factors that lie outside the process of transmission from one form of writing material to another. In some cases many of these factors have simply increased the errors. These factors are what I will try to present in the sequel.

The texts I will be referring to are typical examples of works written with a certain agenda and limitations in mind, precisely at a time of theological controversy. All three *ACC*, *NG*, and *AI* fall in the same category as, for example, the three Iconophile treatises of John of Damascus or the letters of the Patriarch Germanos[12] and even later works, such as the letter of the three Patriarchs to the Emperor Theophilos[13].

Before *ACC*, *NG*, and *AI* were written in the eighth century, John of Damascus had already set (or reaffirmed) some 'ideological' standards with respect to writing polemical works. This observation is based on my comparison of the two first sermons in defense of the Holy Icons of John of Damascus and especially on their introductions. As is evident from the introduction to the *second* sermon, John of Damascus wrote the whole work because John of Jerusalem, who had possibly commissioned the *first* sermon, was not happy with the theologian's literary flights that characterize it. As a result, compared to the first Iconophile sermon, the second one was rewritten in simpler language, style, and sentence structure.[14] Therefore,

[12] *CPG* 8002-8004, *Epistula ad Iohannem episcopum Synadensem*, *Epistula ad Constantinum episcopum Nacoliae* and *Epistula ad Thomam episcopum Claudiopoleos*, respectively, printed in *PG* 98, coll. 156B-188B; these letters are also included in the Acts of the Seventh Ecumenical Council, see E. LAMBERZ (ed.), *Concilium Universale Nicaenum Secundum, Concilii Actiones IV-V (ACO, Series Secunda, III.2)*, Berlin – New York, 2012, pp. 400-478.

[13] Edited and translated into English by J. A. MUNITIZ, J. CHRYSOSTOMIDES, *et alii* (eds.), *The Letter of the Three Patriarchs to Emperor Theophilos and Related Texts*, Cumberley, 1997, pp. 1-79; see also H. GAUER, *Texte zum byzantinischen Bilderstreit. Der Synodalbrief der drei Patriarchen des Ostens von 836 und seine Verwandlung in sieben Jahrhunderten* (*Studien und Texte zur Byzantinistik*, 1), Frankfurt, 1994.

[14] For this, see now my analysis in A. ALEXAKIS, *The Modesty* Topos *and John of Damascus as a not-so-modest Author*, in *BZ*, 97 (2004), pp. 521-530. It has to be noted, though, that it is rather certain that John of Damascus or better John of Jerusalem was not the 'inventor',

the first principle that John of Damascus and John of Jerusalem set (or re-introduced as I stated above, see below note 14), a principle that subsequently prevailed over the Iconophile theological writing of the 8th century, was simplicity of language and textual structure. In another work of his, John of Damascus echoed what was also another aspect of the prevailing attitude. His dictum ἐρῶ δὲ ἐμὸν οὐδὲν (I will state nothing of my own)[15] set the agenda for the writing of a number of Iconophile works of the First Iconoclasm. Since all (mostly anonymous) authors of that period wished to conform with the right dogma – in this particular case Iconolatry – they placed particular effort in finding earlier patristic pronouncements on the issue at hand, i.e. image veneration. Without being a novelty[16], this practice intensified during the First Iconoclasm and can be described as follows: The Iconophile authors, before embarking on their task of writing treatises against the Iconoclasts did some research and compiled major *florilegia* containing extracts from earlier patristic writings that directly or indirectly supported the veneration of images. As a second step, they used these earlier quotations and built around them their own arguments in defense of image veneration. In this way, they exercised exactly what John of Damascus had professed: Whatever they said or wrote had already been stated by earlier orthodox fathers and was not originally theirs. After the completion of the work the author(s) simply appended the florilegium they had used at its end and the whole process was concluded. The most notable examples of this working pattern are the three sermons of John of Damascus[17] the *NG*, and the *AI*.

The procedure that was presented above, though, was not free of error. The extracts in the *florilegia* were not always as good as the original work from which they were extracted. An interesting example of this can be viewed in a section of the codex *Paris. gr.* 1115 that is difficult for me to understand: It is a section that contains eleven purportedly Iconophile

so to speak, of this particular style in polemic theological writing. One can find similar stylistic traces in earlier texts of the genre, such as the 7th century anti-Jewish writings of Leontios of Neapolis (see V. DÉROCHE, *L'*Apologie contre les Juifs *de Léontios de Neapolis*, in *TM*, 12 [1994], pp. 45-104).

[15] A statement found in the *proemium* to his *Dialectica sive Capita philosophica (recensio fusior)*, see B. KOTTER (ed.), *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos*, vol. 1 (*PTS*, 7), Berlin, 1969, p. 48. For an analysis of this *dictum* and the relationship of John of Damascus to tradition in general, see A. LOUTH, *St. John Damascene, Tradition and Originality in Byzantine Theology*, Oxford, 2002, pp. 15-28, but esp. pp. 15-16.

[16] For a detailed historical review of this process in relation to the Church Councils see ALEXAKIS, *Codex Parisinus*, pp. 1-42.

[17] *CPG* 8045, B. KOTTER (ed.), *Die Schriften des Johannes von Damaskos, Contra imaginum calumniatores orationes tres*, vol. 3 (*PTS*, 17), Berlin – New York, 1975.

fragments by Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagite[18]. This section is followed immediately by another one[19] that preserves the entire chapters from which these fragments had been taken. What is rather odd, is that if one compares the text of the fragments to that of the chapters, the inferiority of the fragments becomes easily apparent at first sight. Compare the following examples:

1) a) *Paris. gr.* 1115, fol. 256: ἐκ τῶν ἀπεμφαινουσῶν ἀνομοίων ὁμοιοτήτων ἀπαλλάττουσι.
   b) *Paris. gr.* 1115, fol. 258: ἐκ τῶν ἀπεμφαινουσῶν ἀνομοίων ὁμοιοτήτων ἀναπλάττουσι.
2) a) *Paris. gr.* 1115, fol. 256: καὶ ὅλως οὐκ ἀπορήσειεν ὁ διορατικώτατος νοῦς οἰκείως ἁρέσαι τοῖς ἀφανέσι τὰ φαινόμενα.
   b) *Paris. gr.* 1115, fol. 259v: καὶ ὅλως οὐκ ἂν ἀπορήσειεν ὁ διορατικὸς νοῦς οἰκείως ἁρμόσαι τοῖς ἀφανέσι τὰ φαινόμενα.

The underlined words represent correct readings found in the critical edition of the Dionysian text[20].

What is more, the authors of the three texts that I am examining in this paper did not limit themselves to Iconophile florilegia. The quotations from many other earlier sources are numerous in these works and the authors followed the cut and paste method as much as they could.

Needless to say, the Bible is their primary source of quotations and, also, their major source of mistakes. The *NG*, for example, contains extensive Biblical passages, especially in 'prophetic' utterances, that are clearly misunderstood. In these passages the Biblical text is not bad and if there are any variants, they may be found in some manuscripts of the Bible. Deviations from the normal Biblical text become more pronounced when the author unconsciously and/or unintentionally utilizes Biblical quotations. A good example of this is the following sentence. In fol. 146 the Moscow manuscript reads: 'ἐρῶ σοι, σὺ δέ μοι ἀποκρίθητι'. The author is, in fact, citing a phrase from Job 38.3, which reads: 'ἐρωτήσω σε, σὺ δέ μοι ἀποκρίθητι'. One may surely think that this might have been a scribal error (confusion of sigma omega with sigma omikron iota) or even the misreading of an abbreviation, but the faulty memory or even a temporary lapse of memory on the part of the author is also possible. And I say temporary lapse, because the

[18] This section covers fols. 255v-256 of the manuscript.

[19] Fols. 256-261 of the manuscript.

[20] See G. HEIL and A. M. RITTER (ed.), *Corpus Dionysiacum*, vol. II (*PTS*, 33), Berlin – New York, 1991, pp. 16 and 55.

same phrase is later cited correctly in fol. 153, and also slightly augmented ('ἐρωτήσω σε, σὺ δέ μοι **ὀρθῶς** ἀποκρίθητι'). Still, even this insignificant editorial problem is not so simple because in fol. 147 of the Moscow manuscript we read: ''Ερῶ σοι. Ἦλθεν ἐν σαρκὶ ὁ Χριστὸς ἐπὶ Μωυσέως ἢ οὔ;' The second sentence is a direct question and one would expect the verb 'to ask' to be used in order to introduce it, not the verb 'to tell'. Consequently, many questions emerge: Did the author intentionally ignore grammar and good style playing on the ἐρῶ / ἐρωτήσω form? Did he simply quote from memory the Bible failing once to remember the right reading? Or was it the scribe that misread in two instances an abbreviated 'ἐρωτήσω' as 'ἐρῶ σοι'? Or, even if it were not the scribe, could the material, i.e. papyrus, have been responsible for his error on account of a few flecks missing? There is no answer to all these, but as an editor I have to make a choice which is not going to be easy.

Biblical references present a number of problems because the author sometimes has to adapt Biblical passages to the needs of his writing. So, even if a verse is taken directly from the Bible the changes it has to undergo in order to be pasted into a sentence in a manner that would make it fit the context pulls one back to the questions I enumerated above.

The following example, apart from the fact that it demonstrates the dependence of the *NG* on the Bible, shows clearly what I mean. The last sentence makes no sense syntactically and one wonders about the understanding of the Bible on the part of the author.

NG (= cod. *Mosquensis Hist. Mus. gr.* 265, fol. 169^{v}-170).

... καὶ οἱ προφῆται περὶ τῶν τοιούτων φησίν· *οὐαὶ τοῖς ποιοῦσιν τὸ γλυκὺ πικρὸν καὶ τὸ πικρὸν γλυκύ*·[a] καὶ πάλιν· *οὗτος ὁ λαὸς τοῖς χείλεσίν με τιμᾷ, ἡ δὲ καρδία αὐτῶν πόρρω ἀπέχει ἀπ' ἐμοῦ*.[b] Καὶ ἄλλος προφήτης εἴδωλα κωφὰ καί *ἐθνικῶς βιοῦντας*[c] αὐτούς προσωνόμασεν εἰπών· *τὰ εἴδωλα τῶν ἐθνῶν ἀργύριον καὶ χρυσίον, ἔργα χειρῶν ἀνθρώπων*,[d] τουτέστιν, τὰ σώματα καὶ αἱ ψυχαὶ τῶν ἐθνικῶς βιούντων. Δεδούλωνται γὰρ τῇ φιλαργυρίᾳ καὶ *αἱ χεῖρες* αὐτῶν *πλήρεις αἵματος*·[e] *στόμα ἔχουσιν καὶ οὐ λαλήσουσιν*·[f] *οὐδὲν* γὰρ *εἰρηνικὸν*[g] ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτῶν. *Ὀφθαλμοὺς ἔχουσι καὶ οὐκ ὄψονται*·[h] *ἐν σκότει* γὰρ *διαπορεύονται*·[i] τὸ γὰρ *φῶς* τῆς ἐκκλησίας, τὸ *φωτίζον τὰς καρδίας*[j] τῶν πιστῶν οὐχ ἑώρακαν. *Ὦτα ἔχουσιν καὶ οὐκ ἀκούσονται*·[k] *οὐ* γὰρ *ἤκουσαν τοῖς τοῦ Θεοῦ προστάγμασιν*,[l] διὸ καὶ ὁ κύριος πρὸς αὐτούς· *ὁ ἔχων ὦτα ἀκούειν ἀκουέτω*·[m] αὐτοὶ δὲ οὐκ ἤκουσαν, *οὐδὲ γάρ ἐστιν πνεῦμα ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτῶν*·[n] τὸ γὰρ πνεῦμα τοῦ Θεοῦ διδάσκει γνῶσιν τὸν ἄνθρωπον. *Ὅμοιοι αὐτῶν* γίνονται *οἱ ποιοῦντες αὐτὰ καὶ πάντες οἱ πεποιθότες ἐπ' αὐτοῖς*·[o] ὁμοίως γὰρ τῷ πυρὶ παραδοθήσονται ***τοῦ χρυσίου καὶ τοῦ ἀργυρίου*** **οἱ** ***θησαυρίζοντες*** **αὐτὰ καὶ** ***πάντες οἱ πεποιθότες ἐπ' αὐτοῖς***.[p]

[a] cf. Is 5,20 // [b] Is 29,13 // [c] cf. Gal 2,14 // [d] Ps 113,12 // [e] cf. Is 1,15 // [f] Ps 113,13 // [g] Gen 37,43 // [h] Ps 113,13 // [i] Ps 81,5 // [j] cf. 2 Cor 4,6 // [k] Ps 113,14 // [l] cf. Bar 1,18 // [m] Mat 11,15 // [n] Ps 134,17 // [o] Ps 113,16 // [p] cf. Bar 3,17

(p): Baruch 3,17: καὶ τὸ ἀργύριον θησαυρίζοντες καὶ τὸ χρυσίον, ᾧ ἐπεποίθεισαν ἄνθρωποι.

Obviously 'fire of gold and silver' (πυρὶ ... ***τοῦ χρυσίου καὶ τοῦ ἀργυρίου***) does not make any sense. Even if we assume that the author was thinking of something like '... similarly those who treasure up silver and gold and believe in them will be surrendered to the fire of gold and silver ...' the result is rather absurd. Another possibility is also the existence of a *lacuna* after παραδοθήσονται or before αὐτὰ. In any case, the last sentence is certainly a citation from Baruch but the original text has been distorted beyond recognition, and as the original Baruch text suggests, one has to make drastic changes in order for the *NG* line to make sense, such as: ***τὸ χρυσίον καὶ τὸ ἀργύριον*** **οἱ** ***θησαυρίζοντες*** **[αὐτὰ] καὶ** ***πάντες οἱ πεποιθότες ἐπ' αὐτοῖς*** .

The problems of the Biblical citations are numerous and one might continue with many more examples, but let us turn to another, somehow related topic. The problem I will be examining next is almost the same as the one with the scriptural quotations, but the whole issue has been more or less overlooked. I may be wrong, but my experience has showed me that the Byzantine authors consciously or unconsciously quote from the Liturgical sources almost as much as they do quote from the Bible. Unfortunately, the Liturgical texts, despite their significance, are neither as easily available as the Bible nor as well edited.

In the following example there is an excerpt that evokes Liturgical language in its entirety. It is a citation from *AI* and is found in *Paris. gr.* 1115, fol. 238^{v}:

Ἄχραντε θεοτόκε, μῆτερ Χριστοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ, πρέσβευε τὸν υἱόν σου καὶ Θεόν μου, ὅπως ἐλεήσῃ με τῇ αὐτοῦ ἀγαθότητι καὶ εὐσπλαγχνίᾳ· πολλὰ γὰρ ἰσχύει δέησις μητρὸς πρὸς εὐμένειαν δεσπότου. Μὴ παρίδῃς ἁμαρτωλῶν ἱκεσίαν, ἡ πάνσεμνος, ὅτι ἐλεήμων ἐστὶ καὶ *σῴζειν δυνάμενος*, ὁ καὶ παθεῖν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν καταδεξάμενος.

I was only able to identify the part from πολλὰ to καταδεξάμενος. This *Theotokion* originally belongs to the *troparia* of the Sixth hour, but is also chanted in the course of the Holy Friday matins (celebrated during Thursday

night) after the third Gospel reading. In *Paris. gr.* 1115 the text is in good shape and agrees word for word with the text of the Holy Friday *akolouthia* and the text of the *Horologion* I have consulted[21]. Beyond its contribution to the history of the development of the *akolouthiae* of the Holy Friday and of the Hours[22], this fragment is a further proof that an author was easy to be carried away and insert in his text snippets from the Liturgy or the Bible without originally intending to do so. In doing so the author must have relied on his memory and this reliance was rather prone to causing textual errors. However, there are still many other quotations in *AI, PG,* and *ACC* that sound like parts from Liturgical texts, but are difficult if not impossible to identify.

As it becomes obvious, the process of cutting and pasting is widely used in the texts I have already examined and I will skip all the examples in which the author of *NG* had vandalized *ACC* because they have already been listed by Melioranskij in the first edition of *NG*[23].

However, since they may demonstrate the major source of textual corruption in the period I am examining, it is worth lingering on a number of interesting examples from the *AI* and presenting a few hitherto unpublished examples. A few words, however, about the working method of the author of the *AI* are appropriate here.

As I have already stated, the anonymous author of the *AI* had at his disposal a *florilegium* of Iconophile quotations that was larger than that preserved by codex *Parisinus gr.* 1115 in the folios following those that transmit *AI* (fols. 239-283^{v}). The author of *AI*, however, was able to use an even more extensive collection of patristic works and a *florilegium* that was possibly similar to, if not a version of, the *Doctrina Patrum.*

In my book on *Parisinus gr.* 1115 I have edited for the first time a small excerpt attributed to a certain Phosterios presbyter and archimandrite (an author unknown to me) and I have argued that it belongs to the *P(arisinus gr.* 1115) version of the *Doctrina Patrum*[24]. The text reads as follows:

[21] See, apart from the various editions of the *Horologion*, E. I. THEODOROPOULOS, *Ἡ Μεγάλη Ἑβδομὰς μετὰ ἑρμηνείας*, 8th repr., Athens, 1998, p. 304.

[22] For the history of the *akolouthiae* of the Holy Friday see S. JANERAS, *Le Vendredi-Saint dans la tradition liturgique byzantine: structure et histoire de ses offices*, Rome, 1988. I plan to return to this issue in a short article, but here I mention that all testimonies for the development of the Byzantine rite are no earlier than the 11th century. *AI* attests to the existence of this *Theotokion* in a rather early stage (770/1 AD). I wish to thank the Revd. Prof. Demetrios Argyros and Prof. Ioannis Fountoulis for the information and bibliographic references on the topic.

[23] See MELIORANSKIJ, *Georgij Kiprijanin*, pp. 4-14. Note that Melioranskij thinks that it was *ACC* that borrowed from *NG*. I argue for the opposite in ALEXAKIS, *Codex Parisinus*, pp. 111-115.

[24] ALEXAKIS, *Codex Parisinus*, pp. 58-71, and 275.

Paris. gr. 1115, fol. 124^{v} :

Τοῦ ἁγίου Φωστηρίου πρεσβυτέρου καὶ ἀρχιμανδρίτου ἐκ τῆς ἑρμηνείας τοῦ συμβόλου.

Αὐτὸς γὰρ ὁ *κύριος τῆς δόξης* ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐσταυρώθη καὶ πάσχει ἀπαθῶς· πάσχει γὰρ οὐ τῇ θεότητι, ἀλλὰ τῇ ἀδιαιρέτως συναφθείσῃ αὐτῷ ἰδίᾳ σαρκὶ ἐμψυχωμένῃ καὶ ἀποθνήσκει, τῆς ψυχῆς δηλονότι χωρισθείσης τοῦ σώματος· ἡ γὰρ θεότης ἀδιαίρετος καὶ ἀσύγχυτος καὶ τῇ ψυχῇ ἡνωμένη ἦν καὶ τῷ σώματι. Κατῆλθεν οὖν ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ τῇ ἰδίᾳ ψυχῇ πρὸς τὰς τῶν ἁγίων ψυχὰς καὶ πάλιν ἀνέστη τῆς ψυχῆς ἑνωθείσης τῷ σώματι· ἀνέστη οὖν ὁ αὐτός, ὁ μονογενὴς υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ, τῇ ἰδίᾳ δυνάμει, '*ἐξουσίαν γὰρ ἔχω*', φησί, '*τὴν ψυχήν μου θεῖναι καὶ ἐξουσίαν ἔχω πάλιν λαβεῖν αὐτήν*'. Καὶ εἴ τι ἂν δοκῶμεν θεολογοῦντες λαλεῖν, πάντως ὡς ἔστιν ἀδύνατον εἰπεῖν.

Σὺ οὖν, ὀλίγας τὰς ἀφορμὰς λαβών, ἀφθέγκτως λοιπὸν ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ συμβόλῳ διὰ τῶν ὀλίγων ῥημάτων τὸ ἀκατάληπτον φρῖξον καὶ προσκύνει.

I was rather surprised to find 9 out of the 12 lines of this excerpt, that is, the part from Αὐτὸς γὰρ ὁ κύριος to λαβεῖν αὐτήν, incorporated in the *AI*. Interestingly enough, the relevant passage in *AI*, which is contained in fol. 237^{v} of *P*, presents a number of variants:

a) *P* fol. 237^{v} *add.* λοιπὸν δὲ *post* πάσχει
b) *P* fol. 124^{v} ἀπαθῶς] *P* fol. 237^{v} ἀληθῶς
c) *P* fol. 124^{v} ἀδιαιρέτως] *P* fol. 237^{v} ἀδιαιρέτω
d) *P* fol. 237^{v} *om.* ὁ *post* ὁ αὐτός

Even in this small piece, which the author of *AI* copied from an earlier florilegium we find four variants. The words in a) might have been an addition of the author himself in order to facilitate the incorporation of this fragment into *AI*. However, the remainder gives us a minimum of the 'frequency of errors' that occur while copying from an older (perhaps papyrus) manuscript into a more recent one. The case of this fragment is even more illuminating because here we have a text that has undergone at least two stages of reproduction: First, its extraction from a lengthier (unknown to us) work and its inclusion into a *florilegium* and, second, its incorporation into *AI* after it was, presumably, copied from that *florilegium*. Here the stages of transmission are already enough and the possible transference of the original text from papyrus to parchment becomes only an additional aggravating factor.

Since I touched upon the cutting and pasting method that the author of *AI* has practiced, let us turn to a more complicated example. The first lines of

AI have also been the subject of the late Prof. Speck's scrutiny and he complains in his analysis about numerous *lacunae* and incongruities. In some cases he had proposed ingenious emendations, especially for the filling of the possible *lacunae*[25], but the solutions might have been easier for him, if he had pursued a different avenue: Knowing that the author of *AI* (like many others of that period) was a fervent practitioner of the 'cut and paste' technique it would have been advisable to try and find his possible source(s). Thanks to the *TLG*[26], it was easy to find that in the case of an extensive segment of the introduction to *AI* its author appropriated the opening paragraphs of the *Explanatio XII Capitulorum* of Cyril of Alexandria. The whole passage reads as follows (with the variants of *Paris. gr.* 1115, fol. 235v-236 at the end):

Πάντα ἐνώπια τοῖς συνιοῦσιν καὶ ὀρθὰ τοῖς εὑρίσκουσιν γνῶσιν, κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον. Οἳ μὲν γὰρ ὀξεῖ[a] τε καὶ καθαρῷ[b] διανοίας ὄμματι τοῖς ἱεροῖς τῆς θεοπνεύστου γραφῆς περιτυγχάνοντες λόγοις τὸ ἐξ αὐτῶν[c] ὄφελος θεῖον, ὥσπερ τινὰ καὶ[d] οὐράνιον θησαυρὸν ταῖς ἑαυτῶν[e] εἰσοικίζουσιν ψυχαῖς· οἳ δὲ τὸν νοῦν ἔχοντες τῷ ψεύδει προσνενευκότα καὶ τῆς τινων ἀθυροστομίας ἡττώμενον καὶ βεβήλου γνώσεως ἐραστὴν ἐκείνων ἔσονται κοινωνοὶ περὶ ὧν ὁ μακάριος γράφει Παῦλος·[f] *ἐν οἷς ὁ θεὸς τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου ἐτύφλωσεν τὰ νοήματα τῶν ἀπίστων εἰς τὸ μὴ αὐγάσαι*[g] *τὸν φωτισμὸν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου τῆς δόξης τοῦ Χριστοῦ*.[h] Τυφλώττουσιν γὰρ καί *εἰσιν ὁδηγοὶ τυφλῶν*· τοιγάρτοι[i] καὶ τοῖς τῆς ἀπωλείας ἐμπίπτουσιν βόθροις. Ὡς γὰρ αὐτός πού φησιν ὁ σωτήρ,[j] *τυφλὸς τυφλὸν ἐὰν ὁδηγῇ, ἀμφότεροι εἰς βόθρον*[k] *ἐμπεσοῦνται*. καταφλυαροῦσιν τοίνυν τινὲς τῶν τῆς ἀληθείας δογμάτων[l] καὶ δὴ καὶ σκαιότητος διαβολικῆς τὸν οἰκεῖον ἐμπλήσαντες νοῦν παραχαράττειν ἐπείγονται τὸ τῆς εὐσεβείας[m] μυστήριον καὶ τῆς μετὰ σαρκὸς οἰκονομίας τοῦ μονογενοῦς οὐ μετρίαν ποιοῦνται[n] τὴν κατάρρησιν, *μὴ νοοῦντες μήτε ἃ λέγουσιν μήτε περὶ τίνων διαβεβαιοῦνται* κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον. Εὑρεταὶ δὲ τῆς τοιαύτης ἀσεβείας γεγόνασιν πολλοὶ μὲν καὶ ἕτεροι κατὰ τοὺς ἄνωθεν ἔτι καὶ[o] παρῳχηκότας καιρούς, νυνὶ[p] δὲ τῆς ἐκείνων ἀνοσιότητος οὐδὲν ἀποδέοντες[q] Νεστόριος καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ,[r] κατὰ τοὺς ἀρχαίους[s] ἐκείνους Φαρισαίους ...[27]

[a] ὀξεῖ] δόξη *P* // [b] *P add.* τῆς *post* καθαρῷ // [c] *P om.* τὸ ἐξ αὐτῶν // [d] *P om.* καὶ // [e] ἑαυτῶν] αὐτῶν *P* // [f] γράφει Παῦλος] Παῦλος γράφει *P* // [g] αὐγάσαι] διαυγάσαι αὐτοῖς *P* // [h] Χριστοῦ] θεοῦ *P* // [i] τοιγάρτοι] τοιγαροῦν οὗτοι *P* // [j] αὐτός πού φησιν ὁ σωτήρ] αὐτός τε ὁ σωτὴρ εἴρηκε *P* // [k] βόθρον] βόθυνον *P* // [l] δογμάτων] πατέρων καὶ διδασκάλων *P* // [m] εὐσεβείας] ἀληθείας *P* // [n] ποιοῦνται] ποιοῦντες *P* // [o] *P om.* ἔτι καὶ // [p] νυνὶ] νῦν *P* // [q] *P om.* οὐδὲν ἀποδέοντες // [r] Νεστόριος καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ] οὗτοι οἱ προφασιζόμενοι *P* // [s] ἀρχαίους ἐκείνους] νέους *P*

[25] SPECK, *Ich bin's nicht*, pp. 585-589 and esp. 587.

[26] *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* CD ROM E, University of California, Irvine, 1999, (electronic address: http://www.tlg.uci.edu).

[27] E. SCHWARTZ (ed.), *Concilium universale Ephesenum anno 431*, *ACO* vol. 1,1,5, Berlin, 1927, pp. 15[19]-16[5].

Apart from these variants, one can also observe the consistent omission of the *nu ephelkystikon* in *P*. On the other hand, it has to be noted that a number of variants are also found in manuscripts that have preserved the Acts of the Third Ecumenical Council, in which this work of Cyril is included. More specifically, variant (b) is transmitted by codices *Monacensis gr.* 115 and *Monacensis gr.* 116 (16th century), variant (g) by codex *Neapolitanus* II B 15 (13th c.), variant (k) by all the three aforementioned codices, variant (m) by codd. *Vaticanus gr.* 830 (15th c.), *Parisinus Coislinianus* 32, (11th c.), and the two Munich manuscripts, while variant (n) is preserved by cod. *Vaticanus gr.* 1431 (11th c.). In addition to these, it can be claimed that variants (q-s) and, perhaps, (l) have resulted from the conscious effort of the author of *AI* to seamlessly integrate the passage into his text. This comparison leads to two interesting observations: The first – not so relevant to the present study but still worth stating – has to do with the state of Cyril's text as is preserved in *AI*, and shows that some of the variants should have been given preference in the edition of the *ACO*. Despite the fact that *P* was produced in 1276, a dated text such as *AI* that goes back to the 8th century is closer to the original Cyril text than the *ACO*, for which the earliest surviving manuscript used is no earlier than the 11th century. The second shows how easy it is to multiply errors while composing a theological work which incorporates excerpts from earlier patristic works.

Summing up, the major aim of this paper is to eventually provide scholars and, especially, editors of Byzantine texts with some practical examples which might contribute to a better understanding of the way errors have been introduced into a number of texts. Although errors did occur mainly through the copying of a text from papyrus to parchment or from the majuscule script into the minuscule, I hope to have shown also that many errors are the result of a number of mental attitudes that lie behind the composition of many, especially, theological works. My working premise is that many Byzantine authors wrote usually quoting – consciously or unconsciously (see the example of the *Theotokion* above) – other earlier authors or sources such as the Bible.

One thing that must have become clear is the weighty presence of the Liturgical literature in the lines of many theological (and other) Byzantine texts. This trait is more pronounced in the cases of the Biblical quotations. Given the fact that most authors must have memorized the Bible (especially

the Psalms) from the Liturgical readings, it is more than certain that whatever textual aberration is present in Byzantine texts with regards to the Biblical quotations must be credited to (or blamed on?) Liturgical texts and not on faulty manuscripts of the Bible. Therefore, the need for new complete editions of Liturgical texts cannot be understated.

The second point is that an editor of Byzantine texts has to be constantly aware of the fact that many works were written with the method of cutting and pasting *verbatim* or slightly altered excerpts from earlier patristic literature. Such being the case, the usefulness of tools like the *TLG* becomes immediately apparent.

And, last but not least, in many polemical works of the 8th century conscious avoidance of 'polished' vocabulary and sentence structure might have also contributed to the exacerbation of the problem of textual flaws right from the moment an author put his pen on the parchment.

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SUMMARY

Based mainly on the editorial work I am conducting on three Iconophile texts of the 8th century (*Nouthesia gerontos*, *Adversus Iconoclastas*, and *Adversus Constantinum Caballinum*), I argue that the mistakes that are found in theological texts of the 8th century, are not only the result of the transition from papyrus to parchment in this period, but also of a number of different factors, such as: a) conscious employment of simpler language and syntax on the part of the authors, b) reliance on *florilegia* prepared in advance, c) citation of Biblical passages from memory conditioned by Liturgical readings, and d) the incorporation of passages copied in a loose manner from earlier patristic sources.

À PROPOS D'UN OUVRAGE RÉCENT SUR LA *CHRONIQUE DE MORÉE* : CONTRIBUTION AU DÉBAT*

La *Chronique de Morée* est l'unique source narrative centrée exclusivement sur l'histoire du Péloponnèse à la fin du Moyen Âge. Elle est aussi l'un des textes majeurs produits dans le cadre politique hérité de l'empire latin de Romanie, le seul récit laissé par les successeurs des conquérants francs de la quatrième croisade établis en terre grecque. À ce double titre, ce texte a éveillé depuis longtemps l'intérêt des historiens, en deux phases principales : l'édition des différentes versions de la *Chronique* s'est étalée essentiellement de 1845 à 1911, puis elle a laissé place dans les années 1940-1970 à un vif débat autour de la dépendance des versions les unes par rapport aux autres. Après une période de désintérêt relatif, l'ouvrage publié en 2009 par Teresa Shawcross contribue donc à replacer cette source essentielle au centre de la réflexion historiographique[1].

Les circonstances de production et de diffusion des différentes versions de la *Chronique* posent depuis toujours à ses exégètes des problèmes complexes, pour lesquels T. Shawcross propose plusieurs solutions dont certaines sont nouvelles. Elle émet l'hypothèse d'un prototype commun disparu pour toutes les versions de la *Chronique* et explique comment les versions grecque et française ont pu en dériver. Elle s'appuie pour ce faire d'une part sur les informations connues concernant la réalisation et la circulation des manuscrits actuellement existants, et d'autre part sur d'autres données fournies par des sources textuelles.

Le propos de ce livre peut toutefois prêter à confusion. À l'évidence, T. Shawcross souhaitait ne pas se cantonner aux problèmes soulevés par l'histoire du texte, afin d'examiner plus en profondeur le récit lui-même, tant dans sa forme que dans son contenu, notamment au moyen de l'analyse littéraire (voir en particulier deuxième partie pp. 113-184). Ce serait toutefois une erreur de voir dans l'ouvrage essentiellement un travail de narratologie ; en réalité son propos central est bel et bien l'histoire du texte et des contextes de sa production et de sa circulation. La conclusion générale (pp. 260-267) résume d'ailleurs les solutions auxquelles T. Shawcross estime être parvenue

* Cet article a été écrit au début de l'année 2011 mais, pour diverses raisons, n'a pu être publié plus tôt. La bibliographie s'arrête donc à cette date. Plusieurs comptes rendus du livre de T. Shawcross ont paru depuis.

[1] T. SHAWCROSS, *The Chronicle of Morea. Historiography in Crusader Greece*, Oxford, 2009.

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sur trois problèmes déterminants : la question d'un archétype perdu, celle des différentes versions subsistantes et de leurs relations, la postérité de la *Chronique*.

Nous souhaitons donc revenir ici sur ces aspects spécifiques de l'ouvrage de T. Shawcross qui concernent l'histoire du texte en discutant certaines de ses hypothèses et en versant au dossier quelques éléments complémentaires, en particulier à propos de la version française. Notre propos n'est certes pas d'offrir une nouvelle étude sur la *Chronique de Morée*, il rend simplement compte de notre réaction à la lecture de cet ouvrage.

Manuscrits et versions de la *Chronique de Morée*

La complexité du dossier justifie sans aucun doute de nouvelles études, tant sur les points qui ont suscité jadis le débat que dans les autres directions de recherche explorées par T. Shawcross. Rappelons très brièvement les données du problème en présentant les manuscrits des quatre versions de la *Chronique de Morée* et en résumant l'interprétation à laquelle aboutit l'auteur (pp. 34-52 et 260-266) quant à la date et aux rapports de ces versions entre elles. La version grecque de la *Chronique* est conservée en deux recensions pour lesquelles les manuscrits principaux sont respectivement l'*Hauniensis Fabr.* 57 (H) et le *Parisinus gr.* 2898 (P) ; on ne conserve en revanche qu'un seul manuscrit pour chacune des autres versions, le *Bruxellensis* 15702 pour la version française (B), le *Marcianus Ital.* Cl. VII 712 pour la version italienne (Ital.) et le *Matritensis* 10131 pour la version aragonaise (Arag.)[2].

Aucune des versions n'est connue par son manuscrit original, à l'exception de la version aragonaise. T. Shawcross conclut que le texte de la version grecque de H aurait été composé entre 1338 et 1345/1356 et serait le plus proche du prototype dont elle suppose que procèdent toutes les versions et qu'elle désigne comme l'« ancêtre commun » (« common ancestor »). Celui-ci aurait été rédigé en grec dans les années 1320 ; le texte du manuscrit P en serait une réécriture moins fidèle et plus tardive composée peu après 1388. La version française serait une traduction de l'ancêtre commun effectuée entre 1331 et 1346. La version aragonaise, élaborée entre 1380 et 1390, s'inspirerait à la fois de la version grecque attestée par H et de la version française. La version italienne serait une traduction tardive (XVIe siècle

[2] Sur la filiation de ces manuscrits et leur date de rédaction, voir l'appendice (*infra* p. 36-39), qui tente de présenter les principales théories en présence, ainsi que la discussion des opinions de T. Shawcross *infra* p. 22-31.

au plus tôt) de la version grecque, sans doute à partir du manuscrit T (*Taurinensis* B.II.I [LXVI], qui serait une copie de H et donne en tout cas un texte proche).

La controverse savante a jusqu'ici porté essentiellement sur l'histoire du texte et de son passage d'une langue à une autre. Les spécialistes de la *Chronique de Morée* s'accordent en revanche sur l'inventaire des manuscrits, sur l'existence de deux familles distinctes pour la version grecque[3] et sur les dates de copie de tous ces témoins. C'est certainement pour cette raison que T. Shawcross a choisi de centrer son interprétation sur les textes tels qu'ils sont donnés par les manuscrits, en particulier ceux de B, H et P. L'intérêt de cette approche est de considérer des récits encore matériellement existants et l'usage qui a pu en être fait au Moyen Âge, plutôt que des versions théoriques reconstituées voire postulées par l'analyse. L'auteur inscrit ici son travail, qui n'est pas lui-même essentiellement philologique, dans le sillage de la philologie nouvelle qui privilégie moins la reconstruction d'une forme idéale perdue du texte que l'interprétation de la multiplicité de ses formulations et de la signification de ces variantes. L'intérêt porté aux manifestations de l'oralité dans les versions conservées relève du même champ de préoccupations. De ce parti pris résultent toutefois certaines hésitations : on ne voit pas toujours clairement si l'argumentation porte sur l'une des versions (notion qui, pour abstraite qu'elle soit, peut s'être incarnée dans davantage de manuscrits que ceux que nous possédons) ou simplement sur l'un des manuscrits effectivement transmis ; les sigles des manuscrits sont parfois employés alors que l'auteur parle en réalité des versions. De même, pour certaines mentions du « chroniqueur » ou de l'« auteur », on ne saisit pas toujours s'il faut entendre le rédacteur du prototype original de la *Chronique*, de celui de l'une des quatre versions ou simplement de l'un des manuscrits.

En outre une telle démarche supposerait d'accorder la plus grande attention à chacun des manuscrits ; or T. Shawcross passe rapidement sur la présentation des témoins, déjà décrits par d'autres : elle signale simplement qu'elle les a tous réexaminés (p. vi). On verra plus loin qu'une donnée importante concernant le manuscrit B doit pourtant être ajoutée au dossier. L'auteur ne propose pas davantage de stemma de la tradition où elle aurait synthétisé sa reconstitution de la filiation des différentes versions et des différents manuscrits de la *Chronique*.

[3] À l'exception de D. Jacoby, *Quelques considérations sur les versions de la « Chronique de Morée »*, dans *Journal des savants*, (1968), pp. 133-189, repris dans Idem, *Société et démographie à Byzance et en Romanie latine*, Londres, 1975, étude VII, qui faisait dériver P de H à travers un manuscrit intermédiaire perdu.

La question de la langue première

La question de la langue du prototype perdu de la *Chronique de Morée* et celle de la filiation manuscrite sont bien sûr étroitement liées dans l'ouvrage de T. Shawcross, même si nous les examinerons ici séparément. Sur l'histoire linguistique de la *Chronique* et de son transfert d'une langue à une autre, l'auteur récapitule d'abord sommairement les quatre thèses principales (p. 34 note 16) :

- antériorité de la version grecque : thèse défendue notamment par J. Schmitt et M. Jeffreys[4] ;
- antériorité de la version française et existence d'un original perdu en français : thèse défendue notamment par H. E. Lurier, G. Spadaro et D. Jacoby[5] ;
- existence d'un original perdu en italien : thèse défendue par J. Longnon[6] ;
- existence d'un original perdu en provençal : thèse défendue par P. Kalonaros[7].

À aucun moment T. Shawcross ne se rattache clairement à l'une de ces quatre propositions, même si sa prise de position (centrale dans sa démonstration) en faveur d'un original grec la rapproche de la première solution. Cependant, la singularité de l'hypothèse défendue par M. Jeffreys tenait au fait qu'elle faisait l'économie d'une version originale perdue : M. Jeffreys estimait que la version française existante (telle qu'attestée pour nous par B) dérivait simplement de la version grecque la plus ancienne (que H nous conserverait modifiée seulement par quelques additions), sans qu'il soit nécessaire de postuler l'existence d'un archétype disparu nettement distinct de cette version grecque conservée. Du reste, M. Jeffreys présentait lui aussi quatre thèses en présence, mais selon une répartition différente et qui ne tenait pas compte de l'hypothèse provençale de P. Kalonaros[8] :

- existence d'un original perdu en français, commun à H et B qui l'ont indépendamment abrégé, donc pas de relation directe entre H et B : thèse de H. E. Lurier et G. Spadaro ;

[4] *The Chronicle of Morea*, éd. J. Schmitt, Londres, 1904 ; M. Jeffreys, *The Chronicle of Morea : Priority of the Greek Version*, dans *BZ*, 68 (1975), pp. 304-350.

[5] Voir supra note 3.

[6] *Livre de la conqueste de la princée de l'Amorée : Chronique de Morée (1204-1305)*, éd. J. Longnon, Paris, 1911, pp. lxxvi-lxxxiv.

[7] T. Shawcross cite à ce propos un article d'encyclopédie que nous n'avons pu consulter : P. Kalonaros, dans : *Νεώτερον ἐγκυκλοπαιδικὸν λεξικὸν Ἥλιου*, vol. 12. Dans son édition de la version grecque (*Τὸ χρονικὸν τοῦ Μορέως*, éd. P. Kalonaros, Athènes, 1940), le même auteur ne se réclamait pas de cette thèse provençale.

[8] Voir Jeffreys, *The Chronicle of Morea*, p. 317.

- existence d'un original perdu en italien, commun à H et B qui l'ont indépendamment abrégé, donc pas de relation directe entre H et B : thèse de J. Longnon ;
- existence d'un original perdu en français pour la version française ; cet original a été ensuite abrégé dans la version française et celle-ci ultérieurement développée dans la version grecque, donc la version grecque dérive de la version française : thèse de D. Jacoby ;
- pas d'original perdu, et la version grecque (dans une forme très proche de H) est le modèle de la version française ; la version française est donc une traduction abrégée de la version grecque : thèse de J. Schmitt et M. Jeffreys.

Les deux dernières hypothèses, à savoir celles de D. Jacoby et de M. Jeffreys, correspondaient aux deux études les plus récentes et arrivaient à la conclusion, solidement étayée, d'un lien direct entre la version française et la version grecque transmise par H. La structure des versions grecque et française est en effet très similaire, même si les discours par exemple sont souvent plus étendus dans la version grecque : il semble impossible que les versions contenues dans H et B aient pu, à partir d'un même ancêtre, être abrégées indépendamment l'une de l'autre en expurgeant de la même manière le récit originel. Sans discuter cette filiation de façon argumentée, T. Shawcross la rejette en admettant tout au plus une certaine proximité entre la version française et la version grecque de H : « It is true that H is revealed to be closer than P to the French version » (p. 40). Elle considère d'autre part (pp. 39-40 et 49) qu'aucun des manuscrits ne transmet le texte original de la *Chronique* : « Even so, neither of the Greek manuscripts can physically be the text behind B » (p. 40). C'est le prototype commun perdu des deux recensions grecques qui a, selon elle, de fortes chances de s'identifier aussi avec celui de la version française (p. 49)[9] ; néanmoins, ce prototype se serait distingué nettement de la version que transmet H (p. 42 : « the extant manuscripts cannot be identified with the original text » ; p. 51 : « the original work is no longer extant »). Ce faisant, T. Shawcross s'écarte des deux principales thèses en présence, qui soutenaient un lien direct entre les versions française et grecque, pour émettre l'hypothèse d'un prototype grec perdu.

Il est vrai que M. Jeffreys lui-même concédait que le texte du manuscrit H tel qu'il est conservé pose un problème si l'on veut faire de son texte le modèle de la version française : le récit qu'il transmet s'arrête d'un seul coup en 1292, tandis qu'il se poursuit dans B jusqu'en 1304[10] et y est précédé d'un

[9] Voir *infra* annexe.

[10] Sur la date des derniers événements rapportés par le *Livre de la conqueste*, voir en dernier lieu A. Kiesewetter, *Das Ende des Livre de la conqueste de l'Amorée (1301-1304)*.

tableau chronologique courant jusqu'en 1320 (avec un ajout pour 1332-1333) ; dans son hypothèse, il faudrait donc supposer que le modèle de H contenait un texte plus complet, sans qu'on puisse parler cependant d'un archétype nettement différent de H[11]. T. Shawcross pour sa part qualifie H de « manuscript ... especially faithful to the early *Chronicle* » (p. 263), mais tout en considérant néanmoins cette *Chronique* primitive (l'« ancêtre commun ») comme une œuvre distincte perdue : elle décrit cet archétype comme une compilation de sources documentaires et narratives plus anciennes, mise en forme directement en grec vernaculaire selon les techniques de la littérature orale versifiée (p. 261).

L'auteur esquisse deux arguments en faveur de cette reconstruction. Elle note que la version française de B contient trois passages qui ne figurent pas dans la version de H, mais qui se retrouvent en revanche dans l'autre version grecque, celle de P (p. 41, note 40 avec les références des passages). Cette remarque pourrait peut-être remettre quelque peu en cause la démonstration de M. Jeffreys[12], et, dans une moindre mesure, celle de D. Jacoby quant aux liens entre la version de H et la version française, mais, en l'absence d'analyse des passages concernés, on ne peut en tirer aucune conclusion. Plus loin, T. Shawcross invoque en quelques lignes un autre argument : la chronique du Pseudo-Dorothée de Monembasie, composée à la fin du XVIe siècle[13], contiendrait un assez long extrait inspiré de la *Chronique de Morée* ; or il pourrait sembler que le Pseudo-Dorothée ait disposé d'une autre version que celles qui sont conservées aujourd'hui, puisque, écrit-elle, « the copy of the Greek *Chronicle* consulted by Dorotheos contained lines not in H or P regarding the arrangement of a Franco-Byzantine treaty in 1263 » (p. 50). La référence précise aux pages concernées du Pseudo-Dorothée n'est toutefois pas donnée : l'auteur renvoie en note à une affirmation contenue dans la préface de l'édition de la *Chronique de Morée* par Jean-Alexandre Buchon (1840, rééd. 1875), en la paraphrasant simplement, sans approfondir[14]. Or si l'on se reporte au texte du Pseudo-Dorothée,

Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des fränkischen Griechenland zu Beginn des 14. Jahrhunderts, dans *Βυζαντιακά*, 16 (1996), pp. 143-190.

[11] JEFFREYS, *The Chronicle of Morea*, p. 348.

[12] Notons que JEFFREYS, *The Chronicle of Morea*, p. 350, avait lui-même relevé « that P agrees with B against H at 6143-5 and §432, and probably again at 6424-7 and §451 » (seul le premier de ces deux passages correspond à l'un des trois mentionnés par T. Shawcross). Il avait écarté cette objection contre sa propre hypothèse de la dépendance de la version française à l'égard de la version grecque de H en faisant valoir que « the fluidity of the textual tradition is so great that only a considerable lacuna is large enough to prove manuscript affiliation ».

[13] Th. PREGER, *Die Chronik vom Jahre 1570 (« Dorotheos » von Monembasia und Manuel Malaxos)*, dans *BZ*, 11 (1902), pp. 4-15.

[14] J.-A.-C. BUCHON, *Chroniques étrangères relatives aux expéditions françaises pendant le XIIIe siècle*, Paris, 1840 (rééd. Paris, 1875), p. XVII : « Ce qui frappe plus étroitement

reproduit par J.-A. Buchon, on constate que son contenu ne s'inspire que d'assez loin de la *Chronique de Morée*, mais surtout que le passage auquel Buchon faisait plus particulièrement allusion, concernant les forteresses citées à propos d'un accord de 1263, mentionne des événements nettement postérieurs, comme le destin de la seigneurie d'Argos et Nauplie sous Marie d'Enghien, qui en fut dame de 1377 à 1388, et les projets d'attaque de la ville de Nauplie par le sultan Bayezid II[15]. Il est bien évident que cette section ne saurait provenir de la version primitive de la *Chronique de Morée*, dont T. Shawcross place la rédaction dans les années 1320. Cette constatation avait du reste déjà été faite il y a un siècle par Adamantos Adamantiou qui avait observé que c'était là le seul passage de cette partie du Pseudo-Dorothée comportant des événements absents de la *Chronique*, qu'il attribuait donc à l'utilisation d'autres sources[16].

Par ailleurs, dans le cadre de son hypothèse d'un original grec, T. Shawcross ne parvient pas réellement à expliquer comment la *Chronique* aurait pu être primitivement rédigée en grec à une époque et dans un milieu où, quoi qu'elle en dise, la langue noble, celle de l'administration et du droit[17], semble bien demeurer le français. Elle invoque ainsi (p. 51) les documents produits dans le duché d'Athènes au temps des Acciaiuoli (XVe siècle) pour prouver que le grec était bien employé par les Latins comme langue administrative, mais ces chartes sont postérieures de pratiquement un siècle à l'époque à laquelle elle situe la mise en forme de la tradition de la *Chronique*. Elles nous semblent donc appartenir à un contexte nettement différent. Un témoignage plus direct sur la situation linguistique de l'aristocratie moréote au

encore dans cet extrait donné par Dorothée de la *Chronique de Morée*, c'est qu'il s'y trouve un passage relatif aux limites assignées aux possessions des Français et des Grecs en vertu du traité de 1263, et relatif également aux forteresses bâties par chacun sur les limites de leurs territoires respectifs, et que ce morceau ne se retrouve ni dans le manuscrit de Paris ni dans le manuscrit de Copenhague. »

[15] Ces passages se trouvent respectivement *ibidem*, pp. XXVIII-XXIX. Ils ne figurent évidemment pas dans la section correspondante de la *Chronique de Morée* grecque : voir *The Chronicle of Morea*, éd. SCHMITT, p. 192, vers 2860-2883.

[16] A. ADAMANTIOU, *Τὰ Χρονικὰ τοῦ Μορέως. Συμβολαί εἰς τὴν φραγκοβυζαντινὴν ἱστορίαν καὶ φιλολογίαν*, dans *Δελτίον τῆς Ἱστορικῆς καὶ Ἐθνολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας τῆς Ἑλλάδος*, 6 (1901), pp. 454-675, ici pp. 565-566.

[17] Il faut rappeler que les *Assises de Romanie*, le code de droit en vigueur dans la principauté, aujourd'hui conservées seulement dans une traduction vénitienne, furent initialement rédigées en français même si elles reçurent ultérieurement des adjonctions directement en vénitien ; cf. en dernier lieu l'introduction à la nouvelle édition de ce texte : *Libro dele uxanze e statuti delo imperio de Romania*, éd. A. PARMEGGIANI (*Quaderni della Rivista di Bizantinistica* 1), Spolète, 1998, pp. 35-41. T. Shawcross suggère pourtant (pp. 55-59, ici p. 59) que les *Assises* et la *Chronique de Morée* pourraient être « the product of the same circle, a circumstance which would go a long way towards explaining the mutual dependency of the two works ».

début du XIVe siècle est fourni par exemple par un traité de 1305 entre Philippe de Tarente et le comte de Céphalonie. Ce document est le dernier acte d'un prince angevin de Naples à être rédigé en français, à une époque où la chancellerie angevine est définitivement passée à l'usage exclusif du latin. Le notaire rédacteur de l'acte en donne lui-même la raison : il le fut à la requête expresse du comte de Céphalonie, lequel déclara qu'« il fait partie des us et coutumes de Romanie, entre les seigneurs comme entre les gentilshommes, de faire rédiger leurs traités et leurs cautions en français »[18].

Venons-en à la version française conservée, le *Livre de la conqueste*, dont le texte est préservé par le manuscrit B. Comme on l'a vu, T. Shawcross considère cette version comme une traduction abrégée d'un archétype grec perdu. En ce qui concerne son origine, l'auteur avance (pp. 95-102 et 264-265) l'hypothèse inédite de son élaboration hors de Morée, à la cour des Angevins de Naples. Le fait serait de grande importance, car alors la version française ne témoignerait plus aucunement de l'ambiance culturelle et linguistique propre à la principauté. L'auteur fait valoir que seule cette version mentionne Catherine de Valois, impératrice de Romanie[19], en des termes qu'elle juge hyperboliques. À vrai dire, J. Longnon avait déjà envisagé que l'impératrice eût pu être la commanditaire du *Livre de la conqueste* à la fin de son séjour en Morée, possibilité que D. Jacoby a écartée pour des raisons de chronologie : Catherine quitta la Morée en 1341 et la version française est d'après lui postérieure[20]. M. Jeffreys, tout en relevant lui aussi les indices d'une « Angevin connection »[21], s'est rangé à son avis sur ce point[22]. Tous ces auteurs présupposaient donc une rédaction primitive en Morée de la version française conservée. T. Shawcross ne partage pas ce postulat, alors même que, on le verra, elle remet par ailleurs en cause le *terminus post quem* de 1341. Pour elle, « the extant French version's connection with Catherine

[18] A. KIESEWETTER, *Il trattato del 18 ottobre 1305 fra Filippo I di Taranto e Giovanni I Orsini di Cefalonia per la conquista dell'Epiro*, dans *Archivio storico pugliese*, 47 (1994), pp. 177-213, texte aux pp. 207-212, n° 3, ici p. 211 : « ... disant que usee et acoustumee chose est es parties de Rumenie meesmement entre les signeurs et les gentix homes de leur trettiez et leurs cauteles fere scrire en françois ». Voir le commentaire d'A. Kiesewetter *ibidem*, pp. 179-180 ; cf. aussi IDEM, *La cancelleria angioina*, dans *L'État angevin : pouvoir, culture et société entre XIIIe et XIVe siècle* (*Collection de l'École française de Rome* 245), Rome, 1998, pp. 361-415, ici p. 398.

[19] Catherine II de Valois avait hérité ses droits sur l'empire latin de Romanie de sa mère Catherine Ire de Courtenay, petite-fille de Baudouin II, dernier empereur ayant effectivement régné à Constantinople jusqu'en 1261.

[20] JACOBY, *Quelques considérations*, pp. 135-136. Notons que D. Jacoby exclut que Catherine ait pu être la commanditaire du *Livre de la conqueste*, mais non de l'un des stades antérieurs de la tradition de la *Chronique* dont il envisage l'existence.

[21] JEFFREYS, *The Chronicle of Morea*, pp. 345-346.

[22] *Ibidem*, p. 349 : « The most likely sponsor is Catherine de Valois, but, as Jacoby has shown, she left the Morea for the last time just before the death of Niccolò Sanudo. »

de Valois implies in turn an Angevin connection » (p. 95) : c'est donc le milieu culturel angevin en Italie qu'il faudrait identifier comme la matrice de la version française. Contrairement à la version grecque de H, la version française ne représenterait pas « an indigenous product of Moreot historiography » mais, au même titre que les versions aragonaise et italienne, une de ses appropriations « by interests external to the Principality » (p. 266).

L'époque exacte à laquelle T. Shawcross situe cette opération de traduction demeure toutefois assez imprécise : il est question (p. 265) des dernières années du règne du roi Robert († 1343), mais les hypothèses de l'auteur concernant la transmission du texte à l'Europe du Nord, sur lesquelles nous reviendrons, imposeraient au contraire une rédaction une décennie environ avant la mort de ce souverain, entre 1332 (date à laquelle Catherine assuma la régence de la principauté) et 1336 (puisque, on le verra, l'auteur suppose cette transmission accomplie avant le printemps 1337[23]). Le lieu supposé de production n'est pas non plus clairement explicité : tout en décrivant la Naples des Angevins comme le milieu le plus approprié pour la formation de la version française (p. 265) et en concluant de manière apparemment formelle que la version française « merges as a characteristic literary product of the reign of Robert the Wise » (p. 102)[24], T. Shawcross concède en définitive qu'elle pourrait avoir été produite « on either side of the Ionian Sea ».

De fait, aucun élément matériel n'est fourni à l'appui de cette hypothèse d'une rédaction à la cour angevine. Le seul indice avancé est le fait que la traduction grecque de la *Théséide* de Boccace voisine avec la version grecque de la *Chronique* dans le manuscrit P. Rappelons que ce manuscrit P transmet une version grecque plus tardive de la *Chronique*, au moins postérieure à 1388, et qu'il n'a aucun lien avéré avec la version française. Le raisonnement de l'auteur, présenté au détour d'une note, est paradoxal : T. Shawcross paraît tout d'abord écarter Nicolò Acciaiuoli, grand sénéchal du royaume angevin et favori de l'impératrice Catherine, comme commanditaire de la version française[25] ; mais parallèlement, elle considère ce voisinage d'une autre version de la *Chronique* avec une traduction grecque de la *Théséide* de Boccace comme « providing another dimension of evidence

[23] Pour cette date de 1337, voir plus loin à propos de l'interprétation que fait T. Shawcross d'une lettre de Marino Sanudo au comte de Hainaut.

[24] La formulation laisse perplexe au regard du relatif désintérêt du roi Robert pour les affaires de Romanie qui avaient tant préoccupé son père et son grand-père : S. KELLY, *The New Solomon : Robert of Naples (1309-1343) and Fourteenth-century Kingship* (*The Medieval Mediterranean* 48), Leyde, 2003, pp. 209-212.

[25] Le rôle d'Acciaiuoli comme commanditaire avait été suggéré par J. Longnon sur la base d'une lettre de Boccace.

for Acciaiuoli's involvement », en raison, selon elle, des liens de ce dernier avec l'écrivain toscan (p. 102, n. 95 ; voir aussi p. 96, n. 60). Cet argument ne peut être retenu car la traduction de la *Théséide* ne date que de la deuxième moitié du XVe siècle[26]. Ajoutons aussi que, selon les observations de S. Stanitsas[27], le texte de la traduction grecque de la *Théséide* n'est pas dû à l'une des deux mains qui ont copié le texte grec de la *Chronique* dans P : il s'agirait de deux manuscrits à l'origine distincts et reliés ensemble seulement après leur entrée dans la bibliothèque des rois de France. Le fait que la traduction grecque de la *Théséide* se trouve réunie à la version grecque la plus tardive de la *Chronique* dans P ne prouve donc rien, et moins encore quant à la genèse de la version française.

Pour le reste, le milieu culturel angevin est décrit par T. Shawcross en termes généraux comme un foyer de traductions et d'échanges culturels, mais l'auteur ne relève dans les œuvres historiographiques liées à la cour angevine aucun écho spécifique de la *Chronique*. Nous verrons plus loin que l'examen de la tradition manuscrite ne conforte pas cette piste d'une traduction napolitaine.

Filiation et circulation des manuscrits

Venons-en plus directement à la question des manuscrits, de leurs lieux, dates et conditions de production et de leurs filiations. Sur ce point également, la reconstitution de l'histoire du texte de la *Chronique* proposée par T. Shawcross dépend pour une bonne part du travail de ses devanciers, ce que l'auteur reconnaît elle-même dans sa préface (p. v). Toutefois, les points sur lesquels elle s'écarte des conclusions de ses prédécesseurs sont décisifs pour l'interprétation qu'elle propose ensuite de la signification historique de ce texte. Or ses arguments ne paraissent pas toujours convaincants.

La seule des quatre versions de la *Chronique de Morée* dont le manuscrit originel soit préservé est le *Libro de los fechos*, la version aragonaise de la fin du XIVe siècle ; ce manuscrit, précisément daté de 1393, est également celui dont le contexte de production peut être connu de la manière la plus détaillée, car il s'inscrit dans le cadre du scriptorium au service du grand maître des hospitaliers de Rhodes Juan Fernández de Heredia, dont la production a été

[26] Voir en dernier lieu B. Olsen, *The Greek Translation of Boccaccio's Theseid Book 6*, dans *Classica et mediaevalia. Revue danoise de philologie et d'histoire*, 41 (1990), pp. 275-301.

[27] S. Stanitsas, *Origine des manuscrits P* (Parisinus gr. *2898) et T* (Taurinensis B. II. *1) de la Chronique de Morée*, dans *Πρακτικὰ Α΄ Διεθνοῦς Συνεδρίου Πελοποννησιακῶν Σπουδῶν*, Athènes, 1976, II, pp. 227-240, ici p. 228, n. 2.

étudiée par plusieurs chercheurs, tout particulièrement Anthony Luttrell, sur les travaux desquels T. Shawcross appuie largement sa réflexion[28]. Elle conclut dans un appendice consacré spécifiquement à la question (pp. 268-273) que le *Libro* trahit l'usage à la fois d'un exemplaire de la version française et d'un autre de la version grecque. Elle rejoint ici l'opinion de ses devanciers, mais en la renforçant par une analyse textuelle plus fournie.

L'auteur ignore en revanche une partie de la bibliographie concernant la version italienne et certains des manuscrits les plus tardifs de la version grecque qui y sont liés. On a depuis longtemps observé que cette version présentait de très fortes similitudes avec celle de l'un des manuscrits tardifs de la version grecque, le manuscrit T (lui-même dépendant de H), dont elle partage notamment certaines lacunes. T. Shawcross (pp. 36-37 et 84-85) reprend simplement ces conclusions anciennes et en déduit – à la suite notamment de D. Jacoby[29] – que cette version n'a pu être produite au plus tôt qu'au XVIe siècle (date de son supposé modèle T), peut-être même seulement au XVIIe siècle, et probablement en Vénétie d'après ses caractéristiques linguistiques (mais de celles-ci trois exemples seulement sont donnés, « zonti », « abbrazzato » et « Zephalonia »)[30].

Dans une étude postérieure à celle de D. Jacoby, S. Stanitsas avait toutefois relevé que, si le texte de cette version italienne est effectivement fort proche de T, il comporte aussi la traduction de quelques vers qui manquent totalement dans T[31]. Selon lui, la traduction italienne aurait donc été faite

[28] Elle reprend en particulier une longue étude de 2006, alors encore inédite mais consultable en ligne, qui considère aussi l'ensemble de la tradition de la *Chronique*. Destinée à l'origine à faire partie de la préface d'une nouvelle édition du *Libro*, l'étude en question a depuis été publiée sous forme d'article : A. Luttrell, *Juan Fernández de Heredia and the Compilation of the Aragonese Chronicle of the Morea*, dans *Deus vult. Miscellanea di studi sugli Ordini militari*, 1 (2011), pp. 69-134. Voir aussi récemment Idem, *Juan Fernández de Heredia's History of Greece*, dans *BMGS*, 34 (2010), pp. 30-37, qui renvoie à la bibliographie antérieure. Dans ces deux études, A. Luttrell met en évidence l'unité du projet historiographique global dont fait partie le *Libro de los fechos* : une histoire continue de la Grèce des origines jusqu'à l'époque de Heredia.

[29] Jacoby, *Quelques considérations*, p. 159, rejetant sur cette base la datation du XIVe siècle avancée par Hopf (cf. note suivante).

[30] T. Shawcross renvoie ici (p. 84, n. 11) à Ch. Hopf, *Chroniques gréco-romanes inédites ou peu connues*, Paris, 1873, p. xvi. Or, à cet endroit Hopf parle exclusivement de la langue de la traduction de l'*Istoria di Romania* de Marino Sanudo, conservée dans le même manuscrit (pour déclarer d'ailleurs que, si elle comporte des « vénétianismes », elle n'est pas en vénitien mais dans « le langage classique des écrivains italiens du XIVe siècle ») : il ne mentionne la version italienne de la *Chronique de Morée* que pour dire qu'il s'agit d'un texte différent copié à la suite de l'*Istoria*. Il discute en revanche brièvement la version italienne (*ibidem* p. xlii) : il la date « sans doute » du XIVe siècle et constate qu'elle dérive du texte grec, mais ne se prononce pas sur l'appartenance dialectale du traducteur.

[31] Stanitsas, *Origine des manuscrits*, p. 230, n. 2. Cette étude est absente de la bibliographie du livre de T. Shawcross.

non sur T lui-même mais sur son modèle perdu (intermédiaire entre T et H). Par ailleurs, le même Stanitsas a également rassemblé des éléments codicologiques démontrant la présence de T à Chypre jusqu'à son transfert en Europe occidentale (probablement en 1586) et son acquisition par les ducs de Savoie (entre 1590 et 1610). Si tel était bien le cas, son modèle (base probable de la traduction italienne) pourrait s'être trouvé aussi à Chypre et la traduction italienne avoir été effectuée dans cette île ou dans un autre territoire du monde grec sous influence latine, et non pas en Vénétie. Seule une analyse de la langue de cette traduction, qui reste entièrement à mener, permettrait d'en préciser la date et peut-être l'origine mais, contrairement à ce qu'affirme T. Shawcross, on ne peut plus déduire seulement de sa parenté avec T qu'elle ne soit pas antérieure au XVIe siècle.

Si la genèse de la version aragonaise peut être assez précisément analysée, et si l'on peut avoir des soupçons quant à la version italienne, l'unique manuscrit de la *Chronique* à propos duquel on possède des informations précises quant à la filiation et à la nature du lien qu'il entretient avec son modèle est pourtant un manuscrit perdu du *Livre de la conqueste*, la version française subsistante[32]. L'incipit de cette version est repris dans B et précise en effet que le récit a été tiré du « livre qui fu jadis del noble baron messire Bartholomée Guys, le grant connestable » ; il ajoute ensuite que le grand connétable gardait ce livre dans son « chastel d'Estives » ; enfin, le texte se donne non comme une copie fidèle mais comme un simple abrégé de ce modèle plus développé (« si vous diray mon compte, non pas ainxi com je trovay par escript, mais au plus brief que je pourray »)[33]. Ainsi que les commentateurs l'ont depuis longtemps relevé, ces détails circonstanciés semblent offrir une base solide pour l'histoire de cette version, la carrière de Bartolomeo II Ghisi, seigneur des îles de Tinos et Mykonos et du tiers de l'Eubée et grand connétable de la principauté de Morée († 1341/1342), étant assez bien connue[34]. Pour la plupart des commentateurs, ces informations attestent la présence du *Livre de la conqueste* en Morée. Elles autorisent aussi à supposer que Bartolomeo Ghisi a pu être sinon lui-même le

[32] C'est sur ce manuscrit perdu qu'a été copié le manuscrit subsistant du *Livre de la conqueste* (B). Pour les différentes étapes de transmission du texte de la version française avant le manuscrit B, seul conservé, voir les stemmas proposés en Annexe.

[33] Les commentateurs s'accordent pour considérer que cet incipit n'appartient pas seulement à B (manuscrit copié à la fin du XIVe ou au début du XVe siècle) mais aussi à son modèle perdu. Il doit être distingué d'autres indications paratextuelles contenues dans B (comme l'indication de la lacune de quelques feuillets) qui concernent l'état du manuscrit que copiait le scribe de B, donc le modèle perdu lui-même (ou éventuellement un manuscrit intermédiaire). Voir cependant *infra* note 60.

[34] R.-J. LOENERTZ, *Les Ghisi, dynastes vénitiens dans l'Archipel, 1207-1390* (*Civiltà veneziana. Studi* 26), Florence, 1975, en particulier pp. 135-162.

commanditaire du *Livre de la conqueste*, du moins lié au milieu de sa production. Par ses alliances matrimoniales, son statut de pair de la principauté et son titre de grand connétable de Morée[35], ce milieu dans lequel il gravitait était celui des barons moréotes, c'est-à-dire la haute aristocratie franque dont le français était encore la langue culturelle et administrative.

Mais ces éléments s'accordent mal avec l'hypothèse d'une origine napolitaine, proposée par T. Shawcross. Elle les écarte, résumant en trois pages (pp. 31-33) ces informations et leur contexte tels que les avaient présentés ses devanciers, pour déclarer aussitôt qu'ils ne doivent pas être acceptés sans examen plus poussé (p. 32). Elle rappelle alors que certaines chansons de geste aiment à faire référence à une source écrite fictive, pratique qui serait liée à la tradition orale et aux coutumes des « jongleurs ».

Le rapprochement ne nous paraît pas fondé pour trois raisons : en premier lieu, la *Chronique de Morée* se veut un texte historiographique, non une fiction littéraire. De plus, quoi qu'il en soit de ses possibles origines orales, entre le *Livre de la conqueste* et son prototype direct on a incontestablement affaire à une transmission écrite, la référence à des pratiques orales est donc ici hors de propos. Enfin, on voit mal la raison de forger pareille filiation : ces autorités fictives inventées par les textes littéraires sont choisies pour leur prestige, mais aussi pour leur éloignement dans le temps et/ou l'espace ; de cette manière, nul n'est en mesure de révoquer en doute l'autorité citée au nom d'une connaissance directe des individus ou des lieux. Pourquoi choisir alors comme autorité fictive Bartolomeo II Ghisi, que le *Livre* ne mentionne pour ainsi dire pas[36] ? L'hypothèse paraît d'autant plus étrange si l'on accepte une rédaction de cette version dès les années 1330, à une époque où Ghisi vivait encore. Si cette recension du texte avait été élaborée en Morée, le trucage y aurait été absolument évident ; si elle l'avait été en Italie, comme le propose T. Shawcross, on se demande comment l'abréviateur aurait connu Bartolomeo Ghisi et pourquoi il n'aurait pas choisi un patronage plus prestigieux. La mention explicite de Bartolomeo Ghisi paraît donc difficile à écarter de la discussion sur la genèse du *Livre de la conqueste*. C'est néanmoins le choix que fait T. Shawcross : le grand connétable ne reparaîtra plus que fugitivement (p. 162) et sans que sa qualité de propriétaire du manuscrit résumé par le *Livre de la conqueste* influe en quoi que ce soit sur sa reconstruction de la tradition.

[35] C'est bien avec ce seul titre qu'il est d'ailleurs désigné dans l'incipit.

[36] Il est mentionné seulement dans le tableau chronologique qui, dans le manuscrit B, précède le *Livre de la conqueste* sans en faire à proprement parler partie. Il apparaît aussi fugacement dans la version aragonaise, mais dans une section absente du *Livre de la conqueste*.

L'incipit du *Livre de la conqueste* et la chronologie que l'on a voulu en tirer ne sont certes pas sans poser certains problèmes[37], mais on ne saurait négliger complètement ces données. Il n'y a pas de raison de douter que Bartolomeo Ghisi, grand feudataire de la principauté, ait effectivement possédé le manuscrit que résume la version française conservée. Cet élément doit donc à notre avis être pris en compte tant dans les hypothèses concernant la langue de ce modèle abrégé que dans la reconstruction générale de l'histoire du texte et des lieux de production des autres manuscrits éventuellement liés à ce dernier.

Un autre point de la révision de cette tradition manuscrite que propose T. Shawcross est encore plus crucial, dans la mesure où il implique l'ensemble des versions et non pas seulement le texte français. J. Longnon avait le premier souligné l'importance singulière d'un passage dans lequel la *Chronique de Morée* ferait selon lui allusion à la mort de Nicolò Ier Sanudo, duc de l'Archipel, survenue en 1341[38] ; l'argument a été ensuite repris et développé par D. Jacoby dans le cadre de sa propre reconstruction de la tradition[39]. Ce point particulier de sa démonstration est accepté sans hésitation par M. Jeffreys qui l'utilise dans la sienne[40]. Pour tous ces auteurs, ce passage impliquerait que toutes les versions de la *Chronique* – du moins dans l'état où elles sont conservées – soient postérieures à 1341. Ce *terminus post quem* s'appliquerait bien sûr aussi à un éventuel ancêtre commun de la version française et de la version grecque.

Cette interprétation n'est pas retenue par T. Shawcross, qui défend comme D. Jacoby une rédaction première de la version française à une date plus haute, mais qui, contrairement à lui, n'admet pas que cette version française soit le modèle de la version grecque et plaide, on l'a vu, pour un archétype commun perdu : elle ne peut donc considérer la mention de Nicolò Sanudo

[37] JACOBY, *Quelques considérations*, pp. 138-139, pensait pouvoir conclure des informations de l'incipit que la rédaction d'une première version du *Livre de la conqueste* (plus tard interpolée pour produire un autre manuscrit dont B serait la copie) était antérieure à 1331/1332, voire à 1327, et d'autre part que le manuscrit de Bartolomeo Ghisi (dont le *Livre* était un abrégé) avait nécessairement péri en 1331/1332. Nous partageons sur ces points les doutes de JEFFREYS, *The Chronicle of Morea*, p. 349, et de LUTTRELL, *Juan Fernández de Heredia and the Compilation*, p. 125, n. 171.

[38] *Livre de la conqueste*, éd. LONGNON, pp. LVI et LXIX-LXX (« ces passages communs aux deux versions française et grecque, et qui, par conséquent, n'ont pas été ajoutés après coup à la chronique grecque, permettent de fixer la date de ce poème, comme celle de la chronique française, après 1341 »).

[39] JACOBY, *Quelques considérations*, pp. 135-136 et 139-140, en particulier p. 135 n. 7. Pour D. Jacoby, comme la version grecque dérive de la version française, ce passage est, comme d'autres, une interpolation qui ne préjuge pas des états du texte antérieurs à cette dernière : une première version peut donc avoir existé avant 1341, même si toutes celles qui sont conservées sont postérieures.

[40] JEFFREYS, *The Chronicle of Morea*, p. 349.

comme un ajout que la version française interpolée aurait transmise à la version grecque (pas plus que la solution inverse qui découlerait de la reconstruction de M. Jeffreys : interpolation de la version grecque transmise à sa traduction française[41]). Elle reprend alors l'argumentation de D. Jacoby, tout en la modifiant sur un point crucial : 1341 n'est plus pour elle la date de la mort du duc, mais seulement le *terminus ante quem* de cette mort ; en outre, une note de bas de page jette aussitôt le doute sur la crédibilité même de la date en soulignant que les deux actes d'inféodation dont on l'a déduite ne sont connus que par un document postérieur d'un siècle et demi (pp. 44-45).

De cette manière, un *terminus post quem* de 1341 concernant l'ensemble des versions conservées de la *Chronique* se trouve ramené à 1325/1326, date à laquelle, selon T. Shawcross, Nicolò Sanudo serait attesté comme vivant pour la dernière fois. Observons d'abord que même si les deux actes de 1341 ne sont pas conservés, ce n'est pas en soi, en l'absence de tout indice contraire, une raison suffisante pour remettre en cause leur mention dans un document postérieur pour la rédaction duquel ils ont été directement examinés. Mais surtout, compte tenu de l'importance de cette date pour la tradition manuscrite de la *Chronique*, il importe de chercher à en contrôler la pertinence, ce qu'il est aisé de faire : la consultation de l'ouvrage du Père Loenertz sur les Ghisi de l'Archipel fournit par exemple un document montrant que Nicolò Sanudo était bel et bien considéré comme encore en vie par le gouvernement vénitien au début du mois de juillet 1341[42]. Cette source n'est pas isolée et les témoignages ne manquent pas attestant que le duc traversa bien vivant les années 1330[43]. Sur ce point, le doute n'est donc pas de mise.

Nous n'entendons pas pour autant exclure ici toute possibilité de réexaminer avec soin l'interprétation globale jusqu'ici admise de ce passage de la *Chronique*[44], mais il nous semble que, comme dans le cas du *Livre de Bartholomée Guys*, l'auteur écarte ici les indices rassemblés par ses devanciers au lieu de les considérer d'un œil neuf.

[41] Voir plus loin dans l'appendice l'analyse de l'hypothèse de M. Jeffreys.

[42] LOENERTZ, *Les Ghisi*, pp. 224-225, n° 54 ; voir aussi le commentaire *ibidem*, p. 162.

[43] Voir par exemple une motion du Sénat de Venise du 23 février 1339 permettant à *domino Nicole Sanuto duche Archiopellagi* d'importer 500 fûts d'arbalète : *Venezia – Senato. Deliberazioni miste*, vol. V, *Registre XVIII (1339-1340)*, éd. Fr.-X. LEDUC, Venise, 2005, p. 20, n° 56.

[44] On pourrait se demander par exemple si, comme le veulent tous les commentateurs (y compris d'ailleurs T. Shawcross elle-même : cf. p. 44), la *Chronique* fait réellement mention de la mort de Nicolò Sanudo. Guillaume Saint-Guillain proposera ailleurs une autre interprétation, dans une étude sur les seigneurs de l'Archipel.

L'un des moments de la transmission du texte de la *Chronique* sur lequel T. Shawcross propose une hypothèse à notre connaissance entièrement inédite est celui du passage de la version française à l'Europe du Nord (pp. 88-92 et 265). Elle postule tout d'abord que, apparentés aux princes de Morée, les comtes de Hainaut pourraient avoir possédé un exemplaire de la *Chronique* qui s'identifierait avec le modèle direct de B. Elle attire ensuite l'attention sur une lettre de Marino Sanudo Torsello à Guillaume Ier d'Avesnes, comte de Hainaut[45], datable de fin 1336 ou début 1337 et mentionnant divers envois dont celui du *Liber secretorum fidelium Crucis* et d'un livre « qui traite de la conqueste de Constantinople et de molt autres choses ». Rappelant que Sanudo doit avoir connu la *Chronique de Morée*, elle conclut que ce manuscrit qu'il envoya au comte pourrait être le modèle de B[46]. Il aurait reproduit le texte de la version française, élaborée selon elle à la cour des Angevins de Naples. L'auteur reconnaît toutefois (p. 90 et p. 91, n. 35) que la lettre est mutilée et donc délicate à interpréter : la lacune du passage en cause est peut-être trop brève pour qu'il corresponde à un livre distinct du *Liber secretorum* mentionné à la fin de la ligne précédente[47] ; T. Shawcross écarte cette possibilité en faisant valoir – avec raison – que le *Liber* ne fait guère que mentionner en passant cette conquête.

L'identification de cet envoi au comte de Hainaut avec la *Chronique de Morée* soulève certaines objections : il est vrai que l'*Istoria di Romania* de Sanudo, rédigée pour l'essentiel entre 1326 et 1336, offre d'intéressants parallèles avec la *Chronique* ; mais, pour des raisons de chronologie, il est peu probable que la version utilisée soit le *Livre de la conqueste*. Cette source de l'*Istoria* doit se situer à un stade antérieur de la tradition. Même si l'on admettait que Sanudo ait par ailleurs eu accès au *Livre de la conqueste* et que celui-ci ait été rédigé aussi tôt que le propose T. Shawcross et non après 1341, ce ne pourrait être l'ouvrage envoyé au comte de Hainaut. Elle tire en effet argument de la lettre de Sanudo pour affirmer que cet envoi est

[45] Sur ses relations avec Sanudo, voir F. VERCAUTEREN, *Note sur les rapports de Marino Sanudo avec le Hainaut, le Brabant et la Flandre (1321-1337)*, dans *Bulletin de l'Institut historique belge de Rome*, 28 (1953), pp. 5-20.

[46] L'identification repose évidemment sur le fait que le manuscrit B a pour titre complet *Livre de la conqueste de Constantinople et de l'empire de Romanie et dou pays de la princée de la Morée*.

[47] Le passage en question est ainsi rédigé : « [s]pecialment de puis que ie tramis a la vostre magnificable excellence le livre des secrés des loiaus [...] e qui traite de la conqueste de Constantinople et de molt autres choses ». La lacune doit être brève si on la compare à celle de la première ligne de la lettre où l'expéditeur, « de la parochie de [...], [u]mbles et dévos servidours se recommande » : ne paraît guère manquer ici que le nom de la paroisse (San Severo). La mention incomplète du *Liber secretorum fidelium crucis* précède directement la lacune : ce pourrait donc être ce livre même qui parle de la conquête de Constantinople (« livre des secrés des loiaus [de la croi]e ») ; ainsi l'avait compris F. Vercauteren.

simplement antérieur à 1337[48], mais cette interprétation résulte d'une lecture de cette lettre qui nous paraît fautive. Dans ce document, Sanudo, qui connaissait le comte depuis 1323, retrace soigneusement la chronologie de leurs relations. Or, après avoir rappelé l'envoi du ou des ouvrages, Sanudo précise que son correspondant lui a gracieusement répondu, puis que lui-même lui a *ensuite* expédié à nouveau plusieurs lettres et textes durant l'année 1334 (« Et si vous ai mandé puis plusours letres et escris et par les galées de Flandres, corant l'an del CCC.XXXIIII. »)[49]. L'envoi du livre qui nous intéresse est donc assez antérieur à cette date de 1334 (au plus tard au printemps 1333 si l'envoi emprunta également les galères de Flandre, qui quittaient Venise au printemps) et il ne se situe pas vers 1337 comme l'écrit T. Shawcross. Il est impossible qu'une copie du *Livre de la conqueste* ait pu déjà être en possession de Sanudo, même si l'on voulait bien admettre un *terminus post quem* aussi haut que 1332 pour la rédaction de cette version.

Il y a en revanche un autre ouvrage relatif à l'histoire de l'empire latin qui peut être beaucoup plus directement associé à Sanudo : la *Conquête de Constantinople* de Villehardouin. On sait que Sanudo composa un appendice à cette œuvre, ainsi que le rappelle d'ailleurs T. Shawcross[50]. Mais il y a plus encore : les deux manuscrits de Villehardouin considérés comme les meilleurs ont pu être attribués, en raison notamment de leurs décorations, à un atelier vénitien, et ont été rapprochés plus précisément de manuscrits du *Liber secretorum fidelium Crucis*, l'œuvre la plus fameuse de Marino Sanudo, exécutés sans aucun doute sur commande de ce dernier[51]. Ces deux

[48] Voir en particulier p. 92 : selon T. Shawcross, le manuscrit perdu du *Livre de la conqueste* peut être celui envoyé au comte car « there is nothing that need indicate a date later than *c.*1337 for the text contained in that manuscript ».

[49] On possède de fait le texte d'une autre lettre d'octobre 1334 de Sanudo au comte Guillaume qui évoque une correspondance antérieure et mentionne notamment le fait que ce dernier descend de l'empereur Baudouin Ier, l'un des principaux protagonistes du récit de Villehardouin. F. Vercauteren estime qu'après 1334 le comte a cessé de répondre à son correspondant vénitien.

[50] T. Shawcross écarte la candidature de Villehardouin en faisant valoir que son œuvre ne parle pas de la conquête de Constantinople « et de molt autres choses » mais que son « unique focus is that Crusade » (p. 91 n. 35). En réalité, Villehardouin couvre non seulement la croisade mais aussi les premières années de l'histoire de l'empire latin jusqu'à la mort de Boniface de Montferrat. Il faut en outre prendre en compte l'appendice ajouté par Sanudo dont le propos est précisément de brosser l'histoire ultérieure de l'empire *usque ad amissionem civitatis Constantinopolitane*, c'est-à-dire jusqu'en 1261.

[51] O. PÄCHT – J. J. G. ALEXANDER, *Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Oxford*, vol. II, *Italian School*, Oxford, 1970, p. 12, n° 118 (manuscrit des *Secreta fidelium Crucis* « one of a group of MSS. of this text with similar sets of illustrations, mostly produced in the same workshop ») et n° 120 (manuscrit de Villehardouin « related in style to no. 118 ») et pl. XI, fig. 118a, 118b, 120a, 120b. B. DEGENHART – A. SCHMITT, *Marino Sanudo und Paolino Veneto : Zwei Literaten des 14. Jahrhunderts in ihrer Wirkung auf Buchillustrierung und Kartographie in Venedig, Avignon und Neapel*, dans *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, 14

manuscrits, qui sont d'ailleurs les deux seuls à préserver l'appendice à Villehardouin composé par Sanudo, sont aujourd'hui conservés en Europe du Nord, respectivement à Paris et à Oxford. Il est donc infiniment plus probable que la lettre de Sanudo fasse mention d'un manuscrit de Villehardouin, un ouvrage qu'il est effectivement connu pour avoir fait copier et avoir voulu compléter et qu'il mentionne dans son testament sous le titre, presque identique à celui employé dans cette lettre, de *Liber de conquisto Constantinopolitano*.

Malgré tout, l'idée que Sanudo et ses contacts avec les élites angevines – comme du reste avec celles de la Romanie latine – aient pu jouer un rôle dans la diffusion de la *Chronique de Morée* ou du moins de son contenu n'est peut-être pas entièrement à rejeter, même si cela ne saurait concerner le texte de la version française conservée. Après tout, le seul feudataire latin de Grèce dont on est sûr qu'il ait possédé un manuscrit de la *Chronique* est Bartolomeo Ghisi, l'un de ces seigneurs des Cyclades parmi lesquels Sanudo se flattait tant de compter des parents ; en outre, l'*Istoria di Romania* de ce dernier prouve en effet qu'il connut lui-même soit une version perdue, soit une source de la *Chronique*.

En revanche, en ce qui concerne les manuscrits du *Livre de la conqueste* (B et son modèle perdu), les éléments codicologiques disponibles orientent dans une direction tout autre que celle suggérée par T. Shawcross. Examinant les papiers sur lesquels était rédigé le manuscrit B, Martin Wittek avait relevé en 2001 un fait singulièrement important : la présence d'une numérotation des cahiers au coin supérieur droit du premier folio de chacun d'entre eux. Or cette numérotation est en chiffres grecs et non en chiffres arabes : elle a été rognée pour les treize premiers cahiers lors d'une opération ultérieure de reliure, mais subsiste sur les onze derniers cahiers (ι[δ′] à κδ′)[52]. Ce type d'indications portées sur un manuscrit est *a priori* destiné au relieur du livre, afin qu'il assemble les cahiers dans le bon ordre. La présence de chiffres grecs dans un manuscrit par ailleurs rédigé en français et copiant un autre manuscrit français signifie donc que le relieur auquel le manuscrit a été confié après sa copie était un Grec.

(1973), pp. 1-137, en particulier pp. 47-50. IDEM, *Corpus der italienischen Zeichnungen, 1300-1450*, vol. II/1, Berlin, 1980, pp. 3-47, en particulier pp. 26 et 30.

[52] M. WITTEK, *Inventaire des plus anciens manuscrits de papier conservés à la Bibliothèque royale Albert Ier et de leurs filigranes (XIIIe-XIVe siècles)*, Bruxelles, 2001, pp. 34-35, n° 46 : « signatures des cah(iers) notées en numérotation grecque dans le coin supérieur droit du premier f(olio) de chaque cah(ier) ; une bonne moitié de ces indications a disparu au rognage ; subsistent ι[δ], ιε-κδ, soit 14-24. » Cet élément capital est rappelé dans la description codicologique du manuscrit mentionnée *infra* p. 000.

Cette piste mériterait d'être explorée plus avant, mais la présence de cette numérotation tendrait d'ores et déjà à montrer que, bien que les éléments linguistiques aient pu suggérer par le passé le travail d'un scribe originaire du Nord de la France, le manuscrit B a en réalité été relié pour la première fois en terre grecque et donc probablement copié sur place. Cela impliquerait d'une part que son modèle, le premier manuscrit du *Livre de la conqueste*, se trouvait encore en Grèce à la fin du XIVe siècle, et d'autre part que B n'est lui-même passé en Occident qu'après avoir été copié et relié. La cour des comtes de Hainaut semble un intermédiaire improbable à cette époque : il ne paraît pas que, sous le règne de la Maison de Bavière (1345-1432), elle ait maintenu les liens avec la Romanie qui avaient existé au début du siècle, au temps de la Maison d'Avesnes. En revanche, ces éléments codicologiques, ajoutés à l'attribution du manuscrit d'après les filigranes à la période *c*1385-*c*1400, nous semblent invalider autant l'idée d'une origine napolitaine de la version française que celle d'une transmission du *Livre de la conqueste* à l'Europe du Nord dès les années 1330. Elle vient au contraire conforter l'hypothèse formulée jadis par D. Jacoby : celui-ci avait mis en rapport l'arrivée de la version française en Occident avec les suites de la défaite de Nicopolis (1396), et en particulier avec le long voyage de retour du comte de Nevers, futur duc de Bourgogne, voyage émaillé de réceptions dans les cours seigneuriales de l'Égée[53].

On ne peut guère en dire davantage sur la seule base de la bibliographie disponible, mais en tout cas il nous paraît évident que toute nouvelle hypothèse sur la tradition de la *Chronique de Morée* ne saurait faire l'économie d'une analyse codicologique systématique des manuscrits conservés.

PUBLICS ET COMMANDITAIRES

L'un des intérêts de l'ouvrage de T. Shawcross est de montrer que les versions de la *Chronique de Morée* diffèrent non seulement dans leur langue mais aussi dans leur forme, certainement parce qu'elles s'adressent à des publics qui eux-mêmes ne se distinguent pas que linguistiquement. Se concentrant sur les différences entre les versions de H et B, elle montre que la version grecque de H, versifiée, recourt à des techniques narratives empruntées à la littérature orale, comme par exemple la répétition, qui permet de

[53] JACOBY, *Quelques considérations*, pp. 149-150. Toutefois, dans l'hypothèse de D. Jacoby, c'était le modèle de B qui aurait été acquis par un seigneur de la suite de Jean Sans Peur, plus particulièrement lors de l'escale de Modon, et non B lui-même qu'il pensait copié sur ce modèle en Occident au début du XVe siècle seulement.

rappeler des faits antérieurs ou d'annoncer des événements à l'auditoire ; les interventions du narrateur, qui créent une interaction avec le public ; ou l'insertion fréquente de discours au style direct, plus emphatiques que les discours rapportés. Ces caractéristiques permettent de rapprocher la version de H de la poésie épique vernaculaire (p. 149). Elle est en revanche fort éloignée de l'historiographie classicisante cultivée à la même époque dans les milieux liés à la cour byzantine.

Au contraire, la version française de B se distingue nettement de cette forme empreinte d'oralité. Elle n'est pas en vers, et ce choix coïnciderait selon T. Shawcross avec la désaffection que connaîtrait alors le récit versifié en France ; la décision de rédiger le *Livre de la conqueste* en prose refléterait ainsi selon elle des préoccupations liées au genre historiographique qui seraient contemporaines de l'élaboration du texte (p. 163-165). L'auteur motive toutefois cette contextualisation seulement par des références bibliographiques et des exemples qui se rapportent tous à l'époque de l'apparition du roman en prose, puis de l'historiographie en langue française, à la fin du XIIe et dans la première moitié du XIIIe siècle.

Quoi qu'il en soit, T. Shawcross souligne que, contrairement à la version grecque de H, la version française n'entretient pas la fiction d'une récitation orale, mais propose un récit qui se veut plus « authentique » et dans lequel le narrateur est beaucoup plus en retrait. Il faut toutefois relativiser cette observation – ce que l'auteur fait elle-même – dans la mesure où ce retrait du narrateur dans la version française peut tenir à son statut d'abréviateur. Toutes ces analyses permettent de mettre en valeur les options esthétiques propres à chaque version et le profond travail de recomposition et de réappropriation qui s'est opéré à l'occasion du transfert de la *Chronique* d'une langue à une autre.

Il en va de même du contenu idéologique du texte. T. Shawcross considère la *Chronique de Morée* non comme une source factuelle sur l'histoire du Péloponnèse franc, mais comme un récit historique élaboré dans un milieu précis, évidemment pro-latin, destiné à légitimer la domination franque de la région. À première lecture, la *Chronique de Morée*, surtout dans sa version grecque transmise par H, frappe par ses diatribes anti-grecques et anti-orthodoxes (pp. 198-199). Cependant, comme l'avait d'ailleurs remarqué D. Jacoby[54], ces invectives s'adressent non aux habitants autochtones du Péloponnèse, mais à ceux des États grecs concurrents de la Morée franque, à savoir l'empire de Nicée, puis l'Empire byzantin restauré par Michel VIII Palaiologos et le despotat d'Épire. L'auteur fait valoir que le choix d'une historiographie en vers et en langue vernaculaire, en rupture avec la tradition historiographique

[54] JACOBY, *Quelques considérations*, p. 156.

byzantine, caractérise la construction d'une identité régionale à l'intérieur du monde grec, qui s'est formée à l'occasion de la segmentation de celui-ci en principautés latines autonomes et organisée autour d'une dynastie héroïsée, voire sacralisée (Villehardouin en Morée, Lusignan à Chypre, Tocco en Épire). L'expérience historiographique moréote, première du genre, n'en est pas moins un échec car cet effort de construction de l'identité intervient alors que le corps politique qui lui sert de cadre est déjà condamné (pp. 220-254 et 261-262).

On notera toutefois que les parallèles invoqués – l'œuvre du Chypriote Léontios Machairas et la *Chronique des Tocco* en Épire – sont du XVe siècle et ne plaident donc pas pour une datation haute de la version grecque. En outre, l'attribution de ce positionnement idéologique à l'ancêtre commun et non à la seule version grecque repose à nouveau sur le postulat que le texte grec de H est le plus proche de l'original perdu (p. 219), point tout à fait essentiel dans la thèse de l'auteur.

En vertu des constats auxquels elle procède, T. Shawcross rejette en tout cas à juste titre l'idée que les oppositions mises en scène par la *Chronique* reflètent un conflit d'identité entre Latins et Grecs, mais parle plutôt d'une « grécité » qui ne serait qu'une catégorie rhétorique construite à des fins polémiques (pp. 200-202) et employée au service de la construction de ce qu'elle suggère, non sans réticence et faute de mieux, de qualifier de « proto-nationalisme » (p. 216). Il en découle que l'auteur de la version transmise par H devrait être un Grec, ou du moins un hellénophone, qui s'identifierait totalement avec les valeurs des barons francs de Morée, fondées sur une idéalisation du passé de la principauté ; il pourrait être lié à l'une de ces familles latines, peut-être précisément celle des Le Maure, héritière des Aulnay (pp. 262-263), ainsi que l'avait du reste déjà suggéré D. Jacoby[55]. On sera en revanche plus réticent, pour des raisons de chronologie et de contenu, à étendre cette dernière hypothèse au prototype commun que l'auteur suppose aux différentes versions, quelle qu'en ait été la langue. En effet, ce que l'on peut savoir de l'état le plus ancien de la *Chronique* n'indique pas un intérêt particulier porté au lignage des Aulnay plus qu'à d'autres familles seigneuriales de Morée, en particulier celles auxquelles étaient liés les Ghisi, possesseurs du manuscrit dont dérive la version française conservée. Cette interprétation de T. Shawcross s'explique en partie lorsqu'on examine le tableau généalogique figurant à la p. 46 (« Patronage of the *Chronicle of*

[55] *Ibidem*, p. 157 : « Il est donc vraisemblable que l'auteur de la *Chronique grecque* vivait dans l'entourage de ce baron moréote ». D'autres auteurs avaient accepté et développé cette hypothèse ; A. Luttrell a notamment souligné que la version aragonaise contenait des informations sur les Le Maure absentes des autres versions : LUTTRELL, *Juan Fernández de Heredia and the Compilation*, pp. 129-130.

Morea : The Le Maure and their Kin ») : en effet, celui-ci s'inspire pour l'essentiel des tableaux généalogiques de Karl Hopf, qui reposent eux-mêmes en grande partie sur des hypothèses que les recherches plus récentes sont bien loin d'avoir toujours confirmées. Cela conduit l'auteur à surévaluer l'étroitesse des liens d'un certain nombre de protagonistes de la *Chronique* avec les Le Maure[56].

Le lien avec ce lignage aristocratique est en revanche encore plus patent que pour H dans le cas du rédacteur de la version grecque de P[57], qui manifeste pour sa part une moindre antipathie pour les Byzantins que H : il censure presque toujours les passages anti-grecs de son modèle, peut-être, selon T. Shawcross, en raison de liens éventuels avec le despotat byzantin de Mistra (pp. 187-188, 252-253 et 264).

* *
*

Au lecteur ignorant du redoutable enchevêtrement des versions de la *Chronique de Morée*, le livre de T. Shawcross apporte donc des réponses qu'on pourra juger insatisfaisantes. La bibliographie préexistante fournit un nombre conséquent d'indices, en particulier codicologiques et chronologiques, qui permettraient, en les reconsidérant et en les mettant bout à bout, d'émettre sur l'histoire du texte des hypothèses différentes. Sur ce point, l'entreprise reste encore à mener, et rien ne permet pour l'heure d'apporter une réponse définitive à la question de la langue première de la *Chronique* : on ne peut exclure que la version originale du texte ait été en français et qu'elle ait été ensuite d'une part légèrement abrégée pour former la version française de B et d'autre part traduite en grec pour constituer la version dont découle H et P, ces deux opérations parallèles n'intervenant pas avant les années 1340 au plus tôt. La thèse d'une naissance du texte directement en grec à une date beaucoup plus précoce dans le contexte social de la principauté des premiers

[56] Ainsi, d'après ce tableau, Érard III le Maure serait, par sa mère Hélène de Briel, non seulement l'arrière-petit-fils de Geoffroy Ier de Briel, qui joue un rôle important dans la *Chronique*, mais aussi celui de Marguerite de Passavant, dont un long et fameux passage rapporte par le menu les démêlés judiciaires à propos de la succession de la baronnie d'Akova (démêlés dont les *Assises de Romanie* font aussi mention). Or, non seulement Geoffroy II de Briel n'est pas le fils de Geoffroy Ier, qui ne laissa pas d'enfant et dont Érard le Maure n'est donc pas un descendant, mais en outre aucune source ne justifie d'attribuer à Marguerite de Passavant une postérité de son premier mariage : voir A. Bon, *La Morée franque. Recherches historiques, topographiques et archéologiques sur la principauté d'Achaïe (1205-1430)*, Paris, 1969, pp. 148, 155 et 161-162, et les tableaux généalogiques *ibidem*, p. 700, n° 7, p. 706, n° 21, et p. 706, n° 23.

[57] L'éloge funèbre d'Érard le Maure qui figure dans P ne laisse aucun doute sur ce point.

Angevins demeure une hypothèse en faveur de laquelle aucun élément neuf ne se dégage pour l'instant. L'idée d'une traduction du texte français en grec pour répondre à un besoin social entièrement nouveau né du déclin de la principauté dans la seconde moitié du XIVe siècle paraît pour l'heure tout aussi défendable.

Quant à l'hypothèse d'une genèse napolitaine de la version française, elle ne s'accorde pas avec les indices disponibles. Nous avons tenté de montrer au contraire que plusieurs éléments, notamment l'incipit du *Livre de la conqueste* et les informations codicologiques concernant la réalisation du manuscrit B en territoire grec, vont dans le sens d'une production de la version française en Grèce, probablement en Morée même.

Une étude linguistique approfondie des différentes versions et des processus repérables de traduction permettrait certainement de faire progresser la recherche en ce qui concerne la langue originale de la *Chronique* : cette source essentielle recèle en effet encore bien des pistes de recherches fécondes qui, si elles ont été défrichées, n'ont pas fini d'être explorées.

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SUMMARY

The *Chronicle of Morea* is the only narrative source concerned exclusively with the history of the Peloponnese in the later Middle Ages and the most important literary text produced in Latin Greece. Its versions, manuscripts and history have been the subject of much scholarly debate, and a recent book by Teresa Shawcross intends to reconsider the evidence anew. Focusing on the history of the text, this paper discusses some of the solutions she proposes concerning the lost archetype of the chronicle, its language and the social context of its production as well as the history of the Italian and French versions. More specifically, we argue that the evidence she advances for a new chronology and South-Italian origin of the French version of the chronicle and of its only manuscript, and concerning the transmission of this version to Northern Europe, must be dismissed. Rather, the only manuscript of the French version was most probably produced in the Greek world at the end of the fourteenth century, before entering the collections of the dukes of Burgundy.

APPENDICE

Les manuscrits de la *Chronique de Morée* : état des lieux et des hypothèses

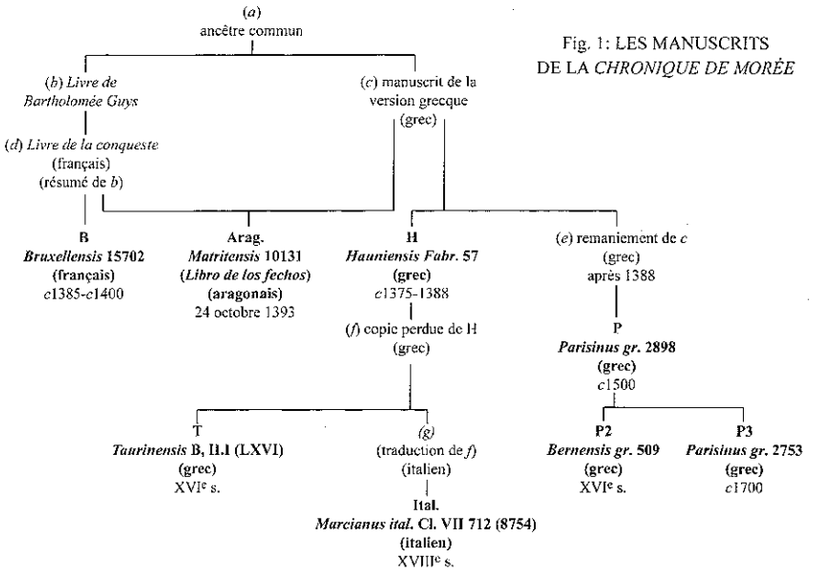


Fig. 1: LES MANUSCRITS DE LA *CHRONIQUE DE MORÉE*

DESCRIPTIONS DES MANUSCRITS[58]

Arag. *Inventario general de manuscritos de la Biblioteca nacional*, vol. XIV, [éd. P. HERNÁNDEZ APARICIO], Madrid, 2000, pp. 361-362.

B WITTEK, *Inventaire des plus anciens manuscrits*, pp. 34-35, n° 46 ; *La librairie des ducs de Bourgogne : manuscrits conservés à la Bibliothèque royale de Belgique*, vol. IV, *Textes historiques*, éd. B. BOUSMANNE, T. VAN HEMMELRYCK, C. VAN HOOREBEECK, Turnhout, 2009, pp. 225-230[59].

[58] Nous avons indiqué seulement les descriptions les plus récentes de chaque manuscrit, sauf dans les cas où les informations fournies par différentes descriptions se complètent ou se corrigent utilement.

[59] Le commentaire historique de cette notice codicologique due à Cl. Lemaire contient de nombreuses erreurs dont certaines au moins doivent être signalées ici. Guillaume de Villehardouin était prince de Morée, non duc d'Athènes. Bartolomeo II Ghisi est mort en 1341/1342 non vers 1330. Jamais D. Jacoby n'a prétendu que le manuscrit B datait de 1341-1346 : cette date est celle qu'il assigne au texte (il date le manuscrit du début du XVe siècle). Le même auteur n'a pas davantage publié la version aragonaise. J. Longnon n'a nullement suggéré que les versions grecques et française dérivaient de la version italienne conservée. L'ouvrage de T. Shawcross est cité, mais l'auteur de la notice ne l'a visiblement pas consulté car elle le considère à tort comme une édition de la version française.

H B. SCHARTAU, *Codices Graeci Haunienses. Ein deskriptiver Katalog des griechischen Handschriftenbestandes der königlichen Bibliothek Kopenhagen*, Copenhague, 1994, pp. 384-385.

Ital. P. ZORZANELLO, G. ZORZANELLO, *Inventari dei manoscritti delle biblioteche d'Italia*, vol. LXXXV, *Venezia, Biblioteca Marciana; Mss. Italiani, Classe VII (nn. 501-1001)*, Florence, 1963, p. 63 ; MARINO SANUDO, *Istoria di Romania*, éd. E. PAPADOPOULOU, Athènes, 2000, p. 99.

P *The Chronicle of Morea*, éd. SCHMITT, pp. XVI-XVII ; JACOBY, *Quelques considérations*, pp. 158-159 ; STANITSAS, *Origine des manuscrits*, pp. 228-229 ; OLSEN, *The Greek Translation of Boccaccio's* Theseid, p. 281.

P2 P. ANDRIST, *Les manuscrits grecs conservés à la Bibliothèque de la Bourgeoisie de Berne. Catalogue et histoire de la collection*, Zurich, 2007, pp. 218-220.

P3 H. OMONT, *Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque nationale*, vol. III, Paris, 1888, p. 35 ; JACOBY, *Quelques considérations*, p. 159.

T *The Chronicle of Morea*, éd. SCHMITT, p. XVIII ; STANITSAS, *Origine des manuscrits*, pp. 229-239.

Ce stemma minimal (fig. 1) se veut aussi agnostique que possible : il ne vise aucunement à proposer une nouvelle solution aux problèmes de filiation entre les manuscrits et les versions de la *Chronique de Morée* mais simplement à éclairer le lecteur peu familier du débat et à guider la présentation des trois théories les plus récentes.

On n'a pas proposé de dates pour les manuscrits perdus (sauf pour *e*, postérieur à 1388 puisqu'il contient un éloge posthume d'Érard le Maure). Sur les langues de ces derniers, on ne s'est prononcé que dans le cas de *c*, *e* et *f* (par définition en grec), *d* (évidemment en français puisque B est supposé le reproduire fidèlement)[60] et *g* (en italien). Le stemma ne préjuge ni des identifications possibles entre les différents manuscrits perdus ni, inversement, de l'existence toujours envisageable de manuscrits intermédiaires, en particulier de ceux suggérés par D. Jacoby dans sa propre reconstruction. Il admet l'indépendance l'une par rapport à l'autre des deux recensions grecques, qui nous paraît avoir été démontrée.

HYPOTHÈSE DE T. SHAWCROSS

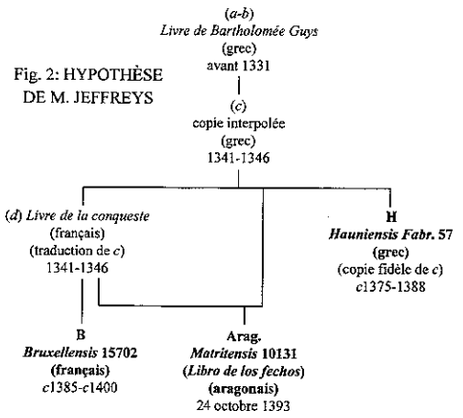
La solution à laquelle parvient T. Shawcross se comprend aisément à partir de notre stemma général : elle identifie simplement *a* à *c*. Elle postule tout d'abord un ancêtre commun, distinct des versions qui nous sont parvenues (*a* dans notre stemma), et un prototype des deux versions grecques dont le texte ne se confond ni avec celui de H ni avec celui de P et dont ces deux derniers dérivent (*c* dans notre stemma). Elle suggère ensuite qu'identifier ce prototype grec avec l'ancêtre commun

[60] Les commentateurs s'accordent à penser que *d* et B sont deux manuscrits distincts, à savoir que le *Livre de la conqueste* (résumant le *Livre de Bartholomée Guys*) a d'abord existé dans un manuscrit perdu dont B ne serait que la copie. Nous nous sommes conformés à cette interprétation dans les stemmas et leurs commentaires, ainsi que dans l'analyse proposée dans l'article. Toutefois, compte tenu des nouveaux éléments mis en évidence plus haut, qui plaident pour une rédaction de B en Grèce et non plus dans le Nord de l'Europe, la question pourrait être rouverte.

(donc *c* à *a*) constitue « an attractive and economical solution » (p. 52). Le *Livre de Bartolomeo Ghisi* n'existe pas pour elle en tant que tel, puisqu'elle traite l'incipit du *Livre de la conqueste* qui le mentionne comme une fiction littéraire[61]. Cependant, dans sa reconstruction il y a quand même au moins un manuscrit intermédiaire (*b*) entre l'ancêtre commun *a-c* et *d* : c'est selon elle une première version française élaborée à la cour angevine de Naples (pp. 101-102 et 265). Quant à *d* (le modèle direct de B), ce serait un manuscrit envoyé au comte de Hainaut en 1337 par Marino Sanudo.

Hypothèse de M. Jeffreys[62]

Fig. 2: HYPOTHÈSE DE M. JEFFREYS



M. Jeffreys identifie *a* avec *b* (le *Livre de Bartholomée Guys*) et y voit un manuscrit « almost certainly in Greek », modèle indirect à la fois du *Livre de la conqueste* (*d*) et des manuscrits de la version grecque. Acceptant les arguments historiques de D. Jacoby, il date ce premier modèle d'avant 1331. Toutefois, il admet, également à la suite de D. Jacoby, que les versions existantes contiennent des données communes jusqu'en 1341. Il doit donc postuler un manuscrit intermédiaire – nous le désignons comme *c* – entre le *Livre de Bartholomée Guys* et les premiers manuscrits de la version grecque et de la version française telles que nous les conservons. Ce manuscrit contiendrait les interpolations postérieures à 1331 : il aurait été composé peu après 1341, traduit ensuite en français par *d* entre 1341 et 1346 et assez fidèlement recopié par H à une date ultérieure. Cette solution permet d'expliquer la similarité de formulation de H et B. L'un des problèmes qu'elle nous semble poser est le traitement qu'elle fait subir à l'incipit de la version française. Le texte de la version française (*d* et *B*) se donne en effet comme un résumé du *Livre de Bartholomée Guys*. Dans l'hypothèse de M. Jeffreys, la version française n'est plus un simple résumé mais une traduction abrégée[63] ; surtout, elle ne l'est plus directement du *Livre de Bartholomée Guys* mais d'un manuscrit intermédiaire (*c*). M. Jeffreys est conduit en fait à

[61] Contrairement à M. Jeffreys (voir *infra*), elle considère bien cet incipit comme propre à la version française qui le transmet.

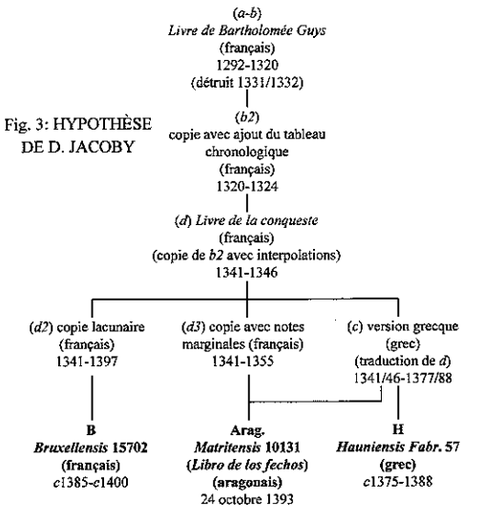
[62] Ce schéma et le suivant ne mentionnent pas les manuscrits postérieurs au XIVe siècle, dont la filiation ne pose pas de problèmes aussi épineux.

[63] L'objection a déjà été soulevée par Harold E. Lurier contre l'hypothèse d'une traduction de la version française à partir de la version grecque, défendue en son temps par J. Schmitt. Voir *Crusaders as Conquerors : The Chronicle of Morea*, trad. H. E. Lurier, New York – Londres, 1964, p. 40 : « It should be noted, however, that the scribe, who mentions so much, does not say that he is *translating* an earlier work. »

postuler implicitement que l'incipit de la version française n'appartient pas à celle-ci mais à son supposé modèle grec (*c*)[64]. Il faudrait admettre que cet incipit ait été traduit tel quel dans la version française, sans référence à l'opération de traduction effectuée, ce même incipit étant en revanche ignoré par les recensions grecques pourtant censées être plus fidèles. En bref, dans cette théorie, l'incipit qui figure dans la version française devient l'incipit de la version grecque, alors qu'il est absent de H et des autres manuscrits qui nous font connaître cette version.

Hypothèse de D. Jacoby

Fig. 3: HYPOTHÈSE DE D. JACOBY



D. Jacoby avait proposé auparavant une reconstruction totalement différente et qui ne peut pas s'inscrire dans notre schéma : elle postule l'unité et la verticalité de la tradition, tous les manuscrits et toutes les versions conservés procédant en définitive directement du *Livre de la conqueste*, rédigé en français et copié entre 1341 et 1346, qui serait l'ancêtre des modèles respectifs de B et de H (P dérivant ensuite de H). Il postulait par ailleurs lui aussi, pour des raisons de chronologie, un manuscrit intermédiaire (*b2*) interpolé entre *b* (*Livre de Bartholomée Guys*) et *d* (premier manuscrit du *Livre de la conqueste*). Le tableau que nous donnons ici n'est qu'une version simplifiée de celui établi par D. Jacoby lui-même. Diverses objections ont été soulevées contre cette reconstruction, notamment le fait que la dépendance de la version grecque à l'égard de la version française existante expliquerait difficilement que le texte grec soit nettement plus développé : la solution consistant à supposer des lacunes dans un autre manuscrit hypothétique (*d2*) intercalé entre *d* et B est peu satisfaisante.

[64] Cette interprétation n'est pas explicitement formulée par M. Jeffreys mais découle d'un passage de son article. Cf. Jeffreys, *The Chronicle of Morea*, pp. 348-349 : le *Livre de Bartholomée Guys* est « the text *or rather the ancestor of the text* from which the French abridgement was made » (nous soulignons). L'incipit de *d* (connu par B) décrirait donc la relation entre *c* et son modèle, non celle de *d* à son propre modèle : dans cette hypothèse, l'opération d'abréviation décrite par l'incipit de *d* se situerait entre *c* et son modèle *a-b*, et non entre *d* et *c*.

¿LA *VIDA DE ESPIRIDÓN* DE LEONCIO DE NEÁPOLIS? PRECISIONES SOBRE EL MANUSCRITO *LAURENCIANO* XI 9

En 1953, Paul van den Ven publicó su estudio *La légende de S. Spyridon, évêque de Trimithonte*, en el que además de presentar la cuestión general relativa a este santo, su culto y tradición, publicó cuatro textos a los que denominó 'La *Vida* por Teodoro de Pafo' (I), 'La *Vida* anónima del *Laurentianus*' (II), 'La metáfrasis anónima' (III) y 'La *Vida* abreviada' (IV). Asimismo, transcribió los resultados de un estudio de Paul Maas, quien a partir de las Vidas I y II intentó rescatar los posibles restos del poema yámbico debido a Trifilio, discípulo de Espiridón, que sería la fuente de aquellas[1].

Es la 'Vida II' la que nos interesa aquí por cuanto creemos que puede ser ella el texto debido a Leoncio de Neápolis, quien menciona su obra *Vida de Espiridón* en el prólogo de su *Vida de Juan el limosnero*. P. van den Ven considera que el texto de Leoncio se halla perdido[2] y, además, interpreta erróneamente un pasaje del prólogo de la *Vida de Juan*, en el que Leoncio dice que responde al pedido del 'archipastor y padre de los padres y sabio archisacerdote y verdadero maestro' (versión 'media' editada por Gelzer[3]): van den Ven piensa que se refiere al mismo Juan el limosnero, por lo que el texto de Leoncio debería ser anterior a la muerte de éste (11 de noviembre de 619). En realidad, aun si hubiese sido Juan el limosnero quien había pedido la biografía, ésta podría haber sido escrita por Leoncio después de la muerte del Patriarca. Pero en otro lugar[4] hemos señalado que, teniendo

[1] P. VAN DEN VEN, *La légende de S. Spyridon, évêque de Trimithonte* (*Bibliothèque du Muséon*, 33), Louvain, 1953, pp. 115-120. Van den Ven no aporta referencias de este estudio; simplemente indica en nota 4 (p. 115*): 'Cette étude, rédigée en mai 1914, a été revue par son auteur en octobre 1953'. Obsérvese que este último es el año en que el editor publicó las versiones de *Espiridón*.

[2] VAN DEN VEN, *La légende*, p. 49*, n. 2: '... la Vie, aujourd'hui perdue, qui a été écrite au VIIe siècle par Léonce de Néapolis'. Así opinaba también H. DELEHAYE, *Saints de Chypre*, en *AB*, 26 (1907), pp. 239, 246.

[3] Cf. H. GELZER, *Leontios' von Neapolis Leben des heiligen Iohannes des Barmherzigen, Erzbischofs von Alexandrien* (*Sammlung ausgewählter kirchen- und dogmengeschichtlicher Quellenschriften*, 5), Freiburg, 1893, p. 3, ap. crít. La *Vida de Juan el limosnero* tiene tres 'recensiones': una versión 'corta', editada por Gelzer en cuerpo de texto; una 'mediana' o 'media' que surge de las variantes de aparato; y una 'larga' editada por A. Festugière, *Léontios de Néapolis, Vie de Syméon le fou et Vie de Jean de Chypre*, Paris, Paul Geuthner, 1974.

[4] P. CAVALLERO, *La* Vida de Espiridón *de Leoncio de Neápolis. Algunas observaciones*', en *Byzantion Nea Hellás*, 31 (2012), 133-143.

Byzantion 83, 41-47. doi: 10.2143/BYZ.83.0.2988909
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en cuenta el contexto del pasaje del prólogo, el 'archipastor' que solicitó la redacción de la *Vida de Juan* y que ya había solicitado la de la *Vida de Espiridón* es el arzobispo de Chipre, Arcadio, de quien depende Leoncio como Obispo de Neápolis. No es necesario, pues, a partir de esta situación, que la narración debida a Leoncio se halle perdida; podría, en cambio, ser ésta transmitida por el códice Laurenciano. Pero cuando van den Ven se ocupa del autor de la 'vida anónima', señala:

1. que tal autor indica expresamente que no pretende ser original sino explanar lo dicho elevadamente por Trifilio (no aclara que éste lo hiciera mediante yambos);
2. que el autor pudo ser natural de Chipre por ciertas indicaciones topográficas y meteorológicas, pero que ellas pueden derivar de la fuente, dado que también aparecen en la *Vida* debida a Teodoro;
3. que parece haber sido testigo del culto local al santo, el cual se mantuvo hasta fines del s. VII cuando Justiniano II impuso a los chipriotas la gran emigración que conllevó el traslado de los restos de san Espiridón a Constantinopla;
4. que su estilo no responde a la renovación clasicista y retórica iniciada en el s. IX[5];
5. que 'el autor era un prosador muy mediocre, que no logró desprenderse de su modelo y del cual reproduce la trama, los giros, las oscuridades y, muy frecuentemente, los trímetros yámbicos mismos, que su impericia nos ha así felizmente preservado de una total desaparición'[6].

Pensamos que estas cinco consideraciones no son prueba contra la autoría de Leoncio. La segunda, tercera y cuarta responden a la nacionalidad y ubicación temporal del Obispo literato[7]; la primera condice con lo hecho en la *Vida de Simeón el loco* y en la *Vida de Juan el limosnero*, que también suponen escritos previos, y asimismo armoniza con su intencionalidad didáctica y difusora. La quinta consideración puede ser negativa, pero no necesariamente la conservación de algunos trímetros (cuyo ritmo ya no se percibía al modo clásico aunque quizás sí al modo acentual), giros y trama son obstáculo para su intención, aunque sí lo serían las oscuridades.

[5] Cf. VAN DEN VEN, *La légende*, pp. 46-47*.

[6] VAN DEN VEN, *La légende*, p. 54*.

[7] Cf. A. DI BERARDINO, *Diccionario patrístico y de la antigüedad cristiana*, Salamanca, 1998, p. 1260. Entre 590 y 668 lo ubicaba KRUMBACHER, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur*, p. 190.

Tampoco es necesario pensar que la obra de Leoncio es una aludida por Teodoro en su capítulo 20, en el que alega a un informante que en el año 619 ya conocía un escrito que tenía algo sobre Espiridón.

Empero, todas estas cuestiones serán retomadas en las conclusiones a las que arribemos al terminar nuestro actual proyecto de estudio, edición, traducción y anotación de la 'Vida II'. Tal trabajo nos llevó a cotejar la edición de van den Ven con el manuscrito *Laurenciano* XI 9 y con el *Bruxellensis, Bibliothecae Regiae* 8232-8233, del s. XVII. De este último se ocupó nuestro colega Tomás Fernández[8], quien ha debido descartarlo como testimonio válido por tratarse de un *codex descriptus*, confirmando lo indicado por van den Ven (p. 46*, n. 3), que seguía lo señalado por Van de Vorst en su catálogo[9]. Sobre el título de la *Vita Spyridonis* está la inscripción 'Ex biblioth. Flor. S. Laurent. Plut. 11 Cod 9 maximo (et) antiquissimo'; y Fernández comprueba que la mano que copia el texto es igual a la que compone el índice, sin duda la del bollandista Papebroch. Sin embargo, algunas variantes que han sido verificadas en ese manuscrito belga serán evaluadas en nuestra edición[10].

A raíz de este cotejo hemos hecho una inspección ocular del manuscrito Laurenciano. De este testimonio reseña van den Ven – partamos de lo hecho – que es un manuscrito en pergamino de 312 folios, con tamaño 397 × 342, *in quarto*, a dos columnas. Señala que fue compuesto en 1021 por tres manos y destinado a Isidoro, abad del monasterio San Juan de Apiro, al sur de Salerno. Remite para esto al catálogo mediceo de Bandini, al estudio de Ehrhard y a P. Batiffol, quien transcribe el colofón de la obra de san Juan Crisóstomo incluida en el códice (f. 282), en el cual se indica que el texto fue escrito por el monje Lucas para el higúmeno Isidoro[11]; asimismo señala Batiffol que desconoce el monasterio τοῦ Ἀπείρου (p. 87), cosa que asombra a van den Ven (p. 46*, n. 1) porque el mismo Batiffol menciona en p. xxix que ubica 'au midi de Salerne (...) Saint Jean de Piro, riche abbaye'. Afirmaba Batiffol, con todo, el origen calabrés del

[8] Trabajo todavía inédito.

[9] C. VAN DE VORST - H. DELEHAYE, *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum graecorum Germaniae, Belgii, Angliae* (*SH*, 13), Bruxellis, 1913, pp. 210-214.

[10] Si quien hizo la copia de la *Vida de Espiridón* en el Ms. *Bruxellensis* fue Daniel Papebroch, es importante saber si las variantes son meros errores de copia o modificaciones editoriales.

[11] A. M. BANDINI, *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Mediceae Laurentianae, varia continens opera Graecorum Patrum*, I, Florentiae, 1764, pp. 502-507; A. EHRHARD, *Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der griechischen Kirche von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts*, I, *Die Überlieferung*, III (*TU*, 52), Leipzig, 1939-1952, pp. 938-939; P. BATIFFOL, *L'abbaye de Rossano. Contribution à l'histoire de la Vaticane*, Paris, 1891, p. 155.

manuscrito por una referencia del f. 198, del s. XIV, en el que se señala que el volumen 'a été acheté par 'le frère Ambroise de Reggio (...) à l'époque où Urbain VI est venu à Messine, c'est à savoir le 8 août de l'an du monde 6893", o sea, en 1385 (p. 87). También Bandini sostenía ese origen ítalo-greco. Lo confirma Lefort[12], quien asevera que son dos los escribas, Isaías y Lucas, que trabajan alternativamente en el códice; y que ciertos rasgos lingüísticos del códice se explican por contacto con el mundo árabe. Ehrhard[13] aclara, en la nota 2, que el monje Isaías escribió los folios 1 a 215r y además el 282v; Lucas, en cambio, es responsable de 215v a 282r; en este último folio firma Lucas; Isaías lo hace tres veces, en 103v, 129 y 282v. La tercera mano indicada por van den Ven es la responsable de los ff. 283-312, donde se transcriben quince homilías de san Juan Crisóstomo; el nombre del copista de este sector pudo desaparecer – pensamos – junto con algún folio perdido.

Añade van den Ven que la *Vida* ocupa los folios 137r a 143v, que fue copiada por el monje Isaías y que ella 'n'est représentée, à ma connaissance, que par ce seul manuscrit' (p. 46*), afirmación que sobreentiende que el códice de Bruselas es considerado *descriptus* por tratarse de un apógrafo.

A estas indicaciones queremos añadir algunas observaciones codicológicas y paleográficas.

El códice está encuadernado en cuero y cerrado con dos ligaduras y gancho. Muchos folios fueron reconstruidos en los márgenes inferiores y laterales. Algunos se hallan dañados con agujeros, como uno central en f. 125 y otros en medio de la columna rb = va del f. 79. Los folios finales tienen muy marcados los renglones. Algunas fojas presentan una doble numeración: el folio 138, por ejemplo, tiene otro número, de módulo menor, a la altura de la línea rb 36. Se antepone una *tabula* latina más tardía.

A lo largo de todo el manuscrito se pintan las letras destacadas; pero como la pintura está omitida en 86v / 87r y en 139v / 140r, es posible que la pintura fuera hecha por otro miembro del *scriptorium*, quien pudo saltearse esas páginas. En 24va la inicial pintada incluye una mano que 'indica' la importancia del texto. Muy iluminado se halla el f. 200va, mientras que el 232ra presenta adorno de base.

En los trazos diluidos, la tinta parece más rojiza. En algunos pasajes, es forzoso leer el códice a trasluz.

[12] L. LEFORT, Reseña a F. HALKIN, *Sancti Pachomii vitae Graecae*, en *RHE*, 29 (1933), pp. 427-428.

[13] EHRHARD, *Überlieferung und Bestand*, pp. 938-939.

Varios rasgos sugieren que hubo corrección de errores. Así, aparecen dobles acentuaciones (superposición de acento agudo y circunflejo o grave y circunflejo), a veces con trazos más delgados y suaves, otras sin diferencia (140ra 5, 25). También hay escrituras interlineares que parecen corregir errores fonéticos entre αι y ε (139ra), entre ο y ω (139rb), entre η y ει (140ra). La diéresis (o un punto simple) sugiere también un error, como cuando se halla sobre la N en 140rb 15: indica que esa letra no debe ser tenida en cuenta. Cuando se coloca sobre la iota (tres veces en 139v, otra en 140r, en 141va 9, etc.) parece tener función diacrítica. En ocasiones se registran indicaciones de espíritus o de acentos en los márgenes laterales (por ejemplo, a la izquierda de 139 rb y de 140 ra). Es difícil determinar, por la paleografía o la tinta, si estas indicaciones son correcciones posteriores o de la misma mano que está copiando.

Una costumbre que merece quizás un estudio especial es la de colocar una inicial fuera de caja y pintada, generalmente cuando se registra una cita en el texto; pero no se es sistemático en este rasgo.

La reproducción digital del ms. es tan fiel que, con la ayuda de los recursos técnicos (ampliación, cambio de coloración, etc.), permite confirmar claramente la escritura. Pero también copia las numerosas arrugas y la frecuente dilución de la tinta original, las cuales se registran principalmente en la parte inferior del manuscrito. El folio 44v, por ejemplo, está muy borroso. Esto conllevó la necesidad ineludible de ver el manuscrito en sí, dado que era necesario confirmar o rectificar la lectura hecha por van den Ven.

Un caso de decisión ecdótica es la presencia del εὐλόγησον que sigue al título. P. van den Ven lo suprime. Este uso se registra en f. 132va cuando comienza la *Vida de los Padres de Egipto*; en 106va con los *Hechos de Elías y Eliseo*; en 62rb para la *Vida de Epifanio*; en 143va para la *Vida del Abbá Ciriaco*, en 283r, etc. Pero no se usa para la *Vida de Sabas* (24va), para las epístolas de f. 80v, la *Vida de Abraam* en 123ra, ni tampoco en el sermón de Isaac el monje en 129ra. ¿Es una mera decisión de copista? ¿Depende del original empleado para cada obra?

La revisión del códice permitió corregir algunas lecturas erradas (no discutimos aquí la pertinencia de las enmiendas realizadas por van den Ven). En el cuadro siguiente, las remisiones a línea corresponden a lecturas erróneas del editor o a enmiendas no indicadas en el aparato. Los casos en que se remite al aparato crítico ('ap.'), en cambio, indican lecciones que no se verifican en nuestra visión del manuscrito. En ningún caso emitimos opinión, por ahora, sobre la validez de las lecturas que registramos.

Lectura de van den Ven		Lectura del ms. *Laurenciano*	
104: 23	ἐπεδέξατο	136 ra 32	ὑπεδέξατο
106: 23	Ἠλίας	137 va 33	ἠλίας
108 ap. 30	χρύσιον *cod.*	138 rb 10	χρύσεον
114 ap. 13	σπορίδος *cod.*	139 vb 10	σπυρίδος
115 ap. 3	θλιβομένου *cod.*	139 vb 41-2	θλιβομένοις
117 ap. 22	τοῦτον *cod.*	140 va 30	τοῦτο
117: 29	παρ' αὐτοῦ	140 va 40	παραυτὰ
117 ap. 29	ἴδομεν? *cod. (dubitanter)*	140 va 41	ἴδομεν
118 ap. 25	ἰενέσθαι *cod.*	140 vb 36	Γενέσθαι
119: 13	πολυλόγος	141 ra 22	πολύλογος
119: 25	φάρμακον	141 ra 38	φαρμάκων
121: 8 ap.	γλυκοστομων	141 va 19	γλυκοστομῶ
122: 6	αὐτὴ	141 vb 19	αὕτη
122: 23	παρύμνης	141 vb 41	παρ ὕμνης
122: 27	ἢ	142 ra 4	ἡ
123: 1	πονῇ	142 ra 15	πόνη
123 ap. 2	ματαίων *cod.*	142 ra 15	ματαιῶν
123: 14	γηΐων	142 ra 33	γηΐνων
126: 30	ἀλύσεσιν	143 ra 25	ἀλ^{v}έεσι
127 ap. 14	συμμειδιῶντι	143 rb 4	σὺν μιδιῶντι
128: 6	ἀπολείπων	143 rb 39	ἀπολειπῶν
128: 20	πρὸ πάντος	143 va 17	προπαντὸς

Algunos errores se justifican por la dificultad de lectura de pasajes borrosos. Por ejemplo, la Γ de γενέσθαι, en 140vb 36, con formato mayúsculo, tiene casi borrado el palo horizontal, del que se ve claramente un punto (su extremo derecho) sobre la ε que sigue; pero con lupa y a trasluz se ve el trazo de unión que conforma la Γ. Allí van den Ven siguió una corrección de Halkin (γενέσθαι), que era adecuada pero innecesaria como tal. En el caso de 126: 30, la ύ está suprascripta, con igual tinta, y parece reemplazar al diptongo ει, que tiene igual pronunciación iotacista. En 122: 27, la ἡ tiene el espíritu áspero con una línea prolongada a la izquierda, que puede generar confusión.

Hay casos en que el editor señaló errores de tipeo deslizados en su texto: en p. 200 indica que el πάντος de 113: 5 debe ser leído παντός; empero, no corrige la misma acentuación en 128: 20. Enmienda el error de 117: 11 χρύσου para que sea χρυσοῦ como tiene el códice (Cf. 140 va 13) y el

de 126: 24 κρίους en κριοὺς (Cf. 143 ra 16). Asimismo ἄλλ' de 114: 28 (ἀλλ'), οὐκ de 124: 15 (οὐχ) y ἀλλὰ de 127: 20 (ἄλλα). En cuanto a la lectura de 121: 8, en ese listado señala que Paul Maas 'suggère de maintenir la leçon du manuscrit γλυκοστομῶν, du verbe γλυκοστομέω', con lo que coincidimos plenamente[14]; la transcripción del aparato no era fiel al códice.

Al fijar nuestro texto y elaborar el aparato crítico, determinaremos nuestra posición sobre la validez de las lecturas que registramos aquí como diversas (válidas o no, figurarán en aparato) y sobre la conveniencia de las enmiendas editoriales realizadas o aceptadas por van den Ven.

Y para cerrar estas observaciones y comentarios, volvamos al tema de partida: la posible atribución de este texto a Leoncio. El ms. Laurenciano incluye uno de los testimonios de la *Vida de Simeón el loco*, de Leoncio, en los ff. 109v-123. Si bien no es determinante, esta inclusión junto con la de la *Vida de Espiridón*, del que se ocupó el mismo autor, podría sugerir que el compilador consideraba esta versión, la 'Vida II', como la obra de Leoncio. Con nuestro estudio y edición en marcha, esperamos llegar a una conclusión fundada[15].

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SUMMARY

L'article se concentre sur le texte nommé « Vie II » d'Espyridon, qui pourrait être l'hagiographie mentionné par Léontios de Néapolis dans le prologue de sa *Vie de Jean l'aumônier*. Selon P. van den Ven, ce texte serait perdu. Nous proposons qu'il est témoigné par le manuscrit Laur. IX. On adjoint quelques observations codicologiques et paléographiques, en signalant de fausses lectures et les amendements qui n'ont pas été indiqués par van den Ven à l'apparat critique.

[14] Maas (*apud* van den Ven p. 200) propuso, aparte, que quizás debería ser γλυκυ- por comparación con otros compuestos. Empero, Kriarás registra τὸ γλυκόστομα.

[15] Agradezco a Tomás Fernández y a Elke Verbeke sus aportaciones bibliográficas.

SUR LE MENSONGE, L'ÂME DE L'HOMME ET LES FAUX PROPHÈTES : LA LETTRE Ψ DU *FLORILÈGE COISLIN**

Depuis quelques années, les recherches de l'équipe byzantine de la KU Leuven se sont concentrées sur un florilège byzantin d'une grande importance, connu sous le titre de *Florilegium Coislinianum*. Il s'agit d'une anthologie monumentale que l'on peut dater très probablement de la fin du IXe ou du début du Xe siècle ; certains éléments tendent à situer l'endroit de compilation en Italie méridionale ou en Sicile, mais cette hypothèse doit encore être corroborée. La matière traitée est classée selon l'ordre alphabétique : par exemple, des mots qui commencent avec alpha, tels que ἄγγελος, ἄνθρωπος évidemment, Ἀδάμ, ἁμαρτία, ἀστρολογία, ἀπάθεια, ἀρεταί, ἀγάπη, ἀναθεματίζω, ἅδης et ἀνάστασις, constituent la Lettre A ou le premier Livre du florilège. Les chercheurs louvanistes ont publié un certain nombre de contributions sur le sujet, parmi lesquelles on relèvera tout particulièrement l'édition critique des Lettres A, B, Γ et H[1]. Cet article se

* Nous remercions notre collègue Aurélie Gribomont d'avoir corrigé la langue de notre article.

[1] Citons les publications suivantes : I. De Vos, E. Gielen, C. Macé et P. Van Deun, *L'art de compiler à Byzance : la Lettre Γ du Florilège Coislin*, dans *Byz*, 78 (2008), pp. 159-223 ; I. De Vos, E. Gielen, C. Macé et P. Van Deun, *La Lettre B du Florilège Coislin : editio princeps*, dans *Byz*, 80 (2010), pp. 72-120 ; T. Fernández, *Book Alpha of the Florilegium Coislinianum : A Critical Edition with a Philological Introduction*, diss. doct., KU Leuven, 2010 (directeur de thèse : P. Van Deun ; cette édition de la Lettre A sera publiée prochainement dans la *Series Graeca* du *Corpus Christianorum*) ; R. Ceulemans, I. De Vos, E. Gielen et P. Van Deun, *La continuation de l'exploration du* Florilegium Coislinianum : *la Lettre Ἠτα*, dans *Byz*, 81 (2011), pp. 74-126. Toutes les références à des extraits des Lettres A, B, Γ et H dans le présent article se renvoient à ces publications (où on trouvera aussi une bibliographie complète). Ajoutons aussi les articles de T. Fernández : *Un fragmento inédito sobre la virtud, atribuido a Nilo de Ancira*, dans *Bizantinistica*, ser. II, 12 (2010), pp. 201-213 ; *Cosmas Vestitor's Ascetic-Physiological Fragment (CPG 8163)*, dans *BZ*, 104 (2011), pp. 633-640 ; *Dos fragmentos inéditos de Atanasio de Alejandría*, dans *Erytheia*, 32 (2011), pp. 79-93 ; *Un fragment inédit attribué à Anatole d'Alexandrie*, dans *Byzantion Nea Hellás*, 30 (2011), pp. 189-202 ; *A Correction of the Text of Athanasius of Alexandria's Epistula ad monachos (CPG 2108)*, dans *JÖB*, 62 (2012), pp. 1-7. On citera également les contributions suivantes : C. Macé, I. De Vos et K. Geuten, *Comparing Stemmatological and Phylogenetic Methods to Understand the Transmission History of the* Florilegium Coislinianum, dans A. Bucossi et E. Kihlman (éd.), *Ars Edendi. Lecture Series*, II (*Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis. Studia Latina Stockholmiensia*, 58), Stockholm, 2012, pp. 107-129 ; J. Michels et P. Van Deun, *On the Topaz Island : Diodorus of Sicily and the Byzantine* Florilegium Coislinianum, dans *Byz*, 83 (2013), pp. 283-296 (sur un extrait cité dans la Lettre Λ). L'édition critique de la Lettre Ξ est en chantier (par R. Ceulemans, P. Van Deun et F. Wildenboer).

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concentrera sur la Lettre Ψ, dernière Lettre de l'ordre alphabétique que l'on retrouve dans les manuscrits du florilège[2].

Présentation des témoins manuscrits

On sait que le *Florilegium Coislinianum* est conservé dans trois recensions ; le seul représentant de la première recension, un manuscrit qui se trouve actuellement à la Bibliothèque nationale de Paris (le *Coislinianus* 294), a donné son nom à l'ensemble du florilège. Ce manuscrit ne contient pas l'intégralité de l'anthologie – mutilé, il se termine au milieu de la Lettre O – ; on cherchera donc en vain la Lettre Ψ dans la première recension[3].

La même constatation est vraie pour un des deux témoins principaux de la deuxième recension : l'*Atheniensis, Bibliotheca Nationalis* 464, du Xe siècle (manuscrit **B**), s'arrête abruptement au milieu de la Lettre T et ne contient donc plus les *stoicheia* suivants. On possède heureusement un apographe de **B**, le manuscrit **S**, qui a été achevé avant que **B** n'ait subi cette perte considérable : de ce fait, les variantes de **S** ont été retenues dans notre apparat critique. Le manuscrit **S** a été copié en 1542 par le scribe Jean Katelos de Nauplie et fait actuellement partie de la Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier à Bruxelles (cote IV 881). Dans l'autre témoin principal de la deuxième recension, le manuscrit **C** (le *Parisinus gr.* 924) qui date également du Xe siècle, la Lettre Ψ est bien présente mais pas dans sa totalité : **C** est mutilé à la fin du florilège et s'arrête au milieu de l'extrait 17 de Ψ dont on trouvera l'édition ci-dessous.

La tradition manuscrite de la troisième recension est en général plus riche, mais pour ce qui est de la Lettre Ψ, on ne dispose que de quatre témoins majeurs : le *Mediolanensis, Ambrosianus* Q 74 sup., lui aussi du Xe siècle (manuscrit **D**) ; l'*Athous, Iviron* 38 (**G**)[4] et l'*Argentoratensis, Bibliotheca Nationalis et Universitatis gr.* 12 (**E**) – on doit ces deux derniers manuscrits très probablement au prêtre Syméon Kalliandrès de Rhodes, qui les a transcrits respectivement en 1281-1282 et 1285-1286 – ; et l'*Atheniensis, Bibliotheca Nationalis* 329, des XIIIe-XIVe siècles (**F**). On sait que cette troisième recension est plus courte que les deux autres ; ainsi les extraits 3-4 et 19 de Ψ sont manquants[5].

[2] Aucun manuscrit ne contient le *stoicheion* Ω. Toutefois, dans certains témoins la Lettre Ψ est suivie de quelques autres fragments (au dehors de l'ordre alphabétique). Ce sujet sera traité par R. Ceulemans et P. Van Deun dans un autre article.

[3] Rappelons que dans son état actuel, le *Florilegium Hierosolymitanum*, qui est apparenté à la recension I, ne renferme que les Lettres A à E. Voir De Vos et al., *L'art de compiler*, p. 162.

[4] L'extrait 2 de Ψ ne figure pas dans **G**, ce qui est assez curieux.

[5] Les extraits ne sont donc attestés que par la deuxième recension du florilège.

Heureusement, à cette tradition manuscrite assez pauvre, on joindra quelques témoins supplémentaires, mais fragmentaires. En voici les détails.

Commençons avec trois manuscrits déjà utilisés dans nos publications antérieures.

Tout d'abord, l'*Athous, Lavra* B 43, témoin du XIIe siècle (manuscrit **R**). Il présente, pour la Lettre Ψ, l'entièreté de l'extrait 16, les ll. 1-3 (jusqu'à ἔχουσαι) de l'extrait 17, les extraits 18 et 23 au complet, les ll. 1-6 et 12-18 de l'extrait 25, l'ensemble de l'extrait 27 et les ll. 1-11 (jusqu'à ἀρχόμενον), 15-22 (Θῆλυ – ἀδιατύπωτα) et 25-36 (Καὶ ταῦτα – φυλάττουσιν) du long extrait 28 (ff. 193^v^-195). Les extraits du fragment 28, tiré du *De mensibus* de Jean le Lydien, sont suivis d'un fragment intitulé Περὶ ψυχῆς ἑρμηνεία ἐκ τῶν κανόνων, qui ne fait pas partie du *Florilegium Coislinianum* ; c'est le cas aussi pour un fragment qui a pour titre Περὶ ψυχῆς et qui se lit au f. 174^v^ de **R**.

On ajoute deux témoins supplémentaires de la troisième recension qui dateraient du XIVe siècle : l'*Athous, Koutloumousiou* 9 (**K**) et le *Londinensis, British Library, Add.* 17472 (**L**). Pour la Lettre Ψ, ces derniers contiennent les extraits 1-2, 5-14 et 26-27[6].

Concentrons-nous maintenant sur quatre autres manuscrits qui, jusqu'ici, avaient malheureusement échappé à notre attention et que nous appellerons respectivement **O**, **M**, **Z** et **U**.

À la troisième recension se rattachent deux témoins assez récents dont nous n'avons pu relever le contenu détaillé que tout récemment : le *Vaticanus, Ottobonianus gr.* 441 (manuscrit **O**), daté de l'année 1477 et transcrit par le scribe Syméon, qui a été patriarche de Constantinople[7] ; le *Lesbiacus, Leimonos* 268 (**M**), achevé en 1552 par un certain Méthode, fils d'Ignace

[6] Qu'il nous soit permis d'ajouter quelque chose à la description de L faite par J. H. Declerck, *Un manuscrit peu connu : le* Londinensis, Brit. Libr. Add. 17472, dans *Byz*, 51 (1981), p. 489. Celui-ci a montré avec raison que dans ce manuscrit, la Lettre Ψ est suivie d'un extrait faisant partie du deuxième chapitre de la Lettre Y, et que l'ordre alphabétique n'est donc pas respecté. Entre le dernier extrait de Ψ (notre extrait 27, tiré de Cyrille de Jérusalem) et l'extrait intitulé Περὶ τῆς ὑποκρίσεως se trouve un fragment (f. 72) qui n'est pas mentionné par Declerck. Ce fragment, qui n'appartient ni à la Lettre Ψ ni à Y, a malheureusement résisté à toute identification précise, bien qu'il semble s'inspirer d'un passage damascénien (*De duabus in Christo voluntatibus* 9, 111) ; ces quelques lignes, qui se trouvent également en **K** (p. 548), au même endroit, se lisent Τῶν ἐν τῇ θείᾳ γραφῇ περὶ Χριστοῦ λεγομένων, τὰ μὲν ὑψηλὰ καὶ θεοπρεπῆ πρόσαπτε τῇ θεότητι τούτου, τὰ δὲ ταπεινὰ καὶ ἀνθρωποπρεπῆ τῇ ἀνθρωπότητι (ἀνθρωπότητι] *om.* **L**) αὐτοῦ πάλιν, ἑκατέρᾳ τούτου φύσει τὸ προσφυὲς ἀπονέμων· διπλοῦς γὰρ ἦν τὰς φύσεις, εἰ καὶ μοναδικῶς (*lege* μοναδικὸς) τὴν ὑπόστασιν.

[7] Ce manuscrit a été décrit par E. Feron et F. Battaglini, *Codices manuscripti Graeci Ottoboniani Bibliothecae Vaticanae* (*Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae codices manuscripti recensiti*), Roma, 1893, pp. 245-248. Sur Syméon, voir *RGK*, III, n° 593.

de Methymna, une des villes principales de Lesbos[8]. Ces deux codex, dont le contenu est très similaire, étaient déjà connus de T. Fernández comme témoins partiels du florilège : il avait découvert que **M O** contenaient les quatre premiers extraits de la Lettre A[9]. En réalité, ils renferment bon nombre d'autres extraits appartenant à cette Lettre, ainsi qu'un choix de texte pris à d'autres parties du florilège[10]. Dans chacun de ces deux manuscrits, les extraits ne sont pas groupés mais se trouvent mêlés avec d'autres textes hors du florilège. Nous ne présenterons pas ici d'inventaire détaillé de tous les extraits du florilège contenus en **M O**, mais seulement la section (quasi-identique dans ces deux témoins) dans laquelle on a pu repérer trois extraits de la Lettre Ψ :

M		**O**
ff. 482^{v}-483	un extrait de la Lettre Λ (le fragment de Diodore de Sicile mentionné à la n. 1)	f. 20^{r-v}
ff. 483-484^{v}	deux extraits de la Lettre M (attribués à Eustathe d'Antioche)	ff. 20^{v}-22
ff. 484^{v}-486	un autre extrait de la Lettre Λ (tiré de Sévérien de Gabala)	ff. 22-23
f. 486^{r-v}	extrait Ψ 25	f. 23^{r-v}
Aux ff. 486^{v}-487 de **M**, on trouve les ll. 2-18 du *De virtute* de Joseph Rhacendyte, humaniste des XIIIe-XIVe siècles[11]. En **O**, ces ll. 2-18 ne se lisent qu'au f. 35 et y sont précédées d'autres textes en dehors du *Florilegium Coislinianum*.		
f. 487	extrait Ψ 26	ff. 23^{v}-24
f. 487	le début de la chaîne aux Proverbes de Procope de Gaza (*CPG* 7432) (inc. Τρεῖς εἰσι τοῦ σοφωτάτου Σολομῶντος αἱ πραγματεῖαι)	f. 24

[8] Pour une description du manuscrit, malheureusement partielle, voir le catalogue d'A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Κατάλογος τῶν ἐν ταῖς βιβλιοθήκαις τῆς νήσου Λέσβου ἑλληνικῶν χειρογράφων* (*Μαυρογορδάτειος Βιβλιοθήκη*. Παράρτημα τοῦ ιε΄ τόμου), Constantinople, 1884, pp. 124-128. Cf. aussi B. Roosen et P. Van Deun, *Ἀρετὴν εἰ ἔχοις πάνθ' ἕξεις. Byzantine Virtue Speculation : A Case Study*, dans G. Partoens, G. Roskam et T. Van Houdt (éd.), *Virtutis imago : Studies on the Conceptualisation and Transformation of an Ancient Ideal* (*Collection d'études classiques*, 19), Louvain, 2004, pp. 405-406. Le copiste Méthode est mentionné par M. Vogel et V. Gardthausen, *Die griechischen Schreiber des Mittelalters und der Renaissance* (*Beihefte zum Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, 33), Leipzig, 1909, p. 299.

[9] Fernández, *Book Alpha*, pp. cii et cxlvii-cxlviii. Ces deux manuscrits avaient déjà été identifiés comme témoins de notre florilège : voir R. Riedinger, *Pseudo-Kaisarios. Überlieferungsgeschichte und Verfasserfrage* (*BA*, 12), München, 1969, pp. 102-107.

[10] Ainsi **M** et **O** renferment également les extraits 10-11, 1, 2 (seules les ll. 1-7) et 5 de la Lettre H, qui nous ont échappé en préparant notre article de 2011 (voir n. 1).

[11] L'édition critique de ce texte, éditée par notre collègue louvaniste Erika Gielen, est sous presse dans la *Series Graeca* du *Corpus Christianorum*.

M		**O**
f. 487^{r-v}	un autre extrait de cette même chaîne (*inc.* Ὁ δὲ Ἐκκλησιαστὴς αἰτιολογίας)	f. 24
f. 487^{v}	encore un extrait, très court, de cette chaîne (*inc.* Τὰ ἐν ἅδου κακά, οὐ Θεὸς ἔχει τὸν αἴτιον)	f. 24
ff. 487^{v}-488	extrait Ψ 29, seulement les ll. 1-15 (*des.* ἀκοῦσαι ἢ ἀπὸ προδοτῶν)	f. 24^{r-v}
f. 488	un opuscule intitulé Τὰ ἑπτὰ μυστήρια τῶν Χριστιανῶν (*inc.* α΄ ὁ ἐν Κυρίῳ γάμος)	f. 24^{v}

Un autre témoin de la Lettre Ψ (partiel lui aussi) que nous avons découvert, est le *Monacensis gr.* 551 (dorénavant manuscrit **Z**)[12], qui daterait de la seconde moitié du XVe siècle et dont le copiste est malheureusement inconnu. La description de I. Hardt[13] de ce volume de papier doit être complétée ; K.-H. Uthemann[14] et G. Papagiannis[15] y ont ajouté des précisions précieuses. Nous avons dressé un inventaire de tous les extraits du *Florilegium Coislinianum* que renferme ce témoin. Cela nous a permis de constater que l'ordre alphabétique des Lettres n'y est pas respecté : en effet, on y lit des extraits qui sont tirés respectivement des Lettres T, K, O, K, Γ, Y, T, Σ, B, K, E, Ψ, Φ, K, Γ, B, Δ, Θ, X, H, A, H et Π[16]. Les ff. 57^{v}-59^{v} renferment un nombre important de textes tirés de la Lettre Ψ : les extraits 15-18, 20-24, 26-27, 25 et 28, dans cet ordre.

Finalement, nous avons découvert tout récemment un autre témoin partiel du florilège[17]. Il s'agit de l'*Oxoniensis, Bodleianus, Baroccianus gr.* 91 qui daterait du XIVe siècle (manuscrit **U**)[18]. À plusieurs endroits, on trouve des

[12] Ce manuscrit avait déjà été associé à notre florilège : voir la n. 14 et *Maximi Confessoris Quaestiones ad Thalassium*, II, *Quaestiones LVI-LXV una cum latina interpretatione Ioannis Scotti Eriugenae iuxta posita*. Ediderunt C. Laga et C. Steel (*CCSG*, 22), Turnhout - Leuven, 1990, p. xlix, n. 91. Cf. aussi P. Van Deun, *Quelques témoins nouveaux de l'*Hodègos *d'Anastase le Sinaïte*, dans *REB*, 50 (1992), p. 238.

[13] *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum graecorum Bibliothecae Regiae Bavaricae*, V, München, 1812, pp. 378-404.

[14] *Anastasii Sinaitae Sermones duo in constitutionem hominis secundum imaginis Dei necnon Opuscula adversus monotheletas*. Edidit K.-H. Uthemann (*CCSG*, 12), Turnhout - Leuven, 1985, pp. xliii, cxxx et cxxxiv. Uthemann n'a signalé que les extraits d'Anastase le Sinaïte cités au début de la Lettre K du *Florilegium Coislinianum*.

[15] *Theodoros Prodromos. Jambische und hexametrische Tetrasticha auf die Haupterzählungen des Alten und des Neuen Testaments*, I (*Meletemata. Beiträge zur Byzantinistik und Neugriechischen Philologie*, 7.1), Wiesbaden, 1997, pp. 46-48.

[16] Raison pour laquelle **Z** avait échappé à notre attention comme témoin pour nos éditions antérieures des Lettres A, B, Γ et H (voir n. 1).

[17] Nous avons bénéficié de l'aide très précieuse d'Ilse De Vos dans notre recherche sur ce manuscrit. Qu'elle trouve ici l'expression de notre très vive reconnaissance.

[18] On trouve une description succincte de ce manuscrit dans le catalogue de H. O. Coxe, *Catalogi codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae pars prima recensionem codicum Graecorum continens*, Oxford, 1853 (= 1969), coll. 155-158.

parties du *Florilegium Coislinianum* qui font partie d'une collection plus vaste d'extraits canoniques et patristiques. Par exemple, aux ff. 140-155, on lit des extraits provenant des Lettres Π, A (les extraits 34 et 36-37), E, I, Γ (18-19), Δ, M, K, E, Ψ (29, 18-19 et 26-27), A (96-97, 99, 98 et 100) et K. Les ff. 196^{v}-203 contiennent des extraits tirés des Lettres Γ (15 et, de nouveau, 18-19), H (10-11), Θ et Π.

Classement des témoins

Dans les pages qui suivent, nous chercherons à vérifier le *stemma codicum* auquel nous sommes arrivés sur base des éditions des autres Lettres du florilège. Nous nous attardons un peu plus longuement sur les témoins récemment découverts.

Commençons par ce qui est bien connu. Nous avons prouvé à plusieurs reprises que **S** est un apographe direct de **B**. Le manuscrit **B** ne possédant pas la partie concernant la Lettre Ψ, il est impossible d'ajouter, pour cette Lettre, des éléments confirmant ce lien étroit entre les deux manuscrits.

Comme on l'a dit, **C** ne contient qu'une partie de Ψ, ce qui nous empêche de fournir des données supplémentaires permettant de déterminer définitivement le rapport entre les codex **B** (et son apographe **S**) et **C** à l'intérieur de la deuxième recension. **B** et **C** sont-ils, oui ou non, des frères descendant indépendamment l'un de l'autre d'un modèle perdu, ou, au contraire, faut-il supposer que **B** est une copie de **C**[19] ? La seule chose que l'on puisse dire en étudiant la Lettre Ψ, est que le manuscrit **S** se singularise par un nombre de fautes et variantes contre tout le reste de la tradition ; en voici quelques exemples pris à la partie du texte pour laquelle **C** est disponible : οὐδέ au lieu de οὐδ' οὐ μή (extrait 1) et l'omission de λέγει (extrait 14, l. 11). En **C**, nous avons trouvé deux fautes qui isolent ce témoin, non seulement de **S**, mais également de tous les autres témoins du florilège : extrait 13, l. 4 (κατὰ τοῦ au lieu de κατ' αὐτοῦ) et extrait 16, l. 1 (ἄφθαρτον au lieu de ἀφθάρτους) ; ces deux cas nous incitent à défendre la thèse que **B** et **C** sont des frères.

Pour d'autres Lettres, on a pu constater que la deuxième recension a généralement conservé la meilleure leçon, mais pour Ψ cela n'est pas toujours le cas : ainsi deux fautes évidentes se trouvent dans **C S** aux extraits 13 (l. 9 : ἀλγώτερον au lieu de ἀλογώτερον) et 14 (l. 7 : βασάν au lieu de βασάνων). Répétons finalement que **C S** sont les témoins uniques des extraits 3 et 4.

[19] Voir Fernández, *Book Alpha*, pp. cvi-cxi et Ceulemans et al., *La continuation*, pp. 80-81.

Passons maintenant à la troisième recension, qui ne se caractérise pas seulement par l'absence de quelques extraits, mais également par deux fautes et variantes : extraits 15 (l. 1 : l'omission de l'article ἡ) et 22 (l. 3 : une transposition de mots).

Bien que **D** soit un témoin ancien, il se caractérise par bon nombre de fautes et variantes individuelles. Cette constatation s'est déjà imposée pour d'autres Lettres, et est confirmée pour la Lettre Ψ : voir, à titre d'exemples, les extraits 9 (πάντων ἐμίσηκα au lieu de πάντα ἐμίσησα), 15 (l. 4 : l'omission de καί), 20 (l. 1 : κυνοφορεῖ au lieu de κυοφορεῖ), 25 (l. 5 : l'omission de δέ), 28 (l. 17 : l'omission de τε) et 29 (l. 17 : ταύτην au lieu de τήν).

Le manuscrit **F** se caractérise, lui aussi, par quelques fautes et variantes individuelles ; en voici deux exemples qu'on trouve dans l'extrait 13, l. 4 : νομίσειε au lieu de ὑπονοήσειεν, et une transposition de mots.

Il n'y a rien d'étonnant à ce que les manuscrits **E** et **G** soient étroitement apparentés ; en effet ils sont très probablement dus au même scribe (voir plus haut). Pour toutes les Lettres qu'on a étudiées jusqu'ici, ces deux témoins se caractérisent par un nombre élevé de fautes et de variantes probantes, les isolant ainsi de tout le reste de la tradition. Pour la Lettre Ψ, nous avons rassemblé une bonne vingtaine de cas similaires ; on en trouvera tous les détails dans notre apparat critique. Quelle est la relation entre **E** et **G** ? Il est très probable qu'ils soient des frères qui descendent, indépendamment l'un de l'autre, d'un modèle perdu aujourd'hui, une thèse à laquelle on a abouti pour d'autres parties du florilège[20]. En effet, tant **E** que **G** ont chacun des fautes et des variantes propres, bien que dans **G** celles-ci soient moins nombreuses que dans le cas du manuscrit **E**. Pour ce dernier, voir par exemple les extraits 13 (l. 4 : l'omission de ὑπὲρ πάντα), 20 (l. 1 : κυοφονεῖ au lieu de κυοφορεῖ) et 28 (l. 37 : ἐπιμιμνησκόμενοι au lieu de ἐπιμνησκόμενοι) ; pour **G**, on ne citera ici que les extraits 13 (l. 4 : πάντα au lieu de ὑπὲρ πάντα ; l. 6 : l'omission de ὁ et l'addition de ὁ προφήτης), 28 (l. 8 : l'omission de ἄνθρωπον ; l. 20 : τιτρωσκόμενα au lieu de ἐκτιτρωσκόμενα ; l. 26 : ταῦτα au lieu de ταύτην) et 29 (l. 13 : l'omission de οὐ).

Comme pour d'autres Lettres qu'on a déjà étudiées, l'on peut voir que les manuscrits **D E G** constituent un petit sous-groupe qui se singularise par deux fautes et variantes dans l'extrait 28 (l. 4 : λέλεκται au lieu de λέγεται ; l. 16 : l'omission de τοῦ), ce qui permet de dire que **D** d'un côté et **E G** de l'autre descendent d'un modèle commun.

[20] Seul Fernández, *Book Alpha*, pp. cxx-cxxi, pense que **G** est une copie de **E**. À ce propos, voir surtout Ceulemans et al., *La continuation*, p. 77.

Concentrons-nous maintenant sur les témoins partiels.

Tout d'abord, le manuscrit **R**, qui, on l'aura vu, renferme quelques extraits dans leur intégralité, ainsi que des parties d'autres extraits. Il contient un nombre assez élevé d'erreurs et de variantes (voulues) qui isolent ce témoin de tout le reste de la tradition. En voici quelques exemples : extraits 18 (l. 1 : παρά au lieu de ἀπό), 25 (l. 4 : ἀληθὴς ὑπάρχων au lieu de ἀληθινὸς ὑπάρχειν μαρτυρηθείς), 28 (l. 2 : Πλήνιος au lieu de Σπλήνιος ; l. 5 : une transposition de mots ; l. 6 : l'omission d'un καί ; l. 15 : l'addition d'un δέ et de καὶ ἄρρεν ; ll. 15 et 16 : l'omission de τοῦ et de μέν ; l. 16 : une transposition). Malheureusement, la Lettre Ψ ne contient aucun élément permettant de voir plus clair en ce qui concerne la place de **R** dans le *stemma codicum* ; sur base des Lettres A et H, on pense de le pouvoir situer au-dessus du modèle commun de la troisième recension[21].

La même constatation vaut pour le manuscrit **U**, pour lequel nous n'avons pas seulement collationné les extraits de la Lettre Ψ, mais également ceux qui appartiennent aux Lettres A, Γ et H. Le codex **U** se caractérise, lui aussi, par un grand nombre de fautes et variantes qui l'isolent de tout le reste de la tradition ; on citera ici, à titre d'exemples, les cas suivants, qui se trouvent dans l'extrait 29 de la Lettre Ψ : les ll. 2 (ἔνδοθεν au lieu de ἔσωθεν), 5 (πρεσβυτέρου ἢ ἐπισκόπου au lieu de ἐπισκόπου ἢ πρεσβυτέρου), 12 (φημάριον au lieu de φημιάριον), 14 (ἔχει au lieu de ἔχεις), 16 (ἀδικίματα [*sic*] au lieu de ἀδικημάτων), 18 (σταθμούς au lieu de βαθμούς), 19-20 (l'omission, par saut du même au même, de προφητῶν – διδάγματα) et 23 (προνοίας au lieu de πολιτείας). À plusieurs endroits, le manuscrit **U** se rattache à la leçon qui singularise la troisième recension : ainsi dans la troisième recension et en **U**, l'extrait 98 de la Lettre A suit l'extrait 99 ; on citera également l'omission de καί (A 98, l. 9) ; ἐλευθερωθέντες au lieu de ἐλευθερωθεῖσαι (A 98, l. 19) ; ἠλευθέρωνται au lieu de ἠλευθερώθησαν (A 98, l. 23) ; l'omission de οὖν (A 99, l. 2) ; l'omission de καί (H 10, l. 17) ; et l'omission de Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα (H 11, l. 2). Mais à d'autres endroits, le manuscrit **U** ne suit pas la troisième recension. En effet, les extraits Γ 15, 18-19 et Ψ 19, bien conservés en **U**, manquent dans la troisième recension ; dans les cas suivants **U** s'oppose à la leçon de la troisième recension : A 98, ll. 6-8 (une grande omission qui caractérise la troisième recension) ; A 98, l. 12 (encore une omission) ; H 10, l. 20 (l'omission d'une phrase) ; Ψ 29, l. 9 (l'addition d'un καί). Il semble que le codex **U** remonte plus haut dans le *stemma* que le modèle commun de la troisième recension. Mais, malheureusement, il y a également quelques lieux où **U** se

[21] À ce propos, consultez FERNÁNDEZ, *Book Alpha*, pp. CXL-CXLI, ainsi que CEULEMANS et al., *La continuation*, pp. 82-83.

rattache aux manuscrits **E G**, qui, on le sait, constituent une petite sous-famille à l'intérieur de la troisième recension : voir, par exemple, H 10, l. 41 (l'omission de καί et de αὐτῷ) ; H 10, l. 44 (une transposition de mots) ; H 11, l. 13 (l'addition de μέν) ; H 11, l. 19 (l'omission de καί) ; H 11, l. 21 (τῶν ἔσχατον ... γενομένων au lieu de τῶν ἐπ' ἐσχάτων ... γενόμενον) ; H 11, l. 26 (l'addition de τοῦ) ; Ψ 26, l. 3 (l'omission de ὡς). Il est clair qu'on aura besoin de données supplémentaires pour déterminer définitivement la place de **U** dans le *stemma*.

Passons maintenant aux manuscrits **K** et **L**, qui renferment les extraits 1-2, 5-14 et 26-27. L'information rassemblée pour les autres Lettres nous a amenés à l'hypothèse que **L** est une copie de **K**. La Lettre Ψ confirme cette thèse : en effet, à l'intérieur de ce groupuscule **K L**, le premier témoin est le seul à ne pas avoir de variantes caractéristiques supplémentaires. Par contre, nous avons trouvé trois variantes qui caractérisent **L** seul : en tête de l'extrait 9, attribué à Ζαχαρίου, seul **L** a ajouté, dans le texte même, le titre Περὶ εὐορκίας qui est absent du manuscrit **K** ; dans l'extrait 14, aux ll. 12-13, **L** a une omission de καί à ὑπέλθωμεν (par saut du même au même) ; dans l'extrait 27, l. 3, seul **L** a τάγματα au lieu de τάγμα[22].

L'étude des Lettres déjà éditées nous a permis de constater que **E G** d'une part et **K** (et son apographe **L**) de l'autre descendent d'un modèle commun, responsable de leurs erreurs et variantes. La Lettre Ψ confirme cette relation entre ces quatre témoins. On ne citera ici que deux exemples probants où **E G K L** ont une leçon qui les isole de tout le reste de la tradition : extraits 13 (l. 6: l'addition de ἐλπιοῦσιν) et 14 (l. 15: δύναται au lieu de δυνήσεται).

Les témoins **M** et **O** ne contiennent que trois extraits de la Lettre Ψ, ce qui ne facilite pas notre tâche afin de déterminer leur place dans notre *stemma*. Heureusement, on dispose de données supplémentaires fournies par Fernández[23] et par nos propres recherches sur l'extrait tiré de la *Bibliotheca* de Diodore de Sicile[24]. Il est clair que **M O** contiennent toutes les erreurs et variantes qui caractérisent **E G** et qui ont été relevées dans notre apparat critique. Plus particulièrement, **M O** se rattachent clairement au manuscrit **G**. De cela témoignent, pour Ψ, trois cas assez probants : Ἀθανασίου Ἀλεξανδρείας en **G M O** au lieu de Ἀναστασίου Ἀντιοχείας (l'attribution de l'extrait 26) ; φρονοῦντες en **G M O** au lieu de φοροῦντες (extrait 29, l. 12) ; et l'omission de οὐ en **G M O** (extrait 29, l. 13). Cette relation est confirmée par les conclusions auxquelles Fernández a abouti pour les extraits

[22] Ajoutons une différence de numérotation : tandis qu'en **K**, le chapitre Περὶ ψεύδους καὶ συκοφαντίας a le numéro ϛθ', c'est οθ' en **L**.

[23] *Book Alpha*, pp. CXLVII-CXLVIII.

[24] MICHELS et VAN DEUN, *On the Topaz Island*, p. 286.

de la Lettre A. Ce qui est clair aussi, est que **M O** sont les seuls à avoir des fautes et des variantes supplémentaires par rapport au manuscrit **G**, ce qui nous permet de conclure que **M O** dépendent de **G**. En effet, **M O** ont quelques fautes et variantes qui les isolent de tout le reste de la tradition ; aux exemples donnés par Fernández pour les extraits 1-4 de la Lettre A, nous ajouterons un seul cas pour Ψ (extrait 26, l. 4 : l'omission du second τό)[25]. De plus, il est évident que les quelques extraits de la chaîne de Procope de Gaza qu'on lit en **M** et **O**, sont pris à la chaîne complète conservée en **G** (ff. 149-255). Une dernière question reste encore ouverte : quelle est la relation entre **M** et **O** ? À l'intérieur de cette sous-famille, **O** est le seul à ne pas avoir de leçons individuelles : il nous semble donc raisonnable de supposer que ce codex est l'ancêtre direct de **M**. Fernández donne trois variantes individuelles de **M** vis-à-vis de **O** ; pour la Lettre Ψ, on n'a qu'un seul exemple, toutefois peu probant (extrait 25, l. 4 : οὗτος au lieu de οὕτως)[26]. Pour conclure, on est ici devant une lignée de trois générations de manuscrits qui se succèdent de manière rectilinéaire : **M** est un apographe de **O** qui, à son tour, dépend de **G**.

Finalement, il y a le manuscrit **Z**. Celui-ci se rapproche clairement de **F**. Voici quelques exemples où **F** et **Z** s'isolent de tout le reste de la tradition : τοῦ au lieu de τό (extrait 17, l. 2) ; περιγραφήν au lieu de περιγραπτόν (extrait 17, l. 9) ; l'addition de l'article τήν (extrait 18, l. 4) ; ἔτυχε au lieu de ἔλαχε (extrait 21, l. 2) ; ἄνετον au lieu de ἄφετον (extrait 21, l. 5) ; ἐμφυσήσαντας au lieu de ἐμφυσήσαντα (extrait 24, l. 6) ; θέαν au lieu de ἄβιον, leçon très problématique (extrait 25, l. 11 ; voir plus loin) ; ἀποκρίματι au lieu de ἀποκρίναντι (extrait 25, l. 14) ; ἐγκεῖσθαι au lieu de ἐγκινεῖσθαι (extrait 28, l. 9) ; καταισχύνεται au lieu de κατισχύεται (extrait 28, l. 18). Tant **F** que **Z** ont des variantes et des fautes individuelles : il est donc très probable qu'ils descendent, indépendamment l'un de l'autre, d'un modèle aujourd'hui perdu[27]. Pour **F** on citera ici deux omissions d'un δέ (extrait 28, ll. 4 et 28), ainsi qu'un τά au lieu d'un τό (extrait 28, l. 23).

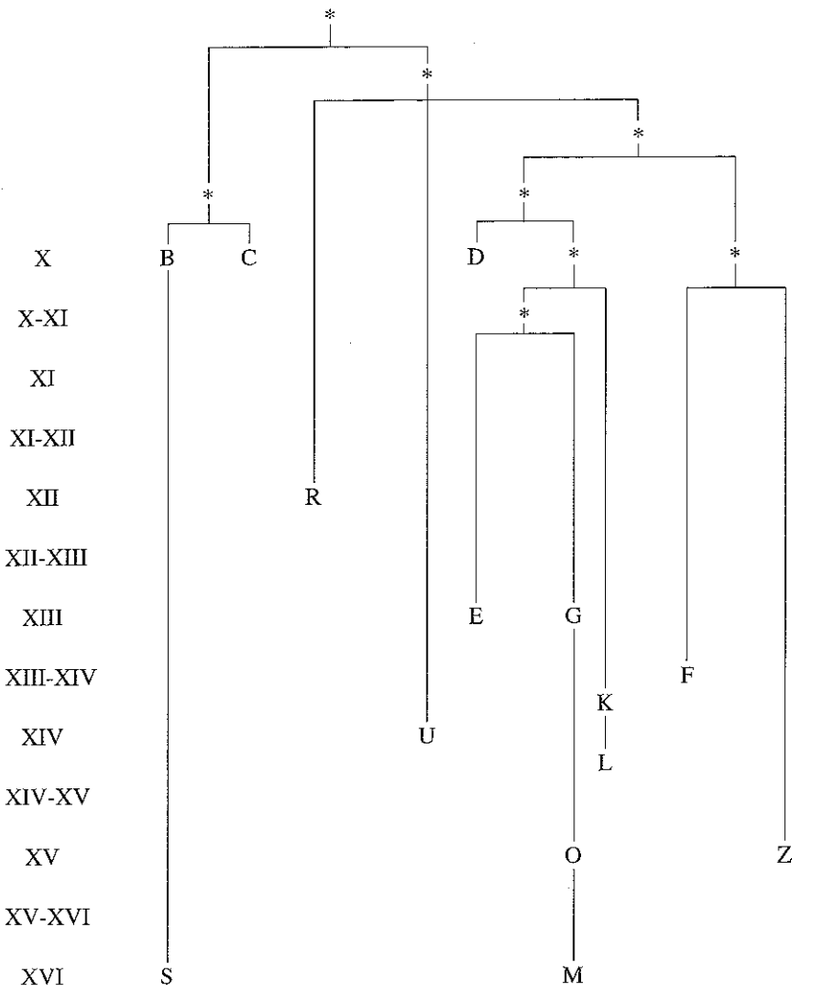
[25] Dans l'article mentionné à la note précédente, les auteurs identifient trois autres cas à propos de l'extrait de Diodore de Sicile cité dans la Lettre Λ (une scholie marginale qui ne se lit qu'en **M O** ; ἐπί au lieu de περί ; et ἀστυχῆ au lieu de ἀτυχῆ).

[26] Pour l'extrait de Diodore de Sicile (voir la n. 24) on dispose d'une erreur évidente en **M** (ἔλαβε au lieu de of ἔτυχε).

[27] Comparer avec les conclusions de K.-H. Uthemann (*Anastasii Sinaitae Sermones duo*, p. CXXX), qui avait classé **Z**, le *Vaticanus gr.* 491 et le *Vaticanus gr.* 728 comme trois frères. Aucun de ces deux autres témoins ne contient des extraits de la Lettre Ψ, mais pour d'autres Lettres du florilège le *Vaticanus gr.* 728 dépend – par un intermédiaire – de **F** (manuscrit qu'Uthemann ne connaît pas). Voir Fernández, *Book Alpha*, pp. CXIII-CXV et Ceulemans et al., *La continuation*, p. 82.

Pour ce qui est de **Z**, il y a, à titre d'exemples, les cas suivants : κατά au lieu de διά[2] (extrait 15, l. 5) ; l'omission de κατ' ἀρχάς (extrait 20, l. 1) et de αἱ (extrait 21, l. 2) ; πρώτην au lieu de πρώτη (extrait 28, l. 4) ; σπαργανοῦσθαι au lieu de ἀποσπαργανοῦσθαι (extrait 28, l. 27) et l'omission de τε[2] (extrait 28, l. 36).

De tout ce qui précède, nous pouvons tirer le *stemma codicum* suivant :



Contenu et attributions

Venons-en maintenant au contenu de cette Lettre du florilège et à sa manière d'utiliser les sources. La Lettre se compose de trois chapitres, dont le premier se concentre sur le mensonge et la calomnie (τὸ ψεῦδος καὶ ἡ συκοφαντία), le deuxième sur l'âme (ἡ ψυχή) et le troisième, qui prend son départ dans Matth. 7.15-16 et qui ne renferme qu'un seul extrait, sur les faux prophètes (οἱ ψευδοπροφῆται)[28].

Le premier chapitre contient quatorze extraits. Pour ce qui est des sources, la première chose qui apparaît est la place prépondérante de la Septante : à l'exception des deux derniers – qui sont tirés de la *Scala Paradisi* de Jean Climaque – tous ces extraits sont des citations de l'Ancien Testament, dont quelques-uns sont restés anonymes, d'autres sont pourvus d'une attribution. L'apparat de comparaison révèle que ces citations sont assez proches de leur source, à l'exception de l'extrait 12, qui semble être une paraphrase au lieu d'une citation littérale. Cette observation rend notre identification de Sir. 5.14 comme source de cet extrait douteuse. Le fait que pour d'autres Lettres, le compilateur du florilège ait parfois tiré des citations 'bibliques' d'autres sources, et non directement de la Septante, renforce nos soupçons[29]. Cependant, nous n'avons pas trouvé d'autre texte qui puisse avoir été à la source de l'extrait 12. Observons enfin que dans cet extrait, le florilège ne concorde pas non plus avec les *Sacra Parallela* : dans cette compilation, la citation de Sir. 5.14 est littérale[30].

L'ensemble des douze extraits septantiques se retrouvent dans les *Sacra Parallela*. Au-delà de cette constatation, il n'y a pas grande chose à observer. Dans les cas où le florilège diffère de la Septante, on voit que les *Sacra Parallela* se rapprochent parfois de notre florilège (contre la Bible)[31] et parfois de la Septante (contre le *Florilegium Coislinianum*)[32].

[28] Sur la numérotation des chapitres, voir ci-dessous (principes d'édition).

[29] Voir De Vos et al., *L'art de compiler*, pp. 170-172.

[30] O. Wahl, *Der Sirach-Text der Sacra Parallela* (*Forschung zur Bibel*, 16), Würzburg, 1974, p. 58.

[31] C'est le cas de la variante qui se trouve dans l'extrait 10 (οὗ ἐὰν παροικῇ) : le texte des *Sacra Parallela* (Wahl, *Der Sirach-Text*, p. 105) est plus proche de celui du *Florilegium Coislinianum* que de celui de la Septante. Remarquons aussi que dans l'extrait 7, le florilège, en omettant le mot εὐτονίας, concorde avec un seul manuscrit des *Sacra Parallela*, contre toute la tradition textuelle de l'Ecclésiaste. Pour ce qui est de la leçon ἀπολεῖ (dans le même extrait), le florilège et les *Sacra Parallela* concordent, contre la tradition septantique. Cf. O. Wahl, *Der Proverbien- und Kohelet-Text der Sacra Parallela* (*Forschung zur Bibel*, 51), Würzburg, 1985, p. 161.

[32] Voir, par exemple, les leçons ψεύσεσθε (extrait 1) et ἑαυτοῦ ψυχήν (extrait 10) que partagent la Septante et les *Sacra Parallela* (cf. respectivement *PG* 96, col. 432.24 et Wahl, *Der Sirach-Text*, p. 105), contre le *Florilegium Coislinianum*.

Les extraits 15-28, qui constituent le deuxième chapitre de la Lettre, traitent de l'âme (Περὶ ψυχῆς). Le premier extrait est tiré du *Viae dux* d'Anastase le Sinaïte[33]. Les deux extraits suivants (16-17) sont tirés des *Homélies* pseudo-clémentines. Pour ce qui est de l'extrait 17, il faut noter une curieuse différence entre la tradition directe du texte du Pseudo-Clément et la citation telle qu'elle est conservée dans notre florilège. Tandis que ce dernier a δυνατὸν γὰρ ἐπὶ μόνου Θεοῦ κάλλος ἄνευ μορφῆς εἶναι καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ ἔρωτα ἐπισπᾶσθαί τινα τῷ πίστει Θεὸν ὁρᾶν εἶδος περιγραπτὸν οὐκ ἔχοντα, le texte du pseudo-Clément nous informe en effet que ces choses sont *impossibles* (ἀδύνατον)[34]. Nous avons toutefois gardé la leçon δυνατόν, qui est vraisemblablement la leçon originale du florilège : elle est corroborée par celle des *Sacra Parallela*[35].

Les deux extraits pseudo-clémentins sont suivis d'un extrait de l'*Adversus haereses* d'Irénée (extrait 18), d'un extrait anonyme qui est tiré des *Orationes* de Grégoire de Nazianze (19) et par deux extraits de Philon d'Alexandrie, dont le premier (20) est pris au *De praemiis et poenis* (Περὶ ἄθλων καὶ ἐπιτιμίων καὶ ἀρῶν). Le deuxième (extrait 21) provient du *Quod Deus sit immutabilis* (Ὅτι ἄτρεπτον τὸ θεῖον) de Philon, mais tous les témoins du *Florilegium Coislinianum* le rattachent au *De gigantibus* (Περὶ γιγάντων) du même auteur. Cette attribution n'est pas étonnante, car on sait qu'une partie des témoins de Philon considèrent le *Quod Deus sit immutabilis* et le *De gigantibus* comme faisant partie d'une seule œuvre portant le titre Περὶ γιγάντων[36].

Suivent des extraits tirés respectivement du *Contra gentes* d'Athanase d'Alexandrie (extrait 22), d'une lettre de Cyrille d'Alexandrie citée dans les Actes du Concile d'Éphèse (23) et du *Viae dux* d'Anastase (24 et 26)[37]. Entre les deux extraits anastasiens se trouve un extrait pris aux *Quaestiones*

[33] Notons que dans la tradition directe du *Viae dux*, tout comme dans notre florilège, le titre Περὶ ψυχῆς précède les questions auxquelles l'extrait en question répond : voir *Anastasii Sinaitae Viae dux*. Edidit K.-H. Uthemann (*CCSG*, 8), Turnhout - Leuven, 1981, II, 5, l. 53. Ce parallèle n'est pas certain (et il n'est pas signalé dans l'apparat des sources), mais il faut noter qu'un phénomène semblable se rencontre dans la Lettre H à propos de quelques extraits de Maxime le Confesseur (les numéros 2, 6 et 7 dans Ceulemans et al., *La continuation*).

[34] Cette divergence n'est pas la seule entre la tradition directe de l'homélie et la citation dans le florilège : voir notre apparat de comparaison de l'extrait en question.

[35] Dans les *Sacra Parallela*, la phrase est identique à celle dans le *Florilegium Coislinianum* : voir *Fragmente vornicänischer Kirchenväter aus den Sacra Parallela*. Herausgegeben von K. Holl (*TU*, 5.2), Leipzig, 1899, fragment 22 (p. 12).

[36] À ce propos, voir les *Prolegomena* dans *Philonis Alexandrini opera quae supersunt*. Edidit P. Wendland, II, Berlin, 1897, pp. xxi-xxii.

[37] Dans U, une main postérieure a ajouté les mots Περὶ ψυχῆς (pas notés dans notre apparat) dans la marge de l'extrait 26. Comparez avec n. 33.

et responsiones du Pseudo-Césaire (25). Arrêtons-nous un instant à la l. 11 de ce dernier extrait, où on lit la curieuse leçon ἄβιον en **S** et **D**, tandis que les manuscrits **E G M O** et **F Z** essaient de remédier à cette erreur en proposant respectivement εἶδος et θέαν. Le même problème se pose pour la tradition directe du Pseudo-Césaire[38]. Les manuscrits majeurs ont ἀβίαν, un mot qui n'existe pas ; dans d'autres témoins, on lit ἀμίαν, ce qui ne fait aucun sens non plus (ἀμία est un thon !) ; et deux autres codex n'ont rien. L'éditeur du Pseudo-Césaire, R. Riedinger, propose de lire ἀναλογίαν (donc πρὸς ἀναλογίαν καὶ ὁμοίωσιν). Nous avons conservé la leçon ἄβιον, en ajoutant toutefois des *cruces*.

Le chapitre Περὶ ψυχῆς s'achève sur un extrait des *Catecheses ad illuminandos* de Cyrille de Jérusalem (extrait 27) et un long extrait de Jean le Lydien (28). Ce dernier extrait (IV, 26 du *De mensibus*) est souvent transmis indépendamment du texte du Lydien[39]. Toutefois, le *Florilège Coislin* (connu par l'éditeur R. Wuensch par le *Monacensis gr.* 551, notre manuscrit **Z**) se distingue des autres témoins de cette tradition indirecte en ayant transmis l'extrait dans sa rédaction longue (c'est-à-dire, avec trois additions)[40]. Il est vrai que cette rédaction longue se trouve aussi au dehors de notre florilège mais ce dernier est le seul à avoir attribué cet extrait à Jean le Lydien[41].

Le dernier extrait de la Lettre Ψ, le seul que contient le chapitre sur les faux prophètes[42], est attribué à Athanase (ou Athanase d'Alexandrie en **U** et **F**) dans tous les manuscrits qui le contiennent. Curieusement, **E** contient une double attribution : celle à Athanase est précédée du nom de Cyrille de Jérusalem. Faut-il chercher la cause de cette anomalie dans l'extrait 27, un extrait de Cyrille où toute attribution manque en **E** (comme en **G Z**) ?

Comme cet extrait 29 donne une exégèse de Matth. 7.15-16, les éditeurs antérieurs ont pensé qu'il appartient aux fragments d'Athanase sur cet évangile. Le florilège ne fait pourtant pas mention de ce commentaire, contrairement

[38] Cf. RIEDINGER, *Überlieferungsgeschichte*, pp. 106-107 et 409. L'auteur connaît le *Florilegium Coislinianum*, mais a mal lu la leçon de notre manuscrit **D** (ἄβιαν au lieu de ἄβιον).

[39] Comme l'on peut le déduire de la section de l'introduction à l'édition critique sur ce sujet, il y a plus de trente manuscrits qui transmettent cet extrait du *De mensibus* sans en contenir d'autres : voir *Ioannis Lydi Liber de mensibus*. R. WUENSCH (*BSGRT*), Leipzig, 1898 (= Stuttgart, 1967), pp. XXIV-XXIX.

[40] Comparer notre apparat des sources à propos des ll. 1-2, 13-15, 22-25 de l'extrait 28 avec WUENSCH, *Liber de mensibus*, pp. XXVII-XXVIII.

[41] Les autres témoins indirects de cette rédaction longue le transmettent anonymement sous le titre Περὶ γεννήσεως ἀνθρώπων (ou des titres variantes). Voir le *Parisinus gr.* 2610 et le *Vaticanus, Ottobonianus gr.* 291 dans K. KRUMBACHER, *Studien zu den Legenden des hl. Theodosios*, dans *Sitzungsberichte der philosophisch-philologischen Classe der k. b. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu München* (1892), pp. 350-355.

[42] Sur ce qui suit à la Lettre Ψ dans plusieurs manuscrits du florilège, voir n. 2.

à l'extrait que nous avons rencontré dans la Lettre H (extrait 10)[43]. Dans notre publication de 2011, nous avons formulé l'hypothèse que le *Florilegium Coislinianum* serait l'unique témoin de plusieurs extraits (pseudo-) athanasiens[44], une hypothèse corroborée par ce nouvel extrait en Ψ. Notons que l'extrait 29 de la Lettre Ψ se trouve deux fois dans la *PG* : parmi les *fragmenta varia* d'Athanase (vol. 26, col. 1253) et parmi les *fragmenta in Matthaeum* de cet auteur (vol. 27, coll. 1380-1381). Les quatre fragments qui se trouvent dans la *PG* 26, 1251-1256 sont tirés de l'édition des œuvres complètes d'Athanase publiée en 1698 par Bernard de Montfaucon[45]. De ces quatre fragments, il y en a trois qui traitent d'un passage de Matthieu[46], ce qui explique pourquoi de Montfaucon a réimprimé ces trois extraits (parmi lesquels notre extrait 29) dans la section intitulée '*Ex sermonibus sive commentariis in Evangelium Matthaei*' qui figure dans l'édition supplémentaire qu'il a publiée en 1706[47]. C'est cette section sur Matthieu qui est reprise dans la *PG* 27, coll. 1361-1390[48]. Donc, les quatre fragments de la *PG* 26

[43] Voir CEULEMANS et al., *La continuation*, p. 86 : la première et la deuxième recension mentionnent que l'extrait est tiré « (du livre) de l'exégèse d'Athanase de l'évangile de Matthieu ».

[44] Cf. CEULEMANS et al., *La continuation*, p. 87. Sur la présence d'Athanase dans le florilège, voir aussi FERNÁNDEZ, *A Correction*, pp. 1-7 et FERNÁNDEZ, *Dos fragmentos inéditos*, pp. 79-93 (où l'on trouve l'édition critique de deux extraits de la Lettre A attribués à l'Alexandrin).

[45] *Sancti Patris nostri Athanasii archiep. Alexandrini opera omnia quae exstant vel quae ejus nomine circumferentur, ad mss. codices Gallicanos, Vaticanos, etc. necnon ad Commelinianas lectiones castigata, multis aucta: nova interpretatione, praefationibus, notis, variis lectionibus illustrata: novâ Sancti Doctoris vitâ, onomastico, et copiosissimis indicibus locupletata.* Opera et studio monachorum ordinis S. Benedicti è Congregatione Sancti Mauri, Parisiis, 1698, tome I.2 (= vol. 3), pp. 1289-1292 (*'fragmenta alia'* d'Athanase). Migne n'a pas utilisé cette édition, mais celle publiée en 1777 par N. A. Giustiniani, qui reprend celle de Montfaucon : *Sancti Patris nostri Athanasii archiepiscopi Alexandrini opera omnia quae exstant vel quae ejus nomine circumferentur, ad mss. codices Gallicanos, Vaticanos, etc. necnon ad Commelinianas lectiones castigata, multis aucta: nova interpretatione, praefationibus, notis, variis lectionibus illustrata: novâ Sancti Doctoris vitâ, onomastico, et copiosissimis indicibus locupletata.* Opera et studio monachorum ordinis S. Benedicti è Congregatione Sancti Mauri. Novissimis nunc curis emendatiora, et quarto volumine aucta, Patavii, 1777, tome I.2 (= vol. 3), pp. 1025-1027.

[46] Le quatrième fragment commente Ps. 148.7. Comme ceux sur Matthieu, cet extrait est tiré du *Florilegium Coislinianum*, et plus spécifiquement du manuscrit **U** (voir plus loin), et non de **C**, comme l'a écrit FERNÁNDEZ, *Dos fragmentos inéditos*, p. 81, n. 5.

[47] *Collectio nova Patrum et Scriptorum Graecorum, Eusebii Caesariensis, Athanasii, et Cosmae Aegyptii.* Haec nunc primum ex manuscriptis codicibus Graecis, Italicis Gallicanisque eruit, Latine vertit, notis et praefationibus illustravit B. DE MONTFAUCON, Parisiis, 1706, II, pp. 23-41.

[48] Dans ce cas aussi, Migne a utilisé l'édition de Montfaucon par l'intermédiaire de celle de Giustiniani (1777) : *Athanasii opera omnia*, tome III (= vol. 4), pp. 18-31. On notera une différence entre la *PG* et l'édition de Giustiniani (et donc aussi celle de Montfaucon) : un des trois fragments en question (celle sur Matth. 2.19-20 = extrait 10 de la Lettre H du *Florilegium Coislinianum*) n'est pas imprimé une seconde fois par Migne et manque donc dans la *PG* 27 (cf. le renvoi à la *PG* 26, col. 1251 dans *PG* 27, col. 1365).

et les trois de la *PG* 27 ont tous pour origine l'édition montfauconienne de 1698. On ajoutera que, dans cette édition, la source unique des fragments est mentionnée explicitement[49] : il s'agit de l'*Oxoniensis, Baroccianus gr.* 91, un codex que nous avons identifié comme étant un témoin partiel de notre florilège (notre manuscrit **U**). Curieusement, Migne n'a pas repris cette notice[50], ce qui a compliqué l'identification de la source des fragments de la *PG*. En guise de conclusion, on peut dire que le *Florilegium Coislinianum* est la source unique de ces fragments, ce qui confirme, une fois encore, l'importance de notre florilège.

Principes d'édition

Pour l'établissement du texte, nous avons dû abandonner ou au moins modifier les principes que nous avions adoptés pour l'édition des autres parties du florilège[51]. Pour l'édition des Lettres B, Γ et H, nous avons privilégié les manuscrits **A B C** et en cas de désaccord, nous avons presque toujours considéré comme originale la leçon attestée par deux branches contre une (surtout quand la leçon commune de deux recensions se rattache au texte de la source). Pour la Lettre Ψ, la situation est différente. En effet, la première recension et le manuscrit **B** manquent pour cette Lettre, et le témoin **C** s'arrête au milieu de Ψ. Voici donc les principes que nous avons suivis pour l'établissement du texte de Ψ. Pour la section pour laquelle **C** est disponible (c'est-à-dire la première moitié du texte), nous avons privilégié les leçons qui se trouvent dans ce témoin et dans au moins une des branches de la troisième recension. Pour la section pour laquelle **C** manque, nous avons adopté le même principe, mais cette fois-ci en remplaçant **C** par **S**[52]. Les manuscrits **M O L** étant des apographes d'autres témoins conservés, nous avons écarté les leçons de ces trois codex de notre apparat critique.

[49] Voir p. 1289 de la première édition mentionnée à la n. 45.

[50] Bien qu'elle figure dans l'édition de Giustiniani, sa source directe (voir p. 1025 de la deuxième édition mentionnée à la n. 45).

[51] Voir les articles parus dans *Byzantion* et cités à la n. 1.

[52] Il y a trois exceptions importantes. Dans l'extrait 25, l. 13, nous avons choisi la leçon στερρουμένη que les témoins **E G** ont en commun avec la source, en considérant les leçons de **S** (στερρούμενος) et de **R D F Z** (στερρούμενον) incompréhensibles. Dans l'extrait 17, l. 8, nous avons suivi le texte des *Sacra Parallela* (τῷ), contre l'ensemble de la tradition manuscrite du *Florilegium Coislinianum*, dont la leçon τό nous semble corrompue. Enfin, dans l'extrait 19 nous avons suivi **U** en adoptant l'attribution à Grégoire de Nazianze, contre le seul autre témoin **S**, en vue du fait que ce dernier omet souvent une attribution qui est toutefois présente dans le texte originel (voir, par exemple, l'extrait 13).

Nous avons également dû changer notre méthode par rapport à la numérotation. L'édition publiée ici est la première dans laquelle une Lettre du *Florilegium Coislinianum* est entièrement éditée, alors que cette Lettre n'est pas conservée dans la première recension. Cette observation est d'importance pour la numérotation : dans les éditions des lettres A, B, Γ et H[53], nous avons toujours adopté la numérotation de la première recension, qui est la seule dans laquelle les chapitres sont numérotés par *stoicheion*. Pour l'édition de la lettre Ψ, par contre, on doit se contenter du système de numérotation utilisé dans les deuxième et troisième recensions, c'est-à-dire une numérotation qui est continue tout au long du florilège[54]. Cet élément est assez problématique, puisque les témoins de ces recensions ne concordent pas à ce propos. Dans la deuxième recension (**C S**), les trois chapitres de la Lettre Ψ sont numérotés σμδ'-σμζ'[55], tandis que dans la troisième recension (**D E G**), on trouve les numéros σκη'-σλ'[56]. Sans être idéale[57], nous avons choisi la numérotation de la deuxième recension (qui inclut chaque fois le mot κεφ<άλαιον>), tandis que la numérotation alternative est rejetée dans l'apparat.

Dans notre édition, on trouvera grosso modo la division des extraits telle que nous l'avons rencontrée dans les manuscrits[58]. Elle diverge cependant en deux lieux : (a) en divisant les extraits 1-2, 5-6, et 10-11 chaque fois en deux extraits, nous avons suivi le témoignage de **C**, contre le reste de la tradition ; (b) en divisant 11-12 et 13-14 en deux extraits, nous avons suivi **C S**, contre le reste de la tradition[59].

[53] Voir la n. 1.

[54] Signalons que dans, quelques témoins fragmentaires, on trouve des numéros tout à fait différents. En **K**, le chapitre Περὶ ψεύδους καὶ συκοφαντίας a le numéro ϟθ' (cf. n. 22). En **R**, les extraits 16, 18 et 13 du chapitre Περὶ ψυχῆς sont numérotés ϟζ'-ϟθ'. Évidemment, la numérotation de tels témoins a été laissée de côté.

[55] Cette numérotation est en réalité celle de **S** (et pas de **C**). D'abord : comme nous l'avons déjà montré, le troisième chapitre de Ψ n'est pas préservé en **C**, qui s'achève mutilé au cours du deuxième chapitre. Ensuite, au début de ce chapitre Περὶ ψυχῆς, aucun numéro n'est lisible en **C**. Enfin, le numéro du premier chapitre de Ψ se lit μδ' (*sic*) en **C** ; très probablement, il s'agit d'une erreur pour σμδ'.

[56] Nous n'avons pas trouvé de numérotation en **F**. Ajoutons que dans les manuscrits **D E G**, il y a un décalage entre la numérotation qu'on trouve dans le texte (σκη'-σλ') et celle qui se lit dans le pinax (σκζ'-σκθ' en **E G** ; σκζ'-σκη' en **D**). À ce propos, voir Fernández, *Book Alpha*, p. lxxviii, n. 198.

[57] Pour les difficultés, voir la n. 55.

[58] Abstraction faite des témoins fragmentaires (qui réorganisent tous, dans une certaine mesure, le contenu des chapitres) et de **D** (dans lequel presque tous les extraits sont soudés l'un à l'autre).

[59] Le fait que l'extrait 14 soit soudé au 13e dans les manuscrits **E G F** (et **D K L**) explique le manque d'attribution pour cet extrait 14 dans ces manuscrits (**C S** ont τοῦ αὐτοῦ).

Notre édition est accompagnée de cinq apparats contenant respectivement[60] :

- l'identification des sources
- les variantes dans les manuscrits concernant les titres et les attributions[61]
- les variantes textuelles des manuscrits[62]
- le comparaison du texte du florilège avec celui de la source
- l'identification des extraits dans les autres florilèges apparentés : les *Sacra Parallela* et les *Loci communes*[63].

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SUMMARY

This article contains the *editio princeps* of the Letter Ψ of the *Florilegium Coislinianum*, which is the final *stoicheion* to have been transmitted in the manuscript tradition of this important Byzantine anthology of the IXth-Xth century. In the introduction, four additional fragmentary witnesses are identified.

[60] Voici l'ordre général des manuscrits dans les apparats : **C S R U D E G F Z K**.

[61] En règle générale, nous n'indiquons pas dans cet apparat si les leçons se trouvent soit *in margine* soit *in textu*.

[62] Dans cet apparat, nous avons aussi indiqué les scholies (peu nombreuses) qui accompagnent le texte dans quelques témoins (notamment **E G**). Dans ces cas-là, nous avons gardé l'orthographe des manuscrits.

[63] Des parallèles entre le *Florilegium Coislinianum* et les *Sacra Parallela* en ce qui concerne la Lettre Ψ ont déjà été signalés par M. RICHARD, *Florilèges spirituels grecs*, dans *Dsp* 5 (1962), col. 486 (repris dans ses *Opera minora*, I, Turnhout - Leuven, 1976, n° 1). Pour identifier ces parallèles dans les *Sacra Parallela*, nous n'avons utilisé que la *PG* (vol. 95, coll. 1040-1588 ; vol. 96, coll. 9-441) et l'édition de K. HOLL (*Fragmente vornicänischer Kirchenväter*). Pour les extraits qui sont des citations de Deutéronome, des Proverbes, de l'Ecclésiaste, du Siracide et de Zacharie, nous avons aussi donné la référence aux éditions établies par O. Wahl.

CONSPECTUS SIGLORUM

Recensio II
C *Parisinus gr.* 924 (*s.* X), ff. 369-370^{v} (*des. mutil.*)
S *Bruxellensis, Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier*, IV 881 (*a.* 1542), ff. 185-188^{v}

Recensio III
D *Mediolanensis, Ambrosianus* Q 74 sup. (*s.* X), ff. 128^{v}-131
E *Argentoratensis, Bibliotheca Nationalis et Universitatis gr.* 12 (*a.* 1285-1286), ff. 207-212
G *Athous, Iviron* 38 (*a.* 1281-1282), ff. 143-147^{v}
F *Atheniensis, Bibliotheca Nationalis* 329 (*s.* XIII-XIV), ff. 144^{v}-146^{v}

Fragmenta
R *Athous, Lavra* B 43 (*s.* XII), ff. 193^{v}-195
U *Oxoniensis, Bodleianus, Baroccianus gr.* 91 (*s.* XIV), f. 150^{r-v}
Z *Monacensis gr.* 551 (*s.* XV), ff. 57^{v}-59^{v}
K *Athous, Koutloumousiou* 9 (*s.* XIV), pp. 546-548

Κεφάλαιον ΣΜΔ΄ Περὶ ψεύδους καὶ συκοφαντίας

1 Οὐ ψεύσηται, οὐδ΄ οὐ μὴ συκοφαντήσῃ ἕκαστος τὸν πλησίον αὐτοῦ.

2 Οὐ ψευδομαρτυρήσεις κατὰ τοῦ πλησίον σου μαρτυρίαν ψευδῆ.

3 Δαυῒδ
Ἀπολεῖς πάντας τοὺς λαλοῦντας τὸ ψεῦδος.

4 Ἐξολοθρεύσαι Κύριος πάντα τὰ χείλη τὰ δόλια.

5 Παροιμίαι
Βδέλυγμα Κυρίῳ χείλη ψευδῆ.

6 Μάρτυς ψευδὴς οὐκ ἀτιμώρητος ἔσται.

7 Ἐκκλησιαστοῦ
Ἡ συκοφαντία περιφέρει σοφὸν καὶ ἀπολεῖ τὴν καρδίαν αὐτοῦ.

1.1 Lev. 19.11 **2.1** Ex. 20.16; Deut. 5.20 **3.1** Ps. 5.7a **4.1** Ps. 11.4a **5.1** Prov. 12.22a **6.1** Prov. 19.5a; 19.9a **7.1** Eccl. 7.7

Titulus CSDEGFK **1** CSDEGFK **2** CSDEFK **3** CS **4** CS **5** CSDEGFK **6** CSDEGFK **7** CSDEGFK

Titulus Κεφάλαιον ΣΜΔ΄] κεφ. μδ΄ C, κεφ. σκη΄ D, σκη΄ EG, ϡθ΄ K, om. F | Περὶ … συκοφαντίας] om. C$^{a.c.}$, Λευιτικόν praem. K (vide fr. 1) **1** Οὐ] Λευιτικόν praem. D, Λευιτικοῦ praem. EG, ἐκ τοῦ Λευιτικοῦ praem. F **5** Παροιμίαι] Παροιμιῶν S, τοῦ Σολομῶντος F **7** Ἐκκλησιαστοῦ] Ἐκκλησιαστής SD, τοῦ αὐτοῦ F

1.1 ψεύσηται] ψεύσεται SEK | οὐδ΄…μὴ] οὐδὲ S | συκοφαντήσῃ] συκοφαντήσει CSDFK **7.1** ἀπολεῖ] ἀπόλει S

1.1 ψεύσηται… συκοφαντήσῃ] ψεύσεσθε οὐ συκοφαντήσει LXX (sed vide app. crit.) αὐτοῦ] om. LXX (sed vide app. crit.) **4.1** Ἐξολοθρεύσαι] ἐξολεθρεύσαι LXX (sed vide app. crit.) **7.1** ἀπολεῖ] ἀπόλλυσι LXX (sed vide app. crit.) | καρδίαν] εὐτονίας add. LXX

1.1 *Sacra Parallela*, *PG* 96, col. 432.24-25 **2.1** *Sacra Parallela*, *PG* 96, col. 432.26-27 (cf. Wahl 1997, p. 119) **3.1** *Sacra Parallela*, *PG* 96, col. 432.45 **4.1** *Sacra Parallela*, *PG* 96, col. 432.46-47 **5.1** *Sacra Parallela*, *PG* 96, col. 432.52 (cf. Wahl 1985, p. 64) **6.1** *Sacra Parallela*, *PG* 96, col. 433.6 (cf. Wahl 1985, p. 94) **7.1** *Sacra Parallela*, *PG* 96, col. 433.8-9 (cf. Wahl 1985, p. 161)

8 Σολομῶντος
Στόμα καταψευδόμενον ἀναιρεῖ ψυχήν.

9 Ζαχαρίου
Ὅρκον ψευδῆ μὴ ἀγαπᾶτε, διότι ταῦτα πάντα ἐμίσησα, λέγει Κύριος.

10 Σολομῶντος
Μολύνει τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ ὁ ψιθυρίζων οὗ ἐὰν παροικῇ μισηθήσεται.

11 Ψίθυρον καὶ δίγλωσσον καταράσασθε· πολλοὺς γὰρ εἰρηνεύοντας ἀπώλεσεν.

12 Μὴ βουληθῇς ψιθυρίσαι, τῇ γλώττῃ σου μὴ ἐνεδρευθῇς.

13 Τῆς Κλίμακος
Γέννημα μὲν σιδήρου καὶ λίθου πῦρ· γέννημα δὲ πολυλογίας καὶ εὐτραπελίας ψεῦδος. Ψεῦδος ἐστὶν ἀγάπης ἀφανισμός· ἐπιορκία δὲ Θεοῦ ἄρνησις. Μηδεὶς τῶν εὐφρονούντων μικράν τινα τὴν τοῦ ψεύδους ἁμαρτίαν εἶναι ὑπονοήσειεν· φοβερᾷ γὰρ ὑπὲρ πάντα ἀποφάσει κατ΄ αὐτοῦ τὸ πανάγιον Πνεῦμα ἐχρήσατο. Εἰ *ἀπολεῖς πάντας τοὺς λαλοῦντας τὸ ψεῦδος*, 5

8.1 Sap. 1.11 **9.1** Zach. 8.17 **10.1** Sir. 21.28 **11.1-2** Sir. 28.13 **12.1** Cf. Sir. 5.14 **13.1-9** Io. Clim., *Scala paradisi* 12, *PG* 88, coll. 853.52-856.9 **5** Ps. 5.7a

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8 CSDEGFK **9** CSDEGFK **10** CSDEGFK **11** CSDEGFK **12** CSDEGFK **13** CSDEGFK

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8 Σολομῶντος] Σολομῶν D, τοῦ αὐτοῦ F **9** Ζαχαρίου] Ζαχαρίας S, τοῦ προφήτου praem. F **10** Σολομῶντος] Σολομῶν D, om. EGK **13** Τῆς Κλίμακος] om. S

9.1 πάντα ἐμίσησα] πάντων ἐμίσηκα D **10.1** ἐὰν] ἐν add. CEGF | παροικῇ] παροικεῖ EGF **11.1** καταράσασθε] καταράσσεσθε (sic) S **2** ἀπώλεσεν] ἀπώλεσαν EK **12.1** γλώττῃ] γλώσσῃ F | σου] ἵνα add. F$^{s.lin.}$ **13.1** μὲν] om. EG **3** εὐφρονούντων] εὖ φρονούντων G **4** εἶναι] om. E$^{a.c.}$ | ὑπονοήσειεν] ὑπονοήσοιεν (sic) CK, νομίσειε F | ὑπὲρ πάντα] πάντα G, om. E ἀποφάσει] post αὐτοῦ transp. F | κατ΄ αὐτοῦ] κατὰ τοῦ C

10.1 ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ] ἑαυτοῦ ψυχὴν LXX | οὗ… παροικῇ] καὶ ἐν παροικήσει LXX (sed vide app. crit.) **12.1** Μὴ… ἐνεδρευθῇς] Μὴ κληθῇς ψίθυρος καὶ τῇ γλώσσῃ σου μὴ ἐνέδρευε LXX **13.4** ὑπονοήσειεν] ὑπονοήσει Clim. | κατ΄ αὐτοῦ] κατὰ τούτου Clim.

8.1 *Sacra Parallela*, *PG* 96, col. 433.10 **9.1** *Sacra Parallela*, *PG* 96, col. 433.11-12 (cf. Wahl 1965, pp. 262-263) **10.1** *Sacra Parallela*, *PG* 96, col. 436.16-17 (cf. Wahl 1974, p. 105) **11.1-2** *Sacra Parallela*, *PG* 96, col. 436.18-19 (cf. Wahl 1974, pp. 122-123) **12.1** *Sacra Parallela*, *PG* 96, col. 436.20-21 (cf. Wahl 1974, p. 58)

ὡς φησὶν ὁ Δαυὶδ πρὸς τὸν Θεόν, τί λοιπὸν οἱ μεθ᾽ ὅρκων τὸ ψεῦδος συρράπτοντες; Ἴδον τινὰς ἐπὶ ψεύδει σεμνυνομένους, καὶ δι᾽ εὐτραπελίας, καὶ ἀργολογίας γελοῖα ἐξυφαίνοντας· καὶ τὰ τῶν προσακροωμένων πένθη ἐλεεινῶς ἐξαφανίζοντας· ὧν τί γένοιτ᾽ ἂν ἀλογώτερον;

14 Τοῦ αὐτοῦ

Ὁ φόβον Κυρίου κτησάμενος ἐξενίτευσε ψεύδους, δικαστὴν ἀδέκαστον ἔχων τὴν ἰδίαν συνείδησιν. Ὥσπερ ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς πάθεσι διαφορὰν βλάβης γνωρίζομεν, οὕτω καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ψεύδους. Ἄλλο μὲν γὰρ τὸ κρίμα τοῦ διὰ φόβον κολάσεως ψευδομένου, καὶ ἕτερον τό, κινδύνου μὴ προκειμένου· ἄλλος διὰ τρυφὴν ἐψεύσατο, καὶ ἕτερος διὰ φιληδονίαν, ἄλλος ἵνα τοῖς παροῦσι προξενήσῃ γέλωτα, ἕτερος δὲ ἵνα τῷ ἀδελφῷ ἐπιβουλεύσῃ καὶ τοῦτον κακοποιήσῃ. Ἐκ βασάνων ἀρχόντων ἐξαφανίζεται ψεῦδος· ἐκ δὲ δακρύων πλήθους εἰς τέλος ἀπόλλυται· προφασίζεται οἰκονομίας ὁ τοῦ ψεύδους ὑποβολεύς, καὶ δικαιοσύνας πολλάκις λογίζεται τὰς τῆς ψυχῆς ἀπωλείας. Τῆς Ῥαὰβ μιμητὴν αὐτὸν τεκμαίρεται ψευδοπλάστης ἀνήρ, καὶ δι᾽ ἀπωλείας οἰκείας τὴν ἑτέρων σωτηρίαν λέγει πραγματεύεσθαι. Ὁπόταν ψεύδους εἰς ἅπαν καθαρεύσωμεν, καὶ τότε αὐτὸ μετὰ φόβου καὶ καιροῦ καλοῦντος ὑπέλθωμεν. Οὐκ οἶδεν νήπιον ψεῦδος· οὐδὲ ψυχὴ πονηρίας ἐστερημένη. Ὁ οἴνῳ εὐφρανθεὶς ἀκουσίως ἀληθεύσει εἰς ἅπαν· καὶ ὁ μεθυσθεὶς κατανύξει οὐ δυνήσεται ψεύσασθαι.

Κεφάλαιον ΣΜΕ΄ Περὶ ψυχῆς

15 Ἀναστασίου Ἀντιοχείας

Εἴρηται μὲν ἐν τῇ γραφῇ τῇ παλαιᾷ διττῶς ἡ ψυχή, τουτέστιν ἡ λογικὴ καὶ ἡ ἄλογος ἡ τῶν κτηνῶν καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν τῶν ἐμψύχων. Ψυχὴ λογικὴ ἐστὶν οὐσία νοερά, ἀνόμοιος καὶ ἀγνώριστος, λογική, σώματος ζωτικὴ καὶ συστατική. Ψυχή ἐστιν οὐσία λεπτὴ ἄϋλος καὶ ἀσχημάτιστος, εἰκὼν Θεοῦ καὶ τύπος. Ψυχὴ δὲ εἴρηται διὰ τὸ ψύχειν ἤτοι διὰ τῆς οἰκείας ἐνεργείας ζωοποιεῖν τὸ σῶμα. Ψυχὴ ἄλογός ἐστιν ἡ τοῦ αἵματος ζωτικὴ καὶ θερμαντικὴ καὶ κινητικὴ διὰ πνεύματος ὑλικοῦ ἐνέργεια. Ψυχὴ κτηνώδης ἐστὶ δύναμις ὑλικὴ ἐνεργητικὴ καὶ αἰσθητική, σώματος συστατική.

16 Κλήμεντος Ῥώμης

Ἀθάνατοι πᾶσαι αἱ ψυχαὶ καὶ αἱ τῶν ἀσεβῶν, αἷς ἄμεινον ἦν μὴ ἀφθάρτους εἶναι. Κολαζόμεναι γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀσβέστου πυρὸς ἀπεράντῳ τιμωρίᾳ καὶ μὴ θνήσκουσαι, ἐπὶ κακῷ τὸ ἑαυτῶν τέλος λαβεῖν οὐκ ἔχουσιν.

17 Τοῦ αὐτοῦ

Πανταχοῦ παρὼν ὁ Θεὸς τοῦ πανταχόθεν ἀπείρου νοὸς τὴν μετουσίαν διδούς, ἣν πάντων ἀναπνέουσαι αἱ ψυχαὶ τὸ ζῆν ἔχουσιν· κἂν χωρισθῶσιν τοῦ σώματος καὶ τὸν εἰς αὐτὸν εὑρεθῶσιν πόθον ἔχουσαι, εἰς τὸν αὐτοῦ κόλπον φέρονται ἀθάνατοι, ὡς ἐν χειμῶνος ὥρᾳ οἱ ἀτμοὶ τῆς γῆς ὑπὸ τῶν τοῦ ἡλίου ἀκτίνων ἐφελκόμενοι φέρονται πρὸς αὐτόν. Θείαν οὖν στοργὴν συλλαβεῖν δυνάμεθα, ἐὰν τὴν εὐμορφίαν αὐτοῦ τῷ νῷ ὡς νοερὰν

14.1-15 Io. Clim., *Scala paradisi* 12, *PG* 88, col. 856.25-46 **10** Cf. Ios. 2.1-24

CSDEGFK **14** CSDEGFK **Titulus** CSDEGFZ **15** CSDEGFZ

14 Τοῦ αὐτοῦ] om. DEGFK **Titulus** Κεφάλαιον ΣΜΕ΄] κεφ. σκθ΄ EG, σκθ΄ D, om. CFZ Περὶ … **15** Ἀντιοχείας] post ψυχή (l. 1) transp. Z

13.6 ὁ] om. G | Δαυὶδ] ὁ προφήτης add. G | λοιπὸν] ἐλπιοῦσιν add. EGK | μεθ᾽ ὅρκων] post ψεῦδος transp. EG **7** Ἴδον] εἶδον SEGFK **8** γελοῖα] γέλοια F **9** ἀλογώτερον] ἀλγώτερον CS **14.1** ψεύδους] ψεῦδος EGK | ἀδέκαστον] ἀδίκαστον SD **4** ἕτερον] ἕτερος C, ἕτερο (sic) D τό] τοῦ CS **6** προξενήσῃ] προξενίσῃ CSFK **7** τοῦτον] τοῦτο F | κακοποιήσῃ] κακοποιήσει CDF | βασάνων] βασὰν CS**8** πλήθους] πλῆθος DE$^{a.c.}$F**11** δι᾽ ἀπωλείας] ἀπωλείας D | λέγει] om. S**12** καὶ^{1}] om. EGFK**15** δυνήσεται] δύναται EGK

13.6 λοιπὸν] πείσονται add. Clim. **9** ὧν… ἀλογώτερον] non hab. Clim. **14.4** προκειμένου] ψεύδεσθαι add. Clim. **5** καὶ] non hab. Clim. **7** ἐξαφανίζεται] ἐξαλείφεται Clim. **8** τοῦ] non hab. Clim. **9** τῆς] non hab. Clim. **10** αὐτὸν τεκμαίρεται] ἑαυτὸν τεκμαίρεσθαι Clim. **11** ἑτέρων] ἑτέραν Clim. **12** καὶ^{1}] non hab. Clim. **14** ἀληθεύσει] ἀληθεύσῃ Clim. | ἅπαν] πάντα Clim.

15.1-8 Anast. Sin., *Viae dux* II, 5.55-65 **16.1-3** Ps.-Clem. Rom., *Hom.* 11, 11, 2.4-7 **17.1-9** Ps.-Clem. Rom., *Hom.* 17, 10, 3.1-5.9 **3-4** Cf. Luc. 16.23

CSDEGFZ **16** CSRDEGFZ **17** CSRDEGFZ ab εἰς^{2} (l. 3) CSDEGFZ ab συλλαβεῖν (l. 6) SDEGFZ (συλλα| des. C)

16 Ῥώμης] περὶ ψυχῆς ϟζ΄ R **17** Τοῦ αὐτοῦ] om. CS

15.1 ἡ^{3}] om. DEGFZ**2** τῶν^{3}] om. SDEGFZ**4** καὶ] om. D**5** διὰ^{2}] κατὰ Z**8** αἰσθητική] ἀσθητική (sic) Z**16.1** αἷς] ἃς R | ἀφθάρτους] ἄφθαρτον C, ἀφθάρτοις EG**3** τὸ] τῷ DEG | ἑαυτῶν] ἑαυτὸν RD**17.2** διδούς] δίδωσιν EG | τὸ] τοῦ FZ | ἔχουσιν] ἔχουσαι E$^{a.c.}$

15.1 Εἴρηται] καὶ praem. Anast. **3** ἀνόμοιος] ἀνώνυμος Anast. **16.1** Ἀθάνατοι… ψυχαὶ] ἀθάνατος ἡ ψυχὴ Ps.-Clem. | αἱ^{2}] non hab. Ps.-Clem. | αἷς] οἷς Ps.-Clem. **2** εἶναι] αὐτὴν ἔχειν Ps.-Clem. | Κολαζόμεναι] κολαζομένη Ps.-Clem. **3** θνήσκουσαι] θνήσκουσα Ps.-Clem. | ἑαυτῶν] αὐτῆς Ps.-Clem. | ἔχουσιν] ἔχει Ps.-Clem. **17.1** Πανταχοῦ… Θεὸς] non hab. Ps.-Clem. **4** τῆς γῆς] τῶν ὁρῶν Ps.-Clem. **5** ἐφελκόμενοι] ἑλκόμενοι Ps.-Clem. Θείαν] οἵαν Ps.-Clem. **6** ὡς νοερὰν] non hab. Ps.-Clem. **6-7** ὡς… κατοπτεύσωμεν] κατοπτεύσωμεν Ps.-Clem.

16.1-3 *Loci Communes* c. 46.13 (MaxU), c. 53.14 (MaxII); *Sacra Parallela*, Holl fr. 16 **17.1-9** *Sacra Parallela*, Holl fr. 22

κατοπτεύωμεν· ἄλλως δὲ ἀμήχανον· δυνατὸν γὰρ ἐπὶ μόνου Θεοῦ κάλλος ἄνευ μορφῆς εἶναι καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ ἔρωτα ἐπισπᾶσθαί τινα τῷ πίστει Θεὸν ὁρᾶν εἶδος περιγραπτὸν οὐκ ἔχοντα.

18 Εἰρηναίου Λουγδούνων

Αἱ ψυχαὶ ἀπέρχονται εἰς τὸν τόπον τὸν ὡρισμένον αὐταῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ κἀκεῖ μέχρι τῆς ἀναστάσεως φοιτῶσι περιμένουσαι τὴν ἀνάστασιν· ἔπειτα ἀπολαβοῦσαι τὰ σώματα καὶ ὁλοκλήρως ἀναστᾶσαι, τουτέστι σωματικῶς, καθὼς καὶ ὁ Κύριος ἀνέστη, οὕτως ἐλεύσονται εἰς ὄψιν τοῦ Θεοῦ.

19 Γρηγορίου Θεολόγου

Καὶ παρὰ μὲν τῆς ὕλης λαβὼν τὸ σῶμα ἤδη προϋποστάσης, παρ´ ἑαυτοῦ δὲ πνοὴν ἐνθείς, ὃ δὴ νοερὰν ψυχὴν καὶ *εἰκόνα Θεοῦ* οἶδεν ὁ λόγος.

20 Φίλωνος

Παντὸς ἀνθρώπου κατ´ ἀρχὰς ἅμα τῇ γεννήσει κυοφορεῖ δίδυμα ἡ ψυχή, κακὸν καὶ ἀγαθόν, ἑκάτερον φαντασιούμενον.

21 Τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐκ τοῦ περὶ γιγάντων

Τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς εἶδος οὐκ ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν στοιχείων, ἐξ ὧν τὰ ἄλλα ἀπετελεῖτο, διεπλάσθη, καθαρωτέρας δὲ καὶ ἀμείνονος ἔλαχε τῆς οὐσίας, ἐξ ἧς καὶ αἱ

18.1-4 Iren. Lugd., *Adv. haer.* V, 31, 2.46-51 **19.1-2** Greg. Naz., *Or.* 38, 11.10-13 = *Or.* 45, *PG* 36, col. 632.10-12 **2** Gen. 1.26-27; 2.7; 9.6 **20.1-2** Phil. Alex., *De praemiis et poenis* 63.6-8 **21.1-7** Phil. Alex., *Quod Deus sit immutabilis* 46.11-47.18

SDEGFZ **18** SRUDEGFZ **19** SU **20** SDEGFZ **21** SDEGFZ

18 Λουγδούνων] ϗη´ add. R **19** Γρηγορίου Θεολόγου] om. S **21** ἐκ τοῦ] om. F$^{a.c.}$, ἐκ τῶν F$^{p.c.}$Z

17.7 κατοπτεύωμεν] καταπτεύομεν Z **8** ἐπισπᾶσθαί] ἐπισπάσασθαί EG | τῷ] scripsimus cum *Sacris Parallelis*; τὸ codd. **9** περιγραπτὸν] περιγραφὴν FZ **18.1** ὡρισμένον] ὁρισμένον RDEGFZ | ἀπὸ] παρὰ R, ὑπὸ U | τοῦ] om. SZ **3** ἀναστᾶσαι] ἀναστᾶσι D **4** ὄψιν] τὴν praem. FZ **20.1** κατ´ ἀρχὰς] om. Z | κυοφορεῖ] κυνοφορεῖ D, κυοφονεῖ E **2** ἑκάτερον] ἑκάτερα EFZ φαντασιούμενον] φαντασιούμενος EG, φαντασιούμενα FZ, ὅρα μὴ κακῶς οἰηθείς add. E$^{mg.}$, ὅρα μοι κακῶς οἰηθείς add. G$^{mg.}$ **21.2** ἔλαχε] ἔτυχε FZ | οὐσίας] σημείωσαι μὴ κακῶς νοήσεις add. D$^{mg.}$ | αἱ] om. Z

17.7 δυνατὸν] ἀδύνατον Ps.-Clem. | ἐπὶ… Θεοῦ] non hab. Ps.-Clem. **8** ἑαυτοῦ] αὐτοῦ Ps.-Clem. | τῷ πίστει] ἢ καὶ δοκεῖν Ps.-Clem. **9** περιγραπτὸν] non hab. Ps.-Clem. **18.4** ὄψιν] τὴν praem. Iren. **20.1** Παντὸς] γὰρ add. Phil. | γεννήσει] γενέσει Phil. **2** κακὸν] ὡς ἔφην Phil. | φαντασιούμενον] φαντασιουμένη Phil. **21.1** Τὸ] τοῦτο Phil. | εἶδος] τὸ praem. Phil. **2-3** καὶ²… νοεραὶ] αἱ θεῖαι Phil.

18.1-4 *Sacra Parallela*, Holl fr. 173

νοεραὶ φύσεις ἐδημιουργοῦντο· παρὸ καὶ μόνον τὸ ἐν ἡμῖν εἰκότως ἄφθαρτον ἔδοξεν εἶναι διανοίᾳ. Μόνην γὰρ αὐτὴν ὁ γεννήσας πατὴρ ἐλευθερίας ἠξίωσε, καὶ τὰ τῆς ἀνάγκης ἀνεὶς δεσμὰ ἄφετον εἴασε, δωρησάμενος αὐτῇ τοῦ πρεπωδεστάτου καὶ οἰκειοτάτου κτήματος αὐτῷ, τοῦ ἑκουσίου, μοῖραν, ἣν ἠδύνατο δέξασθαι.

22 Ἀθανασίου

Ὥσπερ τοῦ σώματος θνητοῦ τυγχάνοντος, θνητὰ καὶ αἱ τούτου θεωροῦσιν αἰσθήσεις, οὕτως ἀθάνατα θεωροῦσαν καὶ λογιζομένην τὴν ψυχήν, ἀνάγκη καὶ αὐτὴν ἀθάνατον εἶναι καὶ ἀεὶ ζῆν· αἱ γὰρ περὶ τῆς ἀθανασίας ἔννοιαι οὐδέποτε ταύτην ἀφιᾶσι μένουσαι ἐν αὐτῇ, καὶ ὥσπερ ἔκκαυμα ἐν αὐτῇ γενόμεναι πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν τῆς ἀθανάτου ζωῆς.

23 Κυρίλλου Ἀλεξανδρείας

Τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς αἱ μητέρες ὑπηρετοῦσαι τῇ φύσει πρὸς γέννησιν, ἔχουσι μὲν ἐν μήτρᾳ πηγνυμένην κατὰ βραχὺ τὴν σάρκα, καὶ ἀφράστοις τισὶν ἐνεργείαις Θεοῦ προϊοῦσαν καὶ τελειουμένην εἰς εἶδος ἀνθρώπινον· ἐνίησι δὲ τῷ ζώῳ τὸ πνεῦμα Θεός, καθ´ ὃν οἶδε τρόπον· *πλάττει* γὰρ *πνεῦμα ἀνθρώπου ἐν αὐτῷ* κατὰ τὴν τοῦ προφήτου φωνήν· ἕτερος γοῦν σαρκός, καὶ ἕτερος ὁμοίως ὁ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐστι λόγος· ἀλλ´ εἰ καὶ γεγόνασι μόνον αὗται τῶν ἀπὸ γῆς σωμάτων μητέρες, ἀλλ´ ὅλον ἀποτεκοῦσαι τὸ ζῷον, τὸ ἐκ ψυχῆς λέγω καὶ σώματος, οὐχὶ μέρος λέγονται ἀποτεκεῖν.

22.1-5 Athan. Alex., *Contra gentes* 33.35-40 **23.1-8** Cyrill. Alex., *Ep. ad monachos Aegypti* in Actis concilii universalis Epheseni anno 431, ACO I, 1, 1 (p. 15.13-20) **4-5** Zach. 12.1

SDEGFZ **22** SDEGFZ **23** SRDEGFZ

22 Ἀθανασίου] Ἀλεξανδρείας add. E, Ἀθανασίου Ἀλεξανδρείας add. D$^{mg.}$, τοῦ ἁγίου Ἀθανασίου Ἀλεξανδρείας FZ, om. G **23** Κυρίλλου Ἀλεξανδρείας] ϗθ´ add. R, om. S

21.3 τὸ] τῶν EG, τὸ καὶ μόμον (sic) praem. S **4** διανοίᾳ] διάνοια E **5** ἄφετον] ἄνετον FZ **22.3** καὶ αὐτὴν] post ἀθάνατον transp. DEGFZ **4** ἀφιᾶσι] ἀφίουσι DFZ **5** γενόμεναι] γινόμεναι EG, γενομένη FZ **23.2** πηγνυμένην…σάρκα] τὴν σάρκα κατὰ βραχὺ πηγνυμένην EG **3** Θεοῦ] τοῦ praem. DG **4** οἶδε] εἶδε EZ **6** καὶ] om. R7 ὅλον] οἷον S

21.3 τὸ] τῶν Phil. **4** διανοίᾳ] διάνοια Phil. **6** οἰκειοτάτου] οἰκείου Phil. (sed vide app. crit.) **22.3** ἔννοιαι] καὶ θεωρίαι add. Athan. **4** ταύτην] αὐτὴν Athan. **5** γενόμεναι] γινόμενα Athan. | ἀθανάτου ζωῆς] ἀθανασίας Athan. **23.1** Τῶν… αἱ] αἱ μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς Cyrill. | γέννησιν] γένεσιν Cyrill. (sed vide app. crit.) **3** καὶ] τε praem. Cyrill. (sed vide app. crit.) | ἀνθρώπινον] τὸ praem. Cyrill. **4** Θεός] ὁ praem. Cyrill. (sed vide app. crit.) **5** γοῦν] δὲ Cyrill. **5-6** ἕτερος ὁμοίως] transp. Cyrill. **6** τῆς] non hab. Cyrill. (sed vide app. crit.) | μόνον] μόνων Cyrill. (sed vide app. crit.) **7** ὅλον] οὖν praem. Cyrill. | λέγω] δὴ praem. Cyrill. **8** ἀποτεκεῖν] τεκεῖν Cyrill.

24 Ἀναστασίου Ἀντιοχείας

Ὅτι δὲ διὰ τῆς ἐνεργείας τῆς ζωτικῆς τῆς νοερᾶς ψυχῆς ζωοποιεῖται τὸ σῶμα, μαρτυρεῖ ἡ γραφὴ διὰ τοῦ θείου ἐμφυσήματος δημιουργήσασα καὶ δοῦσα τῷ χοϊκῷ ἡμῶν σώματι ψυχὴν ζωτικήν, περὶ ἧς φησιν ὁ Σολομὼν πρός τινας παρανόμους καὶ εἰδωλολάτρας· *Πηλοῦ ἀτιμότερος ὁ βίος αὐτῶν, ὅτι ἠγνόησαν τὸν πλάσαντα αὐτοὺς καὶ τὸν ἐμπνεύσαντα αὐτοῖς ψυχὴν ἐνεργοῦσαν καὶ ἐμφυσήσαντα αὐτοῖς πνεῦμα ζωτικόν.*

25 Καισαρείου ἀδελφοῦ Γρηγορίου τοῦ Θεολόγου

Καταβάλλεται ἐπὶ τὸ θῆλυ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἄρρενος ψυχρά τις ἀπόβρασις, ἀνακαθαρθεῖσα δὲ τῷ ἀντικαταβληθέντι λύθρῳ ὑπὸ τοῦ γυναίου τυροῦται ὑπὸ τῆς ψυχροτέρας τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀποκρίσεως, καθὼς φησὶν ὁ παρὰ Θεοῦ ἄμεμπτος καὶ ἀληθινὸς ὑπάρχειν μαρτυρηθεὶς Ἰὼβ οὕτως ἐν τῇ τρώσει τοῦ σώματος πρὸς Θεὸν διαλεγόμενος· *Οὐχ ὡς γάλα με ἤμελξας, ἐτύρωσας δέ με ἶσα τυρῷ; Δέρμα καὶ κρέας ἐνέδυσάς με, ὀστέοις δὲ καὶ νεύροις ἐνείρας με.*

Συμμυόντων τοίνυν πάντων αἰσθητηρίων καὶ αἰσθήσεων ἄμφω τῶν προσώπων καὶ οἱονεὶ ἀνακιρναμένων καὶ φυρομένων ἀλλήλων τῶν σωμάτων ἐν τῇ μίξει, ἐκμαγεῖον τοῦ προσώπου ἡ ἀπόρρητος καταβολὴ γίνεται, τὸ πρῶτον δοθὲν καὶ ἐπικρατέστερον σπέρμα, ὅθεν καὶ πρὸς †ἄβιον† καὶ ὁμοίωσιν ὁ χαρακτὴρ ἐκτυποῦται ἐκείνου ἢ ταύτης.

Οὕτως οὖν ἡ τοῦ ἄρρενος καταβολὴ ψυχρά τις καὶ ὀστοειδὴς ὑπάρχουσα εἰς ὀστέων καὶ νεύρων μεταποιεῖται ῥώμην, στερρουμένη

24.1-6 Anast. Sin., *Viae dux* I, 2.94-101 **2-3** Cf. Gen. 2.7 **4-6** Sap. 15.10-11 **25.1-6** Ps.-Caes., *Quaest. et resp.* 138.16-21 **5-6** Iob 10.10-11 **7-18** Ps.-Caes., *Quaest. et resp.* 138.27-36 **11** Cf. Gen. 1.26 **12-13** Cf. Iob 10.11

24 SDEGFZ **25** SRDEGFZ ab Συμμυόντων (l. 7) SDEGFZ ab Οὕτως (l. 12) SRDEGFZ

24 Ἀναστασίου Ἀντιοχείας] om. S **25** Γρηγορίου] τοῦ ἁγίου praem. Z, om. D | Γρηγορίου … Θεολόγου] τοῦ μεγάλου Γρηγορίου R

24.1 δὲ] om. EG**3** ὁ] om. EG**5** αὐτοὺς… ἐμπνεύσαντα] om. S**6** ἐμφυσήσαντα] ἐμφυσήσαντος EG, ἐμφυσήσαντας FZ**25.1** ὑπὸ] ἀπὸ S, om. R$^{a.c.}$ | ἀπόβρασις] ἥτις add. EG**2** ἀνακαθαρθεῖσα] ἀνακραθεῖσα EG | δὲ] om. EG **4** ἀληθινὸς… μαρτυρηθεὶς] ἀληθὴς ὑπάρχων R **5** ἤμελξας] ἤλμεξας (sic) SFZ |δέ με] transp. SZ, με D**6** Δέρμα] δέρμε S |κρέας] κρέα S**7** Συμμυόντων] ὀμνυόντων S | τοίνυν] om. EG **8** ἀνακιρναμένων] ἀνακιρνάμενος S | ἀλλήλων] ἀλλήλως S**9** ἐκμαγεῖον] ἐκμαχεῖον S**10** πρῶτον] πρώτως EGFZ, πρῶτος D |σπέρμα] σῶμα S**11** ἄβιον] εἶδος EG, θέαν FZ | ἐκείνου] om. S **12** ὀστοειδὴς] ὀστεοειδὴς EG **13** στερρουμένη] στερρούμενος S, στερρούμενον RDFZ

25.1 Καταβάλλεται] τοίνυν add. Ps.-Caes. **2** ἀνακαθαρθεῖσα] ἀνακραθεῖσα Ps.-Caes. **8** ἀλλήλων] ἀλλήλοις Ps.-Caes. **11** ἄβιον] ἀναλογίαν Ps.-Caes. (coni. Riedinger; vide app. crit.)

καταλλήλως τῷ ἀποκρίναντι· τὸ δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ γυναίου ἐν τῇ συνευνείᾳ ἀντιδιδόμενον αἷμα θερμὸν κατὰ φύσιν ὑπάρχον, ὑπὸ τοῦ ψυχροῦ παγὲν εἰς σάρκα μεθίσταται, ἡ δὲ σὰρξ ζωτικήν τινα δύναμιν θεόθεν ἐμπνεομένη ζωογονεῖται· ἐγὼ γάρ εἰμι *ὁ ποιήσας τὴν γῆν* καὶ ἄνθρωπον ἐπ᾽ αὐτῆς καὶ *διδοὺς πνοὴν ζωῆς πᾶσιν τοῖς πατοῦσιν αὐτήν*, φησὶν ὁ Θεός.

26 Ἀναστασίου Ἀντιοχείας

Οὔτε τὸ σῶμα πρὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ λόγου ὑπέστη, οὔτε ἡ ψυχή, ἀλλ᾽ ἅμα σάρξ, ἅμα Θεὸς λόγος· ἅμα Θεὸς λόγος, ἅμα σὰρξ ἔμψυχος λογική· ἐν αὐτῷ γὰρ ὑπέστη, καθάπερ, ὡς ἐμοί γε δοκεῖ, καὶ ἡ ἡμετέρα σύλληψις (ἀμφυπάρκτως συντρέχει ἡ ψυχὴ καὶ τὸ σῶμα· οὔτε γὰρ τὸ σῶμα καθ᾽ ἑαυτὸ συνίσταται, οὔτε ἡ ψυχὴ προϋπάρχει τοῦ σώματος), προτύπωσις οὖσα τῆς ἑνώσεως τοῦ Χριστοῦ.

27 Κυρίλλου Ἱεροσολύμων, ἐκ τῆς τετάρτης κατηχήσεως

Ἀθάνατός ἐστιν ἡ ψυχή· καὶ ὅμοιαι πᾶσαι αἱ ψυχαὶ ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ γυναικῶν· τὰ γὰρ μέλη τοῦ σώματος διακρίνεται μόνον. Οὐκ ἔστι τάγμα ψυχῶν κατὰ φύσιν ἁμαρτανουσῶν καὶ τάγμα ψυχῶν κατὰ φύσιν δικαιοπραγουσῶν· ἀλλ᾽ ἐκ προαιρέσεως ἀμφότερα, μονοειδοῦς καὶ ὁμοίας οὔσης τῆς τῶν ψυχῶν ὑποστάσεως.

28 Ἰωάννου Φιλαδελφέως τοῦ Λυδοῦ

25.17-18 Is. 42.5; Act. 17.24-25 **26.1-6** Anast. Sin., *Viae Dux* II, 5.11-18 **27.1-5** Cyrill. Hierosol., *Catech. ad illum.* IV, 20.1-6

SRDEGFZ **26** SUDEGFZK **27** SRUDEGFZK **28** SRDEGFZ

26 Ἀναστασίου Ἀντιοχείας] Ἀναστασίου E, Ἀθανασίου Ἀντιοχείας D, Ἀθανασίου Ἀλεξανδρείας G, Ἀθανασίου UK, τοῦ αὐτοῦ Z **27** Κυρίλλου … κατηχήσεως] Κυρίλλου Ἱεροσολύμων RUDFK, om. EGZ | Κυρίλλου] θαυμαστοῦ add. D$^{mg.}$ **28** Φιλαδελφέως] om. FZ

25.14 ἀποκρίναντι] ἀποκρίματι FZ **16** ἐμπνεομένη] σημείωσαι add. D$^{mg.}$ **17** ἄνθρωπον] ἄνθρωπος R **26.1** τὸ] om. UD **2** ἅμα^{2}…λόγος^{2}] om. SU **3** ὡς] om. UEGK | ἡ] om. S ἀμφυπάρκτως] αὐθυπάρκτως UEGFZK **4** ἑαυτὸ] αὐτὸ FZ**27.3** ἁμαρτανουσῶν… φύσιν^{2}] om. S |καὶ… δικαιοπραγουσῶν] om. U |δικαιοπραγουσῶν] δικαιοπραγοῦσαν S**4** ὁμοίας] μιᾶς EG τῶν] om. U

25.16 μεθίσταται… σὰρξ] non hab. Ps.-Caes. **26.1** Οὔτε] γὰρ add. Anast. | ὑπέστη] ἐκεῖ add. Anast. | οὔτε] οὐδὲ Anast. (sed vide app. crit.) **3** γε] non hab. Anast. **4** τὸ^{2}] non hab. Anast. **5** ἡ] δὲ Anast. **27.1** ψυχαὶ] εἰσιν add. Cyrill. **2** διακρίνεται] διακέκριναι Cyrill. **4** οὔσης] ἐν ἅπασι add. Cyrill.

Οἱ τὴν φυσικὴν ἱστορίαν συγγράφοντες, κόσμος δὲ αὐτῶν ὁ Ῥωμαῖος Σπλήνιος, φασί· τὸ σπέρμα τῇ μήτρᾳ καταβαλλόμενον ἐπὶ μὲν τῆς τρίτης ἡμέρας ἀλλοιοῦσθαι εἰς αἷμα, καὶ πρώτην διαζωγραφεῖν τὴν καρδίαν, ἥτις πρώτη μὲν διαπλάττεσθαι, τελευταία δὲ ἀποθνήσκειν λέγεται· εἰ γὰρ ἀρχὴ ἀριθμῶν ὁ τρεῖς, περιττὸς δέ ἐστιν ἀριθμός, ἄρα καὶ ἀρχὴ γενέσεως ἐξ αὐτοῦ. Ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς ἐννάτης πήγνυσθαι καὶ εἰς σάρκα καὶ μυελοὺς συγγλοιοῦσθαι· ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς τεσσαρακοστῆς εἰς ὄψιν τελείαν καὶ διατύπωσιν ἀποτελεῖσθαι καὶ ἁπλῶς εἰπεῖν τέλειον ἄνθρωπον ἀποπληροῦν. Ἐπὶ τοῦ τρίτου μηνὸς ἐγκινεῖσθαι ἐψυχωμένον τῇ μήτρᾳ, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ ἐννάτου παντελῶς ἀπαρτίζειν καὶ πρὸς ἔξοδον σπεύδειν. Καὶ εἰ μὲν ᾗ θῆλυ, κατὰ τὸν ἔννατον μῆνα, εἰ δὲ ἄρρεν, κατὰ τὸν δέκατον ἀρχόμενον, διὰ τὸ τὸν μὲν ἔννατον ἀριθμόν, θῆλυν ὄντα καὶ Σελήνης οἰκεῖον, καὶ πρὸς τὴν ὕλην ἀναφέρεσθαι, τὸν δὲ δέκατον παντέλειον εἶναι καὶ ἄρρενα· καὶ τάχα πρὸς βραχὺ τὸ προστεθὲν ἀφέντες, περὶ τοῦ πόθεν ἄρρενα ἢ θήλεα τίκτεται, κατὰ τοὺς φυσικοὺς ἐροῦμεν. Θῆλυ γίνεται κατὰ τὴν τοῦ θερμοῦ ἐπικράτειαν· πλεονάζοντος μὲν γὰρ τοῦ κατὰ τὸ σπέρμα θερμοῦ, ἅτε τῆς πήξεως ταχείας γινομένης, ἀρρενοῦταί τε καὶ διαμορφοῦται ταχέως, ἐλαττουμένου δέ, κατισχύεται ὑπὸ τῆς ἐπιρροῆς καὶ καταγωνιζόμενον θηλύνεται, βράδιον δὲ πηγνύμενον βράδιον καὶ διαμορφοῦται· ὅτι δὲ ἀληθὴς ὁ λόγος, τὰ μὲν ἄρρενα καὶ τῶν τεσσαράκοντα ἡμερῶν ἐντὸς ἐκτιτρωσκόμενα

28.1-37 Io. Lyd., *De mensibus* IV, 26

SRDEGFZ ab διὰ (l. 11) SDEGFZ ab Θῆλυ (l. 15) SRDEGFZ

28.2 Σπλήνιος] Πλήνιος R |τῇ … καταβαλλόμενον] καταβαλλόμενον ἐν τῇ μήτρᾳ FZ **4** πρώτη] πρώτην Z |δὲ] om. F |λέγεται] λέλεκται DEG **5** ἐστιν ἀριθμός] transp. R **6** καὶ[1]] om. R |σάρκα] σάρκας S | μυελοὺς] εἰς praem. FZ **7** συγγλοιοῦσθαι] συγκλειοῦσθαι FZ, συγκλυοῦσθαι R τεσσαρακοστῆς] σαρακοστῆς SR **8** ἄνθρωπον] om. G | ἀποπληροῦν] πάλιν add. EG **9** ἐγκινεῖσθαι] ἐγκεῖσθαι FZ |ἐψυχωμένον] ἐμψυχωμένον DF, ἐμψυχόμενον Z, τὸ βρέφος add. EG **10** ἀπαρτίζειν] ἀπαρτίζεσθαι EG |ᾗ] εἶ S, ᾖ D **11** τὸ] om. S |μὲν] om. FZ **12** θῆλυν] θῆλυ D |ὄντα] εἶναι EG **13** τάχα] τὸ add. D **14** τὸ προστεθὲν] τὸ προτεθὲν E, om. D |θήλεα] θῆλυ (sic) D **15** Θῆλυ] ἄρρεν EG, δὲ add. R |γίνεται] καὶ ἄρρεν add. R |τοῦ] om. R **16** μὲν] om. R |τοῦ] om. DEG |θερμοῦ] ante κατὰ transp. R **17** τε] om. D |ἐλαττουμένου] ἐλαττομένου EG, ἐλαττούμενος RD, ἐλαττουμένης FZ **18** κατισχύεται] καταισχύνεται FZ | θηλύνεται] θῆλυ γίνεται EG **20** τῶν] πρὸ praem. R |ἐντὸς] om. R |ἐκτιτρωσκόμενα] τιτρωσκόμενα G

28.1 Οἱ] τῶν Ῥωμαίων add. Lyd. **1-2** κόσμος … Σπλήνιος] non hab. Lyd. (sed vide Wuensch, pp. XXV-XXVII) **6** πήγνυσθαι] πήγνυται Lyd. **8** ἀποπληροῦν] non hab. Lyd. **9** ἐψυχωμένον] ἐχόμενον Lyd. | ἐννάτου] μηνὸς add. Lyd. **10** ἀπαρτίζειν] ἀπαρτίζεσθαι Lyd. (scripsit Wuensch; ἀπαρτίζειν codd.) | ᾗ] ἐστι Lyd. **11** ἄρρεν] κρεῖττον Lyd. **12** καὶ[2]] non hab. Lyd. **13-15** καὶ[2] … ἐροῦμεν] non hab. Lyd. (sed vide Wuensch, pp. XXVII-XXVIII) **15** Θῆλυ] δὲ καὶ ἄρρεν add. Lyd. **16** γὰρ] non hab. Lyd. **17** ἐλαττουμένου] ἐλαττουμένης Lyd. **19** διαμορφοῦται] μορφοῦται Lyd.

μεμορφωμένα προσπίπτει, τὰ δὲ θήλεα καὶ μετὰ τεσσαράκοντα σαρκώδη τε καὶ ἀδιατύπωτα. Ὁ δὲ Ἀντίγονος φησὶ τὸ θηλύγονον καὶ ἀρρενόγονον βοτάνας εἶναι, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ συμβάντος τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν αὐτὰς εἰληφέναι· τὸ μὲν γὰρ αὐτῶν ποιεῖν τὰς θηλυτόκους ἀρρενοτόκους, τὸ δὲ θηλύγονον ἀνάπαλιν πίνεσθαι δὲ τριώβολον ἐν οἴνῳ ἀπὸ πρωί. Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐπί τε συλλήψεως καὶ κυήσεως. Μετὰ δὲ ταύτην ἐπὶ τῆς τρίτης τεχθὲν ἀποσπαργανοῦσθαι τὸ βρέφος, ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς ἐννάτης ἰσχυροποιεῖσθαι καὶ ἀφὴν ὑπομένειν· ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς τεσσαρακοστῆς προσλαμβάνειν τὸ γελαστικὸν καὶ ἄρχεσθαι ἐπιγινώσκειν τὴν μητέρα· ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς ἀναστοιχειώσεως τοὺς ἴσους ἀριθμοὺς αὖθις ἐξ ὑποστροφῆς παραφυλάττειν τὴν φύσιν, καὶ δι᾽ ὧν συνέστηκε, δι᾽ αὐτῶν πάλιν ἀναλύεσθαι. Τελευτήσαντος γοῦν ἀνθρώπου, ἐπὶ μὲν τῆς τρίτης ἡμέρας ἀλλοιοῦται παντελῶς καὶ τὴν ἐπίγνωσιν τῆς ὄψεως διαπόλλυσι τὸ σῶμα· ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς ἐννάτης διαρρεῖ σύμπαν, ἔτι σωζομένης αὐτῷ τῆς καρδίας· ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς τεσσαρακοστῆς καὶ αὕτη συναπόλλυται τῷ παντί. Διατοῦτο τριτοέννατα καὶ τεσσαρακοστὰ ἐπὶ τῶν τεθνεώτων φυλάττουσιν οἱ ἐναγίζοντες αὐτῆς τῆς τε ποτὲ συστάσεως τῆς τε μετ᾽ ἐκείνης ἐπιδόσεως καὶ τὸ δὴ πέρας ἀναλύσεως ἐπιμνησκόμενοι.

Κεφάλαιον ΣΜϚ΄ Περὶ ψευδοπροφητῶν

29 Ἀθανασίου

SRDEGFZ ab Ὁ (l. 22) SDEGFZ ab Καὶ (l. 25) SRDEGFZ ab οἱ (l. 36) SDEGFZ **Titulus** SUDEGF **29** SUDEGF

Titulus Κεφάλαιον ΣΜϚ΄] σλ΄ D, κεφ. σλ΄ EG, om. UF **29** Ἀθανασίου] Ἀλεξανδρείας add. UF, Κυρίλλου Ἱεροσολύμων praem. E (vide fr. 27)

28.21 θήλεα] θῆλυ R |τεσσαράκοντα] τὰς praem. R **22** Ὁ] ἡ Z **23** βοτάνας] βοτάνη Z, βοταν F τὸ] τὰ F **25** δὲ] om. FZ | τριώβολον] τριόβολος S, τριόβολον FZ, τριόκολον D **26-27** Μετὰ … βρέφος] τεχθὲν δὲ τὸ βρέφος, ἐπὶ μὲν τῆς τρίτης, ἀποσπαργανοῦται R **26** ταύτην] ταῦτα G **27** ἀποσπαργανοῦσθαι] σπαργανοῦσθαι Z | ἰσχυροποιεῖσθαι] ἰσχυροποιεῖται R **28** ὑπομένειν] ὑπομένη R | δὲ] om. F **30** αὖθις] πάλιν R | παραφυλάττειν] φυλάττειν S **31** γοῦν] γὰρ S | ἀνθρώπου] τοῦ praem. EGZ **34** αὕτη] αὐτὴ S **35** τριτοέννατα] τρίτα ἔννατα EGFZ, ν΄θ΄ D | καὶ] om. EG **35-36** ἐπὶ … τεθνεώτων] om. S **36** αὐτῆς] αὐτοῖς DEG |τε[1]] om. EG |τε[2]] om. Z **37** ἐπιμνησκόμενοι] ἐπιμιμνησκόμενοι E

28.21 προσπίπτει] προπίπτει Lyd. | τεσσαράκοντα] τὰς τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέρας Lyd. (sed vide app. crit.) **22-25** Ὁ … πρωΐ] non hab. Lyd. (sed vide Wuensch, pp. XXVII-XXVIII) **25** πίνεσθαι δὲ] πινόμενον Lyd. (scripsit Wuensch, p. XXVIII; πίνεσθαι codd.) **25-26** Καὶ … κυήσεως] non hab. Lyd. **26** ταύτην] τὴν κύησιν Lyd. **27** βρέφος] φασίν add. Lyd. (sed vide app. crit.) **29** ἴσους] φασὶν add. Lyd. (sed vide app. crit.) **31** συνέστηκε] συνέστη Lyd. πάλιν] αὖθις Lyd. **32** ἡμέρας] non hab. Lyd. **35** τριτοέννατα] τρίτην ἐννάτην Lyd. τεσσαρακοστὰ] τεσσαρακοστὴν Lyd. (sed vide app. crit.) **36** τεθνεώτων] τεθνηκότων Lyd. αὐτῆς] αὐτοῖς Lyd. **37** ἐκείνης] ἐκείνην Lyd. | ἀναλύσεως] τῆς praem. Lyd. ἐπιμνησκόμενοι] ἐπιμιμνησκόμενοι Lyd.

Εἶπεν ὁ Κύριος· *Προσέχετε ἀπὸ τῶν ψευδοπροφητῶν, οἵτινες ἔρχονται πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐν ἐνδύματι προβάτου, ἔσωθεν δὲ εἰσὶ λύκοι ἅρπαγες· ἀπὸ τῶν καρπῶν αὐτῶν ἐπιγνώσεσθε αὐτούς.* Ἐὰν οὖν τινα εἴδῃς ἀδελφὲ ὅτι ἔχει σχῆμα σεμνοπρεπές, μὴ προσχῇς ὅτι ἐνδέδυται κώδιον προβάτου, ὅτι ὄνομα ἔχει ἐπισκόπου ἢ πρεσβυτέρου ἢ διακόνου ἢ ἀσκητοῦ, ἀλλὰ τὰς πράξεις αὐτοῦ περιέργασαι· εἰ ἔστι σώφρων, εἰ ἔστι φιλόξενος ἢ ἐλεήμων ἢ ἀγαπητικὸς ἢ ἐν προσευχαῖς καρτερικὸς ἢ ὑπομονητικός, εἰ δὲ ἔχει *τὴν κοιλίαν Θεόν*, τὸν δὲ φάρυγγα ἄδην, νοσῶν χρήματα καὶ καπηλεύων τὴν θεοσέβειαν, ἄφες αὐτόν· οὐ γάρ ἐστι ποιμὴν ἐπιστημονικός, ἀλλὰ λύκος ἁρπακτικός. Εἰ δὲ οἶδας τὰ δένδρα δοκιμάζειν ἀπὸ τῶν καρπῶν, ποῖα τέ ἐστι τῇ φύσει, τῇ γεύσει, τῇ ποιότητι, πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἐκ τῶν ἔργων ὀφείλεις δοκιμάζειν τοὺς χριστεμπόρους, ὅτι φοροῦντες φημιάριον εὐλαβείας, ψυχὴν κέκτηνται διαβολικήν. Εἰ δὲ καὶ *ἀπὸ ἀκανθῶν οὐ συλλέγεις σταφυλὰς ἢ ἀπὸ τριβόλων σῦκα*, τί ὑπολαμβάνεις, ὅτι ἀπὸ παραβατῶν ἔχεις τί ἀγαθὸν ἀκοῦσαι ἢ ἀπὸ προδοτῶν μαθεῖν τί χρήσιμον; Ἐκείνους τοίνυν ἀποστρέφου ὡς λύκους Ἀραβικοὺς καὶ *ἀκάνθας* παρακοῆς καὶ *τριβόλους* ἀδικημάτων καὶ δένδρα πονηρά. *Ἐὰν ἴδῃς συνετὸν* κατὰ τὴν συμβουλεύουσαν σοφίαν, *ὄρθριζε πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ βαθμοὺς θυρῶν αὐτοῦ ἐκτριβέτω ὁ πούς σου*, ἵνα παρ´ αὐτοῦ διδαχθῇς νόμου σκιογραφήματα, προφητῶν μηνύματα, εὐαγγελιστῶν κηρύγματα, ἀποστόλων διδάγματα καὶ χαρίτων δωρήματα. Οὔτε δὲ λόγος σοφιστικὸς ἢ σχῆμα ἐπιθετικὸν εἰσάγουσιν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν, ἀλλὰ πίστις τελεία καὶ ἀπεριέργαστος μετὰ τῆς ἐναρέτου καὶ διαλαμπούσης πολιτείας.

29.1-23 (Ps.-)Athan. Alex., *Schol. in Matth.* 7.15-16, *PG* 26, col. 1253.16-46 (= *PG* 27, coll. 1380.52-1381.28) **1-3** Matth. 7.15-16 **7** Phil. 3.19 **8** Cf. II Cor. 2.17 **9** Cf. Matth. 7.15 **10** Cf. Matth. 7.16 **13-14** Matth. 7.16 **15-16** Cf. Hab. 1.8; Soph. 3.3 **16** Gen. 3.18; Hebr. 6.8 | Gen. 3.18; Hebr. 6.8 **17-18** Sir. 6.36

SUDEGF ab μαθεῖν (l. 15) SUDF

29.1 ἔρχονται] post ὑμᾶς (l. 2) transp. S **2** ἐνδύματι] ἐνδύμασι $U^{a.c.}F$ | ἔσωθεν] ἔνδοθεν U **3** εἴδῃς] ἴδῃς UEGF | ἀδελφὲ…ἔχει] ἀδελφὸν ἔχοντα F **4** προσχῇς] προσσχῇς D **5** ἐπισκόπου…πρεσβυτέρου] πρεσβυτέρου ἢ ἐπισκόπου U | ταὰς] ταῖς U **7** ἐν προσευχαῖς] ἐν προεν προσευχαῖς (sic) U | δὲ] om. U | τὴν] om. U **7-8** τὸν δὲ] καὶ τὸν U **8** ἄφες] ἀφὲς U **9** δὲ] καὶ add. DEGF **10** τέ] ἐτὲ (sic) U **11** ἐκ] ἀπὸ U **12** φοροῦντες] φρονοῦντες G | φημιάριον] φημάριον U **13** οὐ] om. G | συλλέγεις] συλλέγει D **14** ἔχεις] ἔχει U | ἀγαθὸν ἀκοῦσαι] transp. D **16** ἀκάνθας] ἄκανθα F | ἀδικημάτων] ἀδικίματα (sic) U **17** τὴν] ταύτην D **18** βαθμοὺς] σταθμοὺς U **19** σκιογραφήματα] σκιαγραφήματα UF **19-20** προφητῶν…διδάγματα] om. U **19** μηνύματα] μονύματα (sic) S **21** τὴν] om. DF **22** ἀπεριέργαστος] ἀπερίεργος U **23** πολιτείας] προνοίας U, om. S

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PG 96, col. 433.6 (cf. Wahl 1985, p. 94) 6.1
PG 96, col. 433.8-9 (cf. Wahl 1985, p. 161) 7.1
PG 96, col. 433.10 8.1
PG 96, col. 433.11-12 (cf. Wahl 1965, pp. 262-263) 9.1
PG 96, col. 436.16-17 (cf. Wahl 1974, p. 105) 10.1
PG 96, col. 436.18-19 (cf. Wahl 1974, pp. 122-123) 11.1-2
PG 96, col. 436.20-21 (cf. Wahl 1974, p. 58) 12.1

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UNA VERSIONE BIZANTINA E UNA METAFRASI NEOGRECA DELLO PS.-MELAMPO *DE NAEVIS*

PREMESSA

Una ricognizione complessiva della letteratura eleomantica greca si rivela utile per la comprensione del fenomeno divinatorio relativo all'interpretazione dei nèi come segni fatidici, premonitori per il destino della persona. Tale indagine costituisce la premessa necessaria per la riedizione di un Ἐλαιοσκόπιον bizantino adespota e di una traduzione demotica: Περὶ τῆς σημασίας τῶν ἐλαιῶν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὁποῦ ἔχει εἰς τὸ σῶμα, che si propone di seguito.[1]

Si tratta di due riscritture desunte in entrambi i casi dal trattato *De naevis* dello Ps.-Melampo. La fortuna del *corpus elaeoscopicum* nella tradizione manoscritta delinea un segmento non trascurabile della storia della superstizione della grecità media e moderna, mentre la fortuna editoriale degli scritti sui nevi a partire dal XVI secolo illumina i percorsi della ricezione moderna di questa pratica delle scienze occulte bizantine.

Lo studio a fini divinatori dei nèi naturali della pelle (ἐλαῖαι) nelle diverse parti del corpo ha dato luogo, infatti, nell'alveo più generale della fisiognomica, ad una tecnica autonoma di pronosticazione sistematizzata in una versione compilata in età medio-bizantina, che è attribuita a Melampo, il leggendario indovino dell'età eroica. L'opera espone dettagliatamente le congetture eleoscopiche *a capite ad calcem* e circola nei manoscritti medievali e nelle prime stampe, in calce ad una redazione περὶ παλμῶν, accomunata dalla medesima pseudepigrafia. La palmomanzia è fondata sull'esame dei moti convulsivi ed involontari del corpo umano ed è innestata sulla sfera del somatico al pari dell'eleomanzia. Le due tecniche di pronosticazione condividono la medesima paternità: entrambe sono assegnate al mitico vate Melampo, il quale in virtù dei suoi noti carismi è reputato un eccellente ἰατρόμαντις, guaritore e taumaturgo.[2]

[1] Vd. S. COSTANZA, *La divinazione greco-romana. Dizionario delle mantiche: metodi, testi e protagonisti*, Udine, 2009, p. 81.

[2] Vd. A. BOUCHÉ-LECLERQ, *Histoire de la divination dans l'Antiquité classique*, 1-4, Paris, 1879-1883 (= 1-2, Darmstadt, 1978), pp. 13-19; H. D. BETZ, *Gottmensch* (II), *RAC*, 12 (1983), c. 245; L. KÄPPEL, *Melampus*, *Neue Pauly* 7, (1999), c. 1166 (1); M. A. FLOWER, *The seer in ancient Greece*, Berkeley – Los Angeles – London, 2008, pp. 27 s., 42.

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Per il *corpus palmomanticum* disponiamo di un'edizione fondata sulla tradizione manoscritta medievale,[3] cui si aggiungono numerosi papiri del III-IV sec.P. Dal confronto fra questi testimoni e le recensioni medievali si comprova la circolazione delle protoredazioni *de palpitationibus* in età tardoantica e la struttura dei pronostici appare già organizzata nella forma canonica ereditata dalla palmomanzia bizantina. Il complesso dei testimoni *de naevis* finora non è suffragato, invece, da alcun rinvenimento papiraceo e una preformazione in età imperiale romana sembra in ogni caso da escludersi. Il quadro ecdotico è senz'altro meno incoraggiante. Per l'edizione eleoscopica più recente si deve rinviare, infatti, tuttora, al lavoro tardosettecentesco di Joh. Georg Frid. Franz, latinamente *Franzius*.[4] Questi, tuttavia, senza curarsi dell'apporto della tradizione manoscritta, si limitò a riproporre il *textus receptus* delle due precedenti edizioni e ad accogliere alcune congetture, solo di rado utili, di D. W. Triller (*notae a manu Magni Trilleri*): il testo risulta, così, scientificamente infondato e talora insensato. Come enunciato nel titolo, *Franzius* utilizza, infatti, l'*ed. Romana* (1545) e quella *altera* di Francoforte (1587).

C. Peruschi (?-1572/73), ellenicamente Κάμιλλος Πέρουσκος, vescovo di Alatri dal '47,[5] pubblicò per la prima volta il testo greco dello Ps.-Melampo *de palpitationibus* e *de naevis* da un manoscritto perduto, in calce all'*editio princeps* della *Varia Historia* di Eliano presso A. Blado (1545), insieme con un'opera storica di Eraclide e opuscoli di fisiognomica dello Ps.-Polemone e Ps.-Adamanzio.[6] Attivo nella Curia Romana, Peruschi si segnala per l'epistola

[3] Vd. H. DIELS, *Beiträge zur Zuckungsliteratur des Okzidents und Orients*, I *Die griechischen Zuckungsbücher (Melampus, περὶ παλμῶν)*, in *Abhandlungen der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 1907, Berlin, 1908, riedizione delle versioni *de palpitationibus* papiracee e medievali in S. COSTANZA, *Corpus Palmomanticum Graecum* (*Pap. Flor.* 39), Firenze, 2009.

[4] Ed. J. G. F. Franz, *Scriptores physiognomoniae veteres, ex recensione C. Perusci et Frid. Sylburgii, graece et latinae rec., animaduersiones Sylb. et Dan. Guil. Trilleri v. ill. in Melampodem emendationes add., suasque ads. notas Io. Ge. Fr. Franzius*, Altenburgi, 1780, 8° *Harl.*, pp. 501-508. Una traduzione inglese integrale è presentata da G. L. IRBY – M. KEYSER – P. T. KEYSER, *Greek Science of the Hellenistic Era. A Sourcebook*, London – New York, 2002, pp. 343 s., i quali, tuttavia, considerano Melampo come un autore realmente esistito, intento a dedurre il carattere dalle forme fisiche caratteristiche dell'individuo.

[5] Vd. F. UGHELLI – N. COLETI, *Italia sacra sive de episcopis Italiae, ed.* II Venetiis, 1717, t. I, col. 293; P. B. GAMS, *Series episcoporum ecclesiae catholicae, quotquot innotuerunt a beato Petro apostolo*, Leipzig, 1931[2], col. 661 *s. v. Alatri* pongono l'episcopato il 31 V 1561, la morte nel '73; più correttamente G. VAN GULIK – C. EUBEL – P. GAUCHAT – R. RITZLER – P. SEFRIN, *Hierarchia catholica medii et recentioris aevi sive summorum pontificum, S. R. E. cardinalium, ecclesiarum antistitum series*, 1913-78 [I-VIII], III (*saec.* XVI *ab a.* 1503 *compl.*), ed. alt. L. SCHMITZ-KALLENBERG, Monast. Guestph. Pat. [Münster], 1923, p. 99 *s. v. Alatrinensis*, citano l'episcopato il 22 IV '47, la partecipazione al Concilio il 12 IX, la nomina a rettore del Ginnasio Romano il 14 III '52.

[6] Il titolo latino è *Aeliani variae Historiae libri XIII. Ex Heraclide de rebus publicis comment. Polemonis Physionomie. Adamantii Physionomia Melampodis ex Palpitationibus divinatio,*

greca al Patriarca Metrofane III che mostra un vivo interesse per la grecità oppressa dalla cattività turca[7] e per la dedica dell'*Eliano*, contenente gli opuscoli divinatori citati, a Papa Paolo III Farnese (1534-1549),[8] impegnato da parte sua in un ambizioso programma di edizione di autori greci, latini e toscani, concretizzatosi nelle celebri «stamperie papali».[9]

Il secondo editore, Friedrich Sylburg (1536-1596), latinamente *Fridericus Sylburgius*, il quale, secondo la felice definizione di A. Rigo, è «una delle figure di maggiore rilievo del tardo Rinascimento tedesco»,[10] si muove, invece, negli orizzonti dell'evangelismo calvinista, che associa indissolubilmente l'interesse per gli studi classici e patristici agli orientamenti riformistici.[11] Il testo della *Romana* è riportato in calce ai *Prognostica* aristotelici,[12] con alcune congetture *ope ingenii* e la traduzione latina riveduta di Nifo.[13] Non deve stupire la pubblicazione di scritti mantici da parte protestante, in deroga alla condanna dei Padri presumibilmente nota a Sylburg, il quale padroneggia la letteratura greca cristiana.[14] Difatti l'interesse per una primigenia sapienza

de nevis, Romae, Blado, 1545, 4° cc. 4 nn., 111 (è stato consultato Coll. D'Elci 878, Bibl. Med. Laurenziana). Cfr. E. VACCARO SOFIA (a c. di), *Catalogo delle edizioni romane di Antonio Blado Asolano ed eredi* (1516-1593), (= *MPI Indici e Cataloghi* XIV), Roma, 1891, *Fasc.* 4, 536 n. 1523; per la marca tipografica con giovane offerente e motto bilingue: Ἀγαθὸς δαίμων, *Bonus euentus*, vd. G. ZAPPELLA, *Le marche dei tipografi e degli editori italiani del Cinquecento. Repertorio di figure, simboli e soggetti e dei relativi motti*, Milano, 1986, 196, fig. 671.

[7] Ed. J. M. FLORISTÁN, *Epístola literaria de C. P. Isidoro, rector del Estudio de Roma, al patriarca ecuménico Metrófanes III (1569)*, *RSBN* N. S., 40 (2003), pp. 171-207.

[8] Cfr. S. COSTANZA, *L'epistola di dedica di Camillo Peruschi a Paolo III ed altri componimenti nell'*editio princeps *di Eliano, Varia Historia (1545)*, *Studi Classici e Orientali*, 49 (2003), pp. 327-345.

[9] Sulla politica editoriale del Papato, vd. F. BARBERI, *Libri e stampatori nella Roma dei Papi*, *Studi Romani*, XIII-N. 4 (1965), pp. 433-56: 438 s.; per l'attività dei Blado e altri tipografi tridentini cfr. R. RIDOLFI, *Nuovi contributi sulle "stamperie papali" di Paolo III*, *La Bibliofilia* A. 48 (1946), 50 (1948), pp. 183-97.

[10] Vd. A. RIGO, Saracenica *di Friedrich Sylburg (1595). Una raccolta di opere bizantine contro l'Islâm*, in M. CORTESI (a c. di), *I Padri sotto il torchio. Le edizioni dell'antichità cristiana nei secoli XV-XVI* (Atti del Convegno di studi Certosa del Galluzzo, Firenze 25-26 giu. 1999), prem. C. LEONARDI, Firenze, 2002, pp. 289-310: 289. Dopo gli studi a Jena e Ginevra cooperò con *Henricus Stephanus* per il *Thesaurus graecae linguae*, soggiornò a Francoforte, dal '91 a Heidelberg collaborò con l'editore calvinista *Hieronymus Commelinus*.

[11] RIGO, *Saracenica*, pp. 290 s. ricostruisce l'attenzione per la Patristica con la traduzione in greco classico del catechismo calvinista di Heidelberg prima di quelle di Leida nel '23, '33 e '48, e le numerose edizioni negli stessi anni, fra cui Clemente di Alessandria, Teodoreto di Cirro (1592), Giustino Martire ('93), Andrea di Cesarea, *Commentarius in Apocalypsin*, Ps.-Apollinare *Metaphrasis Psalmorum* ('96).

[12] In *Aristoteles*, VI, Frankfurt/Main, 1587, pp. 223-235.

[13] A. NIFO, *De auguriis, lib.* II, *apud Graevium Thesaurus antiquitatum romanarum* V, Basileae, 1534, pp. 363 ss. precede l'*editio princeps* di C. Peruschi, offrendo per la prima volta al pubblico occidentale i testi di palmomanzia ed eleomanzia. Sylburg interviene sul suo latinizzamento, traducendo articoli omessi e correggendo alcune mende, vd. per gli articoli palmomantici *si quatitur* di Nifo è normalizzato in *si quatietur*.

[14] Cfr. RIGO, Saracenica, pp. 299 s.: Sylburg è il primo a citare il *corpus* antiislamico di Niceta di Bisanzio (II metà del IX sec.) e a tratteggiare la letteratura antiislamica bizantina

nei meandri dei saperi occulti ed ermetici non è estraneo ai circoli evangelici, anzi si collega a pressanti ansie escatologiche negli orizzonti di una rinnovata soteriologia.[15] Nel medesimo ambiente riformato (Turingia orientale) va collocato, quindi, a distanza di due secoli, il progetto di fisiognomica portato avanti, come notato, da *Franzius*, erede *recta via* di Sylburg.

Dalla redazione della *Romana*, in cui si riconosce agevolmente la versione canonica περὶ ἐλαιῶν (= *versio* A), sono tratti un rifacimento bizantino più tardo (= *versio* B) ed una traduzione demotica (= *versio* C), a riprova della vitalità di questa produzione e dell'ininterrotta continuità della superstizione.

A) Ps.-Melampo, De Naevis (= versio A)

Anche in ragione della difficile reperibilità, si presenta in via preliminare il testo dall'*editio Romana* di C. Peruschi, che permane la base per una ricognizione dell'eleomanzia saldamente ancorata a criteri filologici. Per facilitare il confronto fra gli articoli della redazione più estesa e le successive riscritture, si appone una numerazione progressiva dei pronostici con la distinzione fra quelli maschili (a) e femminili (b).

Si offre dunque la redazione della versio A *de naevis*, in cui si deve riconoscere il punto di partenza della tradizione bizantina in materia ed il *textus receptus* delle successive edizioni a stampa:

Περὶ ἐλαιῶν τοῦ σώματος

1 a) Ἐὰν ἐστὶν εἰς τὸ μέτωπον τοῦ ἀνδρός, πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν ἔσται κύριος. b) Εἰ δὲ εἰς τὸ μέτωπον τῆς γυναικός, ἡ γυνὴ βασιλεύσει, ἢ μεγίστη ἔσται.

2 a) Ἐὰν ἔξω τῶν ὀφρύων τοῦ ἀνδρός, λαμβάνει γυναῖκα ἀγαθὴν καὶ εὔμορφον. b) Εἰ δὲ γυναικός, καὶ ἐστὶν ἡ χροία αὐτῆς πυρρά, λαμβάνει ἄνδρα πλούσιον καὶ εὔμορφον.

(VIII-XIV sec.) con note critiche su opere e autori sulla base dei Padri e degli storici bizantini editi a Basilea o traditi nei codici della Biblioteca Palatina.

[15] Vd. C. Gilly, *Ermete o Lutero? Alla ricerca del* de antiqua philosophia et divina veterum magorum sapientia recuperanda *di Johann Arndt*, in C. Gilly – C. van Heertum (a c. di), *M., alchimia, scienza dal '400 al '700. L'influsso di Ermete Trismegisto = Magic, alchemy and science 15th-18th centuries*, Firenze, 2002, pp. 351-97, per il successo, malgrado l'occhiuta censura luterana di Magdeburgo, dei *Vier Bücher von wahrem Christentum* (1605-1610) di Arndt, il quale invoca espressamente la *prisca sapientia* di Ermete.

3 a) Εἰ δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ὀφρύων τοῦ ἀνδρός, οὐ δεῖ συζυγῆναι αὐτόν, ὅτι πέντε γυναικῶν ἀνὴρ γενήσεται. b) Τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γυναικός.

4 a) Ἐὰν ᾖ εἰς τὴν ῥῖνα τοῦ ἀνδρός, καὶ ἡ χροία αὐτοῦ ἔσται πυρρά, ἀκόρεστος ἔσται τῆς συνουσίας, ὅτι καὶ εἰς τὸ κρυπτὸν ἐλαίαν ἔχει. b) Ἐὰν ᾖ εἰς τὴν ῥῖνα, ἢ εἰς τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν τῆς γυναικός, ὁμοίως ἀποβήσεται τῷ ἀνδρί, ὅτι καὶ αὐτὴ εἰς τὸ κρυπτὸν ἐλαίαν ἔχει.

5 a) Ἐὰν εἰς τὸ πλάγιον τῆς ῥινὸς τοῦ ἀνδρός, ξενιτεύσει ἀπὸ χώρας εἰς χώραν. b) Ἐπὶ δὲ γυναικός, κακοποδινὰ γενήσεται, ὅτι καὶ εἰς κρυπτὸν ἐλαίαν ἔχει.

6 a) Ἐὰν εἰς τὸ μάγουλον τοῦ ἀνδρός, πλούσιος γενήσεται. b) Ἐπὶ δὲ γυναικός, ἐὰν εἰς τὸ κάτω μέρος τῆς σιαγῶνος, ἐμπαθὴς ἔσται, ὅτι καὶ εἰς τὸ ὑπογάστριον ἔχει.

7 a) Ἐὰν εἰς τὴν γλῶσσαν τοῦ ἀνδρός, λήψεται γυναῖκα πλουσίαν, καὶ καλήν. b) <...>

8 a) Ἐὰν εἰς τὰ χείλη τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐλαία ᾖ, πολυφάγος ἔσται. b) Ὁμοίως καὶ ἐπὶ γυναικός.[16]

9 a) Ἐὰν εἰς τὸν πώγωνα ἔχει ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐλαίαν, πλούσιος ἔσται χρυσίῳ καὶ ἀργυρίῳ. b) Τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ ἐπὶ γυναικός, ὅτι καὶ εἰς τὸν σπλῆνα ἔχει.

10 a) Ἐὰν εἰς τὰ ὦτα ἔχει ὁ ἀνήρ, πλούσιος καὶ εὐλογήμενος ἔσται. b) Τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ ἐπὶ γυναικός, ὅτι καὶ εἰς τὸν μηρὸν ἐλαίαν ἔχει.

11 a) Ἐὰν εἰς τὸν τράχηλον ἔχει ὁ ἀνήρ, πλούσιος ἔσται σφόδρα. b) Ὁμοίως καὶ ἐπὶ γυναικός.

12 a) Ἐὰν εἰς τὸν αὐχένα ἔχει ὀπίσω ὁ ἀνήρ, ἀποκεφαλίξεται. b) <...>

13 a) Ἐὰν εἰς τὰς ψύας, πτοχὸς ἔσται, καὶ ἀτυχὴς βαστάζων γένους. b) Ἐπὶ δὲ γυναικός, ὁμοίως.

14 a) Ἐὰν εἰς τοὺς ὤμους, δέσμιος ἔσται, καὶ θλιβόμενος. b) <...>

15 a) Ἐὰν εἰς τὴν μάλην, λήψεται γυναῖκα πλουσίαν, καὶ καλήν. b) Καὶ ἡ γυνή, ὁμοίως.

16 a) Ἐὰν εἰς τὰς χείρας, πολύτεχνος ἔσται. b) Καὶ ἡ γυνή, ὁμοίως.

17 a) Ἐὰν εἰς τὸ στῆθος, πένης ἔσται. b) Καὶ ἡ γυνή, ὁμοίως.

18 a) Ἐὰν ἐπάνω τῆς καρδίας, πολυπόνηρος ἔσται. b) Τῇ δὲ γυναικὶ τοῦτο συμβαίνει, ὅταν εἰς τὸν μαστὸν ἐλαίαν ἔχει.

19 a, b) Ἐὰν εἰς τὴν κοιλίαν, ‹πολύ›φαγοι ἀμφότεροι ἔσονται.

20 a, b) Ἐὰν εἰς τὸν σπλῆνα, ἐμπαθεῖς καὶ ἐπίνοσοι.

21 a, b) Ἐὰν εἰς τὸ ὑπογάστριον, ἐμπαθεῖς ἔσονται.

22 a, b) Ἐὰν εἰς τὸ κρυπτόν, ἄπληστοι ἔσονται ὑπὸ τῆς συνουσίας.

[16] γυναικῶν R.

23 a) Ἐὰν εἰς τὸ φυσικόν, ὁ μὲν ἀνὴρ ἀρρενογόνος ἔσται. b) Ἡ δὲ γυνή, τουναντίον.

24 a, b) Ἐὰν εἰς τὸν μηρόν, πλούσιοι ἔσονται.

25 a) Ἐὰν εἰς τὰ γόνατα, λήψεται γυναῖκα πλουσίαν. b) Ἡ δὲ γυνή, εἰ μὲν εἰς τὸ δεξιὸν γόνυ, ἀγαθὴ ἔσται, εἰ δὲ εἰς τὸ ἀριστερόν, πολύτεκνος ἔσται.

26 a) Ἐὰν εἰς τὸ ἀστράγαλον, ὁ ἀνὴρ ἀπρόσωπον ποιῇ ἀπὸ τῆς χιτωνίας. b) Ἡ δὲ γυνή, τὸν ἄνδρα ἀπὸ τῆς ἐξουσίας.

27 a, b) Εἰ δὲ εἰς τοὺς πόδας ἔχουσιν ἐλαίαν, πολύτεκνοι ἔσονται.

Σημείωσαι οὖν τὸ ἐπὶ ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν, ἐὰν ᾖ ἡ ἐλαία εἰς τὰ δεξιὰ μέρη πλούσιοι, καὶ ἀγαθοὶ πάντων γενήσονται. Εἰ δὲ εἰς τὰ εὐώνυμα ἐμπαθεῖς καὶ πτωχοὶ ἔσονται.

Τέλος περὶ ἐλαιῶν

SUI NÈI DEL CORPO

1 a) Se il neo è sulla fronte dell'uomo, sarà signore di molti beni. b) Se sulla fronte della donna, la donna sarà regina o sarà molto potente.

2 a) Se all'esterno delle sopracciglia dell'uomo, prenderà una moglie buona e bella. b) Se della donna, e il colore del neo è rosso, prenderà un marito ricco e bello.

3 a) Se sulle sopracciglia dell'uomo, non bisogna sposarsi con lui, perché sarà marito di cinque mogli. b) Lo stesso per la donna.

4 a) Se è sul naso dell'uomo, e il neo è di colore rossastro, sarà insaziabile nel rapporto sessuale; e anche se ha un neo sulle pudende. b) Se è sul naso o sull'occhio della donna, accadrà allo stesso modo col marito; e anche se ha un neo sulle pudende.

5 a) Se è sul fianco del naso dell'uomo, andrà in esilio di paese in paese. b) Per la donna, sarà sofferente nei piedi (< κακόπους?); e così anche se ha un neo sulle pudende.

6 a) Se sulla guancia dell'uomo, diventerà ricco. b) Se della donna, se è sulla parte inferiore della guancia, sarà passionale; e anche se ha <un neo> sul basso ventre.

7 a) Se sulla lingua dell'uomo, prenderà una moglie ricca e bella. b) <Della donna… >

8 a) Se c'è un neo sulle labbra dell'uomo, sarà un gran mangione. b) Ugualmente anche per la donna.

9 a) Se l'uomo ha un neo sulla barba, sarà ricco d'oro e d'argento. b) Lo stesso anche per la donna; e anche se ce l'ha sulla milza.

10 a) Se l'uomo ha un neo sulle orecchie, sarà ricco ed elogiato. b) Lo stesso anche per la donna; e pure se ha il neo sulla coscia.

11 a) Se l'uomo ha il neo sul collo, sarà molto ricco. b) Ugualmente anche per la donna.

12 a) Se l'uomo ce l'ha sulla parte retrostante del collo, sarà decapitato. b) <Della donna… >

13 a) Se sui lombi, sarà povero e infelice portando pesi. b) Per la donna, lo stesso.

14 a) Se sulle spalle, sarà incarcerato ed oppresso. b) <…>

15 a) Se sull'ascella, prenderà una moglie ricca e bella. b) E la donna lo stesso.

16 a) Se sulle mani, sarà abile in molte arti. b) E la donna lo stesso.

17 a) Se sul petto, sarà povero. b) E la donna lo stesso.

18 a) Se sul cuore, sarà molto malvagio. b) Per la donna avviene questo anche quando ha il neo sul seno.

19 a, b) Se sull'addome, saranno entrambi grandi ghiottoni.

20 a, b) Se sulla milza, saranno pieni di passione e cagionevoli di salute.

21 a, b) Se sul basso ventre, saranno passionali.

22 a, b) Se sulle pudende, saranno insaziabili nei rapporti sessuali.

23 a) Se sul sesso, l'uomo genererà maschi; b) la donna al contrario femmine.

24 a, b) Se sulla coscia, saranno ricchi.

25 a) Se sulle ginocchia, prenderà una moglie ricca. b) La donna, invece, se è sul ginocchio destro, sarà fortunata; se sul sinistro, avrà molti figli.

26 a) Se sull'astragalo, l'uomo fa una cosa brutta, sotto la veste. b) La donna, avrà un marito privo di potere.

27 a, b) Se hanno un neo sui piedi, avranno molti figli.

Interpreta, dunque, il significato, nel caso in cui ci sia un neo, per gli uomini e per le donne: se sul lato destro saranno ricchi e diventeranno eccellenti fra tutti; sul sinistro, invece, saranno passionali e poveri. Fine del trattato *Sui nèi*.

B) *ELAEOSCOPIUM* ANONIMO (= *VERSIO* B)

Si rileva un alto grado di affinità fra la redazione A e un Ἐλαιοσκόπιον ἀρρένων καὶ θηλέων adespota, tramandato in un ms. Laurenziano (= L), il solo testimone di questa recensione che era noto finora[17] ed in aggiunta anche in un ms. Parigino (= P).[18]

[17] Laur. Plut. 28, 14 f. 301^{v}: Ἐλαιοσκοπίαι <ἀρρένων καὶ θηλέων>. Da qui la prima trascrizione del testo offerta da A. DELATTE, *Anecdota Atheniensia*, I, *Textes grecs relatifs à l'histoire des religions*, Liège – Paris, 1927, pp. 627 s.

[18] Par. Gr. 2381, f. 56, marg.: Ἐλαιοσκόπ(ιον) ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν.

Laur. Plut. 28,14, cartaceo, ff. 321,[19] è una miscellanea di *apotelesmatica* e scritti esoterici, anepigrafi e pseudepigrafi,[20] compilati alla Scuola di Giovanni Abramios, astrologo personale di Andronico IV Paleologo,[21] negli ultimi anni del XIV sec.[22] e rappresenta un teste recente del cd. *Syntagma Laurentianum*, la grande collezione astrologica formatasi a Bisanzio nel IX sec.[23]

Par. Gr. 2381, cartaceo, XVI sec., 0, 29 × 0, 22 cm., ff. 109,[24] riporta il *De naevis* in un *marginale* e si configura come un recenziore non deteriore, offrendo il testo in una forma meno volgarizzante e più controllata linguisticamente. Il codice presenta una singolare selezione di scritti, assemblando insieme con *excerpta* teologici[25] trattati scientifici e diversi *apotelesmatica*.

[19] Per la descrizione, vd. A. M. BANDINI, *Catalogus codicum Graecorum Bibliotheceae Laurentianae varia continens Opera Graecorum Patrum* II, Florentiae, 1768, pp. 27-31; A. OLIVIERI, *Catalogus codicum astrologorum graecorum* (in seguito *CCAG*), I, Brussel, 1898, pp. 20-37; S. GENTILE, *Una miscellanea astrologica del Poliziano usata dal Pico*, in P. Viti (a c. di), *Catalogo della Mostra Pico, Poliziano e l'Umanesimo di fine Quattrocento (Bibl. Med. Laurenziana 4 nov.-31 dic. 1994)*, Firenze, 1994, pp. 98-99, sch. n. 30.

[20] Per le attribuzioni pseudepigrafe, vd. H. USENER, *De Stephano Alexandrino Comment.*, Bonn, 1880, pp. 10, 16; per gli *excerpta Hephaestionis*, A. OLIVIERI, *CCAG* I, Brussel, 1898, pp. 21 ss.; IDEM, *Frammenti dell'astrologia di Efestione Tebano nel cod. Laur. 28.34*, *Studi Italiani di Filologia Classica*, 6 (1898), pp. 1-27; D. PINGREE (ed.) *Hephestio Thebanus, Apotelesmatica*, II, Leipzig, 1974, pp. XIV s.; P. RADICI COLACE, *Le parafrasi bizantine del* ΠΕΡΙ ΚΑΤΑΡΧΩΝ *di Massimo*, pres. E. LIVREA, *Letteratura e civiltà bizantina*, Messina, 1988; R. STEWART (ed.), *Sortes Astrampsychi*, München – Leipzig, 2001, pp. XI, XLII.

[21] Laur. Plut. 28, 14 comprova la notevole abilità editoriale di Abramio di testi astrologici in una cerchia aperta alla discussione di problemi astronomici, ad es. il calcolo delle eclissi ed astrologici, come dimostrano le affinità con Laur. Plut. 28, 16, vergato dal caposcuola, e 28, 13; cfr. D. PINGREE, *The Astrological School of John Abramius*, *DOP*, 25 (1971), pp. 189-216: 194 ss., 202 s.

[22] Nello stesso periodo si assiste ad un prepotente risveglio dei testi dell'astrologia e dell'Ermetismo bizantini, attestati pure dal Laur. Plut. 28, 14, cfr. A. RIGO, *Da Costantinopoli alla Biblioteca di Venezia: i libri ermetici di medici, astrologi e maghi dell'ultima Bisanzio = From Constantinople to the Library of Venice: The Hermetic Books of Late Bizantine Doctors, Astrologers and Magicians*, in C. GILLY – C. VAN HEERTUM (a c. di), *Magia, alchimia, scienza dal '400 al '700. L'influsso di Ermete Trismegisto = Magic, alchemy and science 15th-18th centuries*, Firenze, 2002, pp. 69-86.

[23] Secondo la felice definizione di F. BOLL, *Beiträge zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der griechischen Astrologie und Astronomie*, *Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1899, H. I, pp. 77-140: 88ss. per Laur. 28, 34, al più tardi dell'XI sec., dal quale derivano diverse copie di età paleologa e della Diaspora.

[24] Cf. H. OMONT, *Catalogues des manuscrits grecs de Fontainebleau*, *Suppl.* 457, n. 11; IDEM, *Inventaire* II, p. 250; P. BOUDREAUX, *CCAG* VIII/3, Brussel, 1912, pp. 43-45.

[25] Vd. Gregorio di Tessalonica f. 35^{v}; Ps.-Dionysius, *De ecclesiastica hierarchia*; Iohannes Chrysostomus, *In Matthaeum*, f. 46^{v}; altre questioni teologiche f. 108^{v}.

Sul piano razionalista prevalgono opere di astronomia e matematica,[26] affiancate ai testi di carattere magico e divinatorio. Anche i margini sono utilizzati regolarmente con un costante *horror vacui*, per inserire glosse e inserzioni scoliastiche oppure altri scritti, come il trattato eleomantico in esame vergato a f. 56.

Nel manuale offerto dai due manoscritti citati la nuova articolazione dei pronostici, insieme con un certo numero di varianti, autorizza a postulare una seconda redazione eleoscopica (= B), che è bene pubblicare autonomamente, malgrado i punti di contatto con la recensione A, proprio per non annullare forzatamente le differenze ed evitare il rischio di costituire franosamente un testo su basi prive di storicità.[27]

Come si evince dal confronto con A, la differenza fondamentale attiene alla struttura dei pronostici, reimpostati secondo la bipartizione dei consultanti fra persone di sesso maschile e femminile. Nella *versio* A, infatti, l'esposizione procede ordinatamente, seguendo l'elenco dei nèi riscontrabili nelle diverse parti del corpo e prevede per ogni ἑλαία due risposte consecutive, risp. una per l'uomo e una per la donna. Nella recensione B, invece, i pronostici dedicati agli uomini e quelli rivolti alle donne sono separati in due serie rigorosamente distinte (ἀρρένων καὶ θηλέων), presentate in successione.

Fra l'altro si notano divergenze nel numero dei responsi maschili (§§15) e femminili (§§13) ed alcune asimmetrie nella sequenza delle parti trattate, che danno il segnale di un assemblaggio frettoloso di materiale ricavato da un modello in cui le due serie erano ancora accorpate insieme sotto l'indice dei nèi delle varie parti del corpo. Di conseguenza, il responsabile della nuova confezione del manuale ha estratto le predizioni prima per gli uomini (ἀρρένων) e poi per le donne (θηλέων), senza curarsi troppo dell'identità d'argomento e della corrispondenza fedele fra le due colonne così combinate nella nuova versione.

Ecco il testo della recensione B:

L = Laur. Plut. 28,14 f. 301^{v}
P = Par. Gr. 2381, f. 56^{r} marg.
A = *De naevis*, *ed. Romana*, f. 110

[26] Vd. definizioni di metrologia f. 2^{v}; Cleomede, *De motu circolari*, ff. 47, 74; problemi aritmetici f. 62^{v}; Pediasimo f. 81; problemi geometrici f. 85^{v}.

[27] Per la nozione di univocità e plurivocità del testo e la necessità di tenere debitamente conto della pluralità di redazioni di un unico testo, vd. le riflessioni di G. CONTINI, *Breviario di ecdotica*, Milano – Napoli, 1986, p. 7.

Ἐλαιοσκόπιον ‹ἀρρένων καὶ θηλέων›

Ἀρρένων

1 a) Ἐὰν ἐν τῷ μετώπῳ τοῦ ἀνδρος, κύριος ἐστὶν ἀγαθῶν ‹πολλῶν›.
2 a) Εἰ δὲ ‹ἐν› μέσῳ τῶν ‖ ὀφρύων, λήψηται γυναῖκα καλὴν καὶ εὔμορφον.
3 a) Εἰ δὲ ἐν τῇ παρειᾷ, ξένος γενήσεται ἀπὸ τόπου εἰς τόπον.
4 a) Εἰ δὲ ἐν τῷ ὠτίῳ, πλουτήσει, καὶ γυναῖκα λήψηται καλήν.
5 a) Εἰ δὲ ἐν τῇ ῥινί, εὔοσμος ἔσται καὶ καλοθελής.
6 a) Εἰ εἰς τὰ χείλη, ἢ ἄνω ἢ κάτω, πολύφαγος ἔσται.
7 a) Εἰ δὲ εἰς τὸν αὐχένα, ὄπισθεν τοῦ στήθους, ἀποκεφαλίξεται.
8 a) Εἰ δὲ ἐν τῇ ψοιᾷ, βαρυβαστάκτης ἔσται.
9 a) Εἰ δὲ ἐν τῇ κοιλίᾳ, γίνεται λαίμαργος καὶ πολυφάγος.
10 a) Εἰ δὲ ἐν τῇ χειρί, πολύτεχνος.
11 a) Εἰ δὲ ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ, πονηρός.
12 a) Εἰ δὲ ἐν τῷ ὤμῳ, δεδέμενος ἔσται καὶ θλιβόμενος.
13 a) Εἰ δὲ ἐν τῷ αἰδοίῳ, ἀρρενογόνος.
14 a) Εἰ δὲ ἐν τῇ σπληνί, ἐμπαθής.
15 a) Εἰ δὲ ἐν τοῖς γόνασι, πλουσίαν γυναῖκα λαμβάνει.
<...>

Tit. ἐλαιοσκόπιον] ἐλαιοσκόπ(ιον) P: ἐλαιοσκοπίαι L ἀρρένων καὶ θηλέων, cl. indice in L f. 17, scripsi] ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν P: om. L · ἀρρένων om. P · **1 a** ἐν τῷ μετώπῳ] τῷ om. P: εἰς τὸ μέτωπον L τοῦ om. P κύριος … ἀγαθῶν ex A §1a correxi] κυρίως … ἀγαθόν LP πολλῶν ex A §1a inserui] om. LP · **2 a** ἐν inserui μέσῳ correxi] μισ P: μέσον L λήψηται P] λαμβάνει L καλὴν … εὔμορφον om. P · **3 a** ἐν τῇ παρειᾷ P] εἰς τὴν παρειάν L ξένος γενήσεται P] ξενιτεύεται L: cf. A §5a ξενιτεύσει ἀπὸ … τόπον P] ἀπὸ τοῦ τόπου αὐτοῦ εἰς ἕτερον τόπον L · **4 a** ἐν… ὠτίῳ P] εἰς τὸ μάγουλον ἢ εἰς τὸ ὠτίον L πλουτήσ(ει) P] πλουτοῖ (l. πλουτεῖ) L λήψηται P] λαμβάνει ante γυναῖκα L · **5 a** ἐν … ῥινί P] εἰς τὴν ῥῖνα L · **6 a** ἢ prius om. P ὁμοίως post κάτω add. P ἔσται πολυφάγος transp. L · **7 a** ὄπισθεν P] ὀπίσω L ἀποκεφαλίξεται correxi] ἀποκεφαλίζεται L: κεφαλικῆς ὑφίσταται τιμωρίας, sch. marg. add. P · **8 a** ἐν … ψοιᾷ P] εἰς τὴν ψοιάν L ἔσται β. transp. L · **9 a** δὲ hic et infra §10 a, 11 a, 15 a om. P ἐν … κοιλίᾳ P] εἰς τὴν κοιλίαν L γίνεται om. P · **10 a** ἐν τῇ χειρί correxi] εἰς χείρα P: εἰς τὰς χείρας L · **11 a** ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ P] εἰς τὴν καρδίαν L · **12 a** ἐν … ὤμῳ P] εἰς τὸν ὦμον L · **13 a** ἐν τῷ αἰδοίῳ P] εἰς τὸν φυσικόν L · **14 a** ἐν τῇ σπληνί correxi] τῇ om. P: εἰς τὴν σπλῆνα L · **15 a** ante §**12 a** extra ordinem transp. LP ἐν τοῖς γόνασι correxi] ταῖς P: εἰς τὰ γόνατα L λαμβάνει ante πλουσίαν transp. L · aliquid a genibus ad calcem excidisse statui

Θηλέων

1 b) Εἰ ἐν τῷ μετώπῳ, βασιλέως γυνὴ γενήσεται.
2 b) Εἰ ἐν τῇ μασχάλῃ ἢ μέσῳ ὀφρύος, καὶ ἡ χροιὰ τῆς ἐλαίας πυρά, λαμβάνει ἄνδρα πλούσιον.

3 b) Εἰ δὲ μέσον τὸν ὀφρύων, λαμβάνει πλοῦτον ἀνδρός, καὶ ἔχει τὸ σῆμα τοῦτο καὶ εἰς τὸν μαστόν.
4 b) Εἰ δὲ ἐν τῇ ῥινί, καὶ ἡ χροιὰ τῆς ἐλαίας πυρά, χρυσίζουσα, ἀκόρεστος ἔσται ἐν συνουσίᾳ· ἔχει δὲ καὶ ἐλαίαν ἐν αἰδοίῳ.
5 b) Εἰ δὲ ἐν τῇ σιαγόνι εἰς τὸ κάτω μέρος, ἐμπαθὴς γίνεται· ἔχει γὰρ καὶ ὑπὸ τὴν γαστέρα ἐλαίαν.
6 b) Εἰ δὲ ἐν τῷ ἄνω μέρει, ἐλευθέρα ἔσται καὶ ἀδρανὴς ἤγουν ἀνίσχυρος· ἔσται πλουσία καὶ πολύθριξ.
7 b) Εἰ δὲ ἐν τῷ πώγωνι, ἔσται πλουσία· ἔχει γὰρ ἐν σπληνὶ ἐλαίαν.
8 b) Εἰ δὲ ἐν τῷ ὠτίῳ, φορέσει ἔρωτα· καὶ ἔσται εὐλογημένη· διότι ἔχει καὶ ἐν τῷ μηρῷ ἐλαίαν.
9 b) Εἰ δὲ ἐν τῷ τραχήλῳ, πλουσία ἔσται σφόδρα.
10 b) Εἰ δὲ ἐν τῇ ψοιᾷ, πτωχὴ ἔσται καὶ δυστυχής.
11 b) Εἰ δὲ ἐν τῷ δεξιῷ γόνατι, ἔσται σφόδρα ἀγαθή.
12 b) Εἰ δὲ ἐν τῷ ἀριστερῷ, πολύτεκνος.
13 b) Εἰ δὲ ἐν ἀστραγάλῳ, ἀπρόσωπον τὸν ἄνδρα ἀπὸ τῆς ἐξουσίας καθίστησιν.
<...>

Tit. Θηλέων L: ἐπὶ δὲ θ. P · **1 b** ἐν τῷ μετώπῳ correxi] τῷ om. P: εἰς τὸ μέτωπον L · **2 b** ἐν … μασχάλῃ correxi] τῇ om. P: εἰς τὴν μασχάλην L ἢ … ὀφρύος P] εἰς τὸ μεσόφρυον L πυρά LP (l. πυρρά) λαμβάνει] hic et §3b l. λήψηται · **3 b** om. P · **4 b** ἐν τῇ ῥινί correxi] τῇ om. P: εἰς τὴν ῥῖνα L χρυσίζουσα πυρά transp. L συνουσίᾳ P] -αις L ἐν αἰδοίῳ P] εἰς τὸ κρυπτόν L · **5 b** ὑπὸ τὴν γαστήρα correxi] τὴν om. P: εἰς τὸ ὑπογάστριον L · **6 b** ἐν … μέρει P] εἰς τὸ κάτω μέρος L ἤγουν L] ἢ P ἀνίσχυρος L] δυνατ(ή) < ἀδύνατ(ος)? P μὴ δυναμένη πρᾶξαί τι, sch. marg., post ἀνίσχυρος add. L · **7 b** ἐν… πώγωνι P] εἰς τὸν πώγωνα L ἐν σπληνί P] εἰς τὸν σπλῆνα L ἐλαίαν om. P · **8 b** ἐν … ὠτίῳ P] εἰς τὸ ὠτίον L καὶ φορέσει ἔρωτ(α), post καὶ … εὐλογημένη traiec. P] φορέσει ἐγκόσμια χρυσά L διότι om. P ἔχει … μηρῷ correxi] post ὠτίῳ transp. P (τῷ om.): εἰς τὸν μηρὸν L ἐλαίαν om. P · **9 b** ἐν … τραχήλῳ P] εἰς τὸν τράχηλον L · **10 b** ἐν τῇ ψοιᾷ P] εἰς τὴν ψοιάν L ἔσται om. L δυστυχής L: ἀτυχής P · **11 b** ἐν … γόνατι P] εἰς τὸ δεξιὸν γόνατον L · **12 b** ἐν … ἀριστερῷ P] εἰς τὸ ἀριστερόν L · **13 b** ἐν ἀστραγάλῳ P] εἰς τὸ ἀστράγαλιν L ἐξουσίας correxi, cl. A §26 b] ἕξω βίας LP · aliquid de pedibus excidisse statui

Trattato sull'interpretazione dei nèi
<degli uomini e delle donne>

Degli uomini

1 a) Se è sulla fronte dell'uomo, sarà padrone di molti beni.
2 a) Se è in mezzo alle sopracciglia, prenderà una moglie buona e bella.
3 a) Se è sulla guancia, andrà esule di luogo in luogo.
4 a) Se sull'orecchio, si arricchirà e prenderà una moglie bella.

5 a) Se sul naso, sarà bene olezzante e benevolo.
6 a) Se sulle labbra, sia sul labbro superiore, sia su quello inferiore, sarà ingordo.
7 a) Se sul collo, dietro al petto, sarà decapitato.
8 a) Se sui lombi, sarà un grande portatore di pesi.
9 a) Se sul ventre, diventerà un ingordo e un gran mangione.
10 a) Se sulle mani, sarà esperto in molte arti.
11 a) Se sul cuore, malvagio.
12 a) Se sulla spalla, sarà imprigionato ed oppresso.
13 a) Se sul sesso, genererà maschi.
14 a) Se sulla milza, sarà passionale.
15 a) Se sulle ginocchia, prenderà una moglie ricca.
<...>

Delle donne

1 b) Se è sulla fronte, diventerà la moglie di un sovrano.
2 b) Se è sull'ascella o in mezzo alle sopracciglia, e il neo è di colore rosso, prenderà un marito ricco.
3 b) Se è in mezzo alle sopracciglia, prenderà un marito ricco; e anche quando ha questo segno sul seno.
4 b) Se sul naso, e il neo è di colore dorato, rossastro, sarà insaziabile nei rapporti sessuali; e anche se ha il neo sulle pudende.
5 b) Se sulla guancia, nella parte inferiore, sarà passionale; e anche se ha il neo sulla pancia.
6 b) Se, invece, sulla parte superiore, sarà libera e debole cioè priva di forze; sarà ricca e dalle folte chiome.
7 b) Se sulla barba, sarà ricca; anche se ha il neo sulla milza.
8 b) Se sull'orecchio, recherà amore e sarà elogiata, anche se ha il neo sulla coscia.
9 b) Se sul collo, sarà molto ricca.
10 b) Se sul lombo, sarà povera e infelice.
11 b) Se sul ginocchio destro, sarà molto prospera.
12 b) Se sul sinistro, abile in molte arti.
13 b) Se sull'astragalo, prenderà un marito brutto, senza potere.

Per agevolare il confronto fra la recensione A e B e focalizzare meglio il lavoro di cernita dei materiali eleoscopici, si presenta una tavola di comparazione basata sull'identità dell'argomento di pronosticazione fra i rispettivi articoli:

A		B	
1 a	1 b	1 a	1 b
//	//	2 a	2 b, 3 b
2 a	2 b	//	//
3 a	3 b	//	//
4 a	4 b	5 a	4 b
5 a	5 b	3 a	//
6 a	6 b	3 a	5 b
7 a	//	//	//
8 a	8 b	6 a	//
9 a	9 b	//	7 b
10 a	10 b	4 a	8 b
11 a	11 b	//	9 b
12 a	12 b	7 a	//
13 a	13 b	8 a	10 b
14 a	14 b	12 a	//
15 a	15 b	//	//
16 a	16 b	10 a	//
17 a	17 b	//	//
18 a	18 b	11 a	//
19 a, b	=	9 a	//
20 a, b	=	14 a	//
21-22 a, b	=	//	//
23 a	23 b	13 a	//
24 a, b	=	//	//
25 a	25 b	15 a	11 b, 12 b
26 a	26 b	//	13 b
27 a, b	=	//	//

Fra gli errori di B comuni a LP, ma facilmente emendabili dal confronto con A, si osserva lo scambio di finali §1, mercè l'omofonia ο/ω e §13 b ἔξω βίας, corruzione evidente di ἐξουσίας. La menda si spiega per un'omissione grafica (ουc > ου, dato il fraintendimento di υc in legatura) e un concomitante errore di dettato interno (/eksovias/). Di seguito il copista ha tentato di ricavare una lezione solo all'apparenza plausibile. Un fatto caratteristico è inoltre l'erosione del dativo nell'elenco dei nevi, che è soppiantato per esprimere l'idea dello stato in luogo dalla costruzione accusativale retta da ἐς. Si tratta di un fatto regolare nel teste L (§§1 a, 3 a, 4 a, 5 a, 8 a, 9 a,

10 a, 11 a, 12 a, 13 a, 14 a, 15 a, 1 b, 2 b, 4 b, 6 b, 7 b, 8 b, 9 b, 10 b, 11 b, 12 b, 13 b). P si accorda sull'innovazione demotica con L, ma non sistematicamente. È, quindi, preferibile normalizzare la costruzione col dativo, ritenendola pertinente allo stadio linguistico della protoredazione B obliterato nel processo di copia.

c) La metafrasi neogreca (= *versio* C)

Infine si presenta la traduzione demotica conservata in un ms. Athen.,[28] che riproduce, fedelmente, la redazione A *De naevis*, senza interventi notevoli, a parte l'evidente trasposizione di codice linguistico. Come in A è rispettata la successione di pronostici, bipartiti fra uomini e donne. Per il resto si segnalano solo fatti episodici, come l'omissione di un articolo (non è tradotto §A 8, χείλη) e la trattazione di due articoli (§§24-25 C) omessi nella redazione A nella forma a noi pervenuta, ma presenti ragionevolmente nel modello impiegato dal metafrasta di C e concepiti quali un ampliamento di A §24 (μηρός).

La corrispondenza delle predizioni rispetto alla *versio* A è, quindi, la seguente:

A	C
1-7	1-7
8	//
9	8
10	9
11	10
12	11
13	12
14	13
15	14
16	15
17	16
18	17
19	18
20	19
21	20

[28] Περὶ τῆς σημασίας τῶν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὁποῦ ἔχει εἰς τὸ σῶμα, Athen. Bibl. Nat. 1275, f. 50 (a. 1862); un codice coevo della medesima collezione (1350, f. 77^{v}) riporta un Περὶ ἐλεῶν (*l.* σημείων) τῶν ἐλεῶν τοῦ σώματος; vd. A. Delatte, *CCAG* X, Brussel, 1924, pp. 101 ss.

A	C
22	21
23	22
24	23
//	24-25
25	26
26-27	//

Ecco il testo in parola:
F. 50^{v}

Περὶ τῆς σημασίας τῶν ἐλαιῶν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου
ὁποῦ ἔχει εἰς τὸ σῶμα

1 a) Μέτοπος· ἐὰν ἡ ἐλαία ᾖναι εἰς τὸ μέτωπον τοῦ ἀνδρός, θέλει ἀποκτήσῃ πολλὰ καλά. b) Ἐὰν δὲ πάλιν ᾖναι ἡ ἐλαία εἰς τὸ μέτωπον τῆς γυναικός, γίνεται βασίλισσα.

2 a) Ὀφρύδια· ἐὰν ᾖναι ἡ ἐλαία ἀπέξω τῶν ὀφρυδίων τοῦ ἀνδρός, ἔχει νὰ πάρῃ καλὴν γυναῖκα καὶ εὔμορφον· b) ἐὰν δὲ ᾖναι ἀπέξω τῶν ὀφρυδίων τῆς γυναικὸς καὶ ἡ ὄψις κόκκινη, παίρνει ἄνδρα πλούσιον καὶ εὔμορφον.

3 a) Ὀφρύδια· ἐὰν δὲ πάλιν ἐπάνω εἰς τὰ ὀφρύδια τοῦ ἀνδρός, δὲν πρέπει νὰ ὑπανδρευθῇ, διότι ἔχει νὰ πάρῃ πέντε γυναῖκας. b) Τὸ ὅμοιον γίνεται καὶ εἰς τῆς γυναικός.

4 a) Μίτιν· ἐὰν εἰς τὴν μύτην τοῦ ἀνδρὸς καὶ // f. 51 τὸ χρῶμά του ᾖναι κόκκινον, δὲν χορταίνει συνουσίαν, διότι ἔχει καὶ εἰς τὸ ἀπόκρυφον μέλος ἐλαίαν· b) τὸ αὐτὸ παθαίνει ἡ γυναῖκα, ἐὰν ἔχῃ εἰς τὴν μίτι‹ν› ἢ εἰς τὸ μάτι·

5 a) Ἐὰν ᾖναι εἰς τὸ πλάγιον μέρος τῆς μύτης τοῦ ἀνδρός, θέλει ξενιτευθῇ ἀπὸ χώραν εἰς χώραν· b) εἰ δὲ τῆς γυναικός, θέλει εἶναι κακορρίζικη, ὅτι ἔχει καὶ εἰς τὸ ἀπόκρυφον μέλος της.

6 a) Μάγουλον· ἐὰν εἰς τὸ μάγουλον τοῦ ἀνδρός, θέλει γένῃ πλούσιος· b) εἰ δὲ τῆς γυναικὸς μάγουλον ἢ κατὰ τὸ μάγουλον, εἶναι ἀχόρταγος συνουσίας, ὅτι ἔχει ἐλαίαν καὶ κάτω τῆς κοιλίας.

7 a) Γλῶσαν· ἐὰν ᾖναι εἰς τὴν γλῶσσαν τοῦ ἀνδρός, παίρνει πλουσίαν γυναῖκα· b) καὶ πάλιν τὸ ὅμοιον γίνεται καὶ εἰς τὴν γυναῖκα.

8 a) Γένεια· ἐὰν ὁ ἄνδρας γεννᾶται εἰς τὰ γένεια μὲ ἐλαίαν, γίνεται πλούσιος εἰς χρυσάφι καὶ ἀσῆμι· b) ὁμοίως καὶ ταῖς γυναιξί, ἐπειδὴ ἔχουσι καὶ εἰς τὴν σπ‹λ›ῖνα.

9 a) Στ'ἀφτί· ἐὰν ἔχῃ ὁ ἄνδρας, γίνεται πλούσιος καὶ εὐλογημένος· b) ὁμοίως καὶ τῆς γυναικός, ὅτι ἔχει καὶ εἰς τὸν μήρον της·

f. 51^{v}

10 a) Τράχιλον· ἐὰν ἔχῃ εἰς τὸν τράχηλόν του ὁ ἀνήρ, πλουτεῖ πολλά· b) ὁμοίως καὶ ἡ γυνή.

11 a) Λαιμόν· ἐὰν εἰς τὸ ὀπίσω μέρος τοῦ λ‹α›ιμοῦ, κόπτουν τὸν λαιμόν του. b) <...>

12 a) Λαγγόνα· ἐὰν ἔχῃ εἰς τὰ λαγκώνια ὁ ἄνδρας, πτωχαίνει καὶ δυστυχεῖ· b) ὁμοίως καὶ ἡ γυνή.

13 a) Στὸν ὦμον· ἐὰν ἔχῃ ὁ ἄνδρας ἐπάνω εἰς τοὺς ὤμους, εἶναι τεθλιμμένος· b) ὁμοίως καὶ ἡ γυνή.

14 a) Ἀμασχάλιν· ἐὰν ἦναι εἰς τὴν ἀμασχάλην του, παίρνει καλὴν καὶ πλουσίαν γυναῖκα· b) ὁμοίως καὶ ἡ γυνή.

15 a) Χέρι· ἐὰν ἔχῃ εἰς τὰ χέρια ὁ ἄνδρας, πολλὰ παιδιὰ κάμνει· b) ὁμοίως καὶ ἡ γυνή.

16 a, b) Στῆθος· ἐν τῷ στήθει ἔχων ὁ ἄνδρας καὶ ἡ γυνὴ πτωχοί.

17 a) Καρδίαν· ἐὰν ἐπάνω εἰς τὴν καρδίαν ἔχῃ ὁ ἄνδρας, πολυπόνηρος. b) Βυζί· ὅταν δὲ ἡ γυνὴ ἔχῃ εἰς τὸ δεξιὸν ἢ ἀριστερὸν βυζί, εἶναι πολυπόνηρος.

18 a) Κοιλίαν· ἐὰν ἔχῃ ἐπάνω εἰς τὴν κοιλίαν ὁ ἄνδρας, εἶναι πολύφαγος· b) ὁμοίως καὶ ἡ γυνή.

19 a) Σπλῆνα· ἐὰν ἐπάνω εἰς τὴν σπλῆνα ἔχων ὁ ἀνήρ, γίνεται ἀκράτητος τῶν παθῶν· b) ὁμοίως καὶ ἡ γυνὴ καὶ γίνεται φιλάσθενος.

f. 52^{r}

20 a, b) Κοιλίας ὑποκάτου· ὑποκάτου τῆς κοιλίας ἔχοντες ὁ ἀνὴρ καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἄσωτοί εἰσι.

21 a, b) Κρυφὰ μέλη· ἐὰν εἰς τὰ κρυφὰ μέρι ἔχουν, ποτὲ δὲν χορταίνουν συνουσίαν.

22 a, b) Φύσιν τους ἐπάνω· ἐὰν τὴν ἔχουσι ἐπάνω εἰς τὴν φύσιν τους ὁ μὲν ἀνὴρ γίνεται ὡσὰν γυναῖκα καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ὡς ἄνδρας.

23 a, b) Στὸ μιρὶ· ἐὰν δὲ εἰς τὸν μηρόν, πλουτοῦσι.

24 a) Στὸ μυρὶ δεξιόν· ἐὰν ὁ ἀνὴρ ἔχῃ εἰς τὸ δεξιὸν μηρί, πλουτεῖ· b) ὁμοίως καὶ ἡ γυνή.

25 a, b) Εἰ δὲ εἰς τὸ ἀριστερόν, γίνο‹ν›τε πτωχοί.

26 a) Γόνατα· ἐὰν ὁ ἄνδρας ἔχῃ εἰς τὰ γόνατα, παίρνει πλουσίαν γυναῖκα καὶ καλήν· b) ἡ δὲ γυνὴ ἔχουσα εἰς τὸ δεξιὸν μέρος τοῦ γούνατος, θέλει εἶναι καλή· εἰ δὲ εἰς τὸ ζερβόν, κάμνει πολλὰ παιδία.

Τέλος τῆς σημασίας τῶν ἐλαιῶν

1 a μέτοπος l. μέτωπον · **3 b** τὰ ὀφρύδια post γυναικός add. Del. · **4 a** μίτιν l. μίτη · **4 b** μίτι l. μίτην · **6 b** εἰ] εἰς corr. Del. · **7 a** γλῶσαν l. γλῶσσα · **7 b** τό corr. Del.] ὁ cod. · **8 b** σπῖνα cod.: l. σπλῆνα · **9 a** σταφτί cod.] στ'ἀφτί scripsi: l. εἰς τὸ αὐτί, quod introduxit Del. · **10 a** τράχιλον l. τράχηλον: τράχηλος corr. Del. · **11 a** λιμού cod.: λαιμόν correxi] λαιμός Del. · **12 a** λαγγόνα l. λαγκῶνα] λαγκώνια Del. · **13 a** στόν] εἰς τόν Del. · **13 b** γυνή corr. Del.] γυνίν cod. · **14 a** ἀμασχάλιν l. ἀμασχάλην] -η corr. Del. · **17 a** καρδίαν] -α Del. · **18 a** κυλίαν cod.: κοιλίαν] -α corr. Del. · **19 a** σπλίνα cod.: l. σπλῆνα] σπλήν corr. Del. ἔχων: l. ἔχῃ, quod corr. Del. ἀκράτητος i. e. ἀκρατής · **20** κοιλίας corr. Del.] κυλίαν l. κοιλίαν cod. · **21** μέρι l. μέρη · **23** στὸ μιρί l. εἰς τὸ μηρί, quod introduxit Del. · **§§24-25** post §26 librarius posposuit · **24 a** στὸ μυρί l. εἰς τὸ μηρί, quod introduxit Del. · **25** γίνοτε l. γίνονται, quod corr. Del. · **26 b** γούνατος l. γόνατος

Per l'enumerazione delle parti del corpo si rileva l'uso generalizzato di voci neogreche in sostituzione di quelle classiche. Un quadro comparabile per le denominazioni anatomiche è presentato dalla *Syntaxis* ps.-pitagorica tramandata in un testimone della versio B (Laur. 28, 14), che presenta un'originale rimodulazione divinatoria bizantina tratta dall'ambito palmomantico.[29] Riguardo alla metafrasi *de naevis* si osservano in particolare le seguenti voci demotiche: §2-3j ὀφρύδια, preludio del mod. φρύδια aferetico;[30] §4-5 μίτη, omofono del mod. μύτη,[31] §4 b μάτι (< ὀμμάτιον), già aferetico ed apocopato;[32] §6 μάγουλον = 'guancia';[33] §9 ἀφτί, forma usuale basata sulla trascrizione fonetica del dittongo αυ-;[34] §15 χέρι;[35] §17 b βυζί,[36] §23-24 μηρί (< μηρίον, ipocor. di μηρός).

[29] In Laur. Plut. 28. 14, ff. 307^{v}-308^{r} Ὑπόδειξις διαλύσεως τῶν μελῶν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἀλλοιουμένων. Πυθαγόρα ἡ σύνταξις, cfr. ed. S. COSTANZA, *Una syntaxis mantica pitagorica*, *BZ* 98. 1 (2005), pp. 5-21 (d'ora in avanti cit. come *Syntaxis*).

[30] Nella *Syntaxis*, f. 308^{r}, §§11-13 si legge ancora class. ὀφρύς con incertezza di genere tra masch. (§11) e femm. (§12).

[31] Da respingere è la grafia μύτη normalizzata su quella attuale di DELATTE, *Anecdota Atheniensia*, p. 101. Vd. *Sch. Ar. Plut.* v. 314 ῥῖνα· τὴν μίτην; CH. DUCANGE, *Glossarium ad Scriptores mediae et infimae grecitatis*, Lugduni [Lyon], 1688, col. 929. Inoltre μίτη è nella *Syntaxis*, f. 308^{r}, §§22-23 e f. 307^{v}, §§24-27, a conferma dell'uso nel greco medio e dell'ormai definitiva obliterazione di ῥίς e derivati.

[32] Nella *Syntaxis*, f. 308^{r}, §§18-21 compare la forma ὀμάτια non aferetica, che rappresenta l'antecedente immediato rispetto all'esito moderno attestato dalla metafrasi del *De Naevis*.

[33] *Scholia in Oppiani Halieutica* ed. U.C. BUSSEMAKER, in *Scholia in Theocritum, auctiora redd. ...* F. DÜBNER, Parisiis, 1849, pp. 260-364, 2, 91. DUCANGE col. 848; D. DIMITRAKOS, *Mega Lexicon tes Hellenikes glosses*, Athenai, 9 voll., 1949-1950, 5, 4429. Cfr. la *Syntaxis*, f. 307^{v}, §§28-29 (μάγουλον) e 30-31 (καταμάγουλον).

[34] Non occorre normalizzare con DELATTE, *Anecdota Atheniensia*, p. 101, introducendo in modo antistorico una grafia più arcaizzante (αὐτί). Mancano articoli relativi a questa parte nell'esposizione della *Syntaxis*.

[35] Nella *Syntaxis* f. 307^{v}, §§54-59 si legge il gen. class. χειρός.

[36] Vd. DUCANGE col. 231; *LBG* 302. L'impiego del lemma in *P. Wash. Univ.* II 108 (VI sec., lettera privata), r. l. 10 rappresenta la più antica attestazione, che anticipa di vari secoli quelle finora note dalla tradizione medievale manoscritta, cfr. K. MARESCH, Z. M. PACKMAN (edd.), *Papyri from the Washington University Collection St. Louis Missouri*,

Anche nei pronostici s'incontrano numerosi volgarismi; fra le forme verbali compare regolarmente εἶναι risp. ἦναι per la 3. sing. = ἐστί; di frequente παίρνει e πάρῃ, 3 sing. risp. dell'indic. e cong. < παίρνω = 'prendere'. Poi §1 ἀποκτήσῃ < 3. sing. cong. aor. ἀποκτῶ = 'acquistare'; §3 a ὑπανδρευθῇ, cong. aor. pass. < ὑπανδρεύομαι mod. παντρεύομαι aferetico = 'sposarsi';[37] §4 b παθαίνει.[38] Da ῥιζικόν, un importante prestito dal protoromanzo (ital. *risico*, franc. *risque*), 11connesso alla sorte, buona o cattiva e formatosi sul lessico del gioco dei dadi, deriva a §5 b κακορρίζικη (l. κακορίζικη), marcato in senso nettamente negativo.[39] Un'altra espressione tipicamente demotica è impiegata a §8 a εἰς χρυσάφι καὶ ἀσῆμι, per indicare la ricchezza d'oro e d'argento e traduce in costrutto accusativale retto da preposizione i due dativi di limitazione di A (§9 a χρυσίῳ καὶ ἀργυρίῳ).[40]

Morfologicamente si osserva la compresenza di forme classiche ἀνήρ,[41] γυνή,[42] con le corrispondenti demotiche ἄνδρας,[43] γυναῖκα,[44] nominativi colonnari ricreati su un paleoaccusativo. Nella sintassi le infinitive sono sostituite secondo la costruzione moderna da subordinate al congiuntivo, precedute dal connettivo νά (< ἵνα), talora omesso.[45]

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Attraverso le riscritture sopra esaminate l'eleoscopia si configura quale un metodo d'indagine popolare, ma molto vitale, a carattere piuttosto elementare, come si deduce dall'evidenza della relazione simpatica, intercorrente fra la parte trattata e la conseguenza pronosticata.[46] Nei responsi eleomantici,

Part II (*P. Wash. Univ.* II), (= *Pap. Col.* 18), Opladen, 1990, p. 218 *ad loc.* Nella *Syntaxis* f. 307^{v}, §§82-83 si trova la forma non ancora apocopata βυζίον.

[37] Vd. DUCANGE col. 1632 *s. v.* ὕπανδρος = donna maritata.

[38] Per παθαίνω, formazione secondaria dal tema dell'aoristo (ἔπαθον) vd. DUCANGE col. 1078.

[39] Vd. DUCANGE col. 1297 s. *s. v.* ῥίζικον per i derivati ῥιζικαῖος, pericoloso, ῥιζικάρειν mettere a rischio e i composti κακορίζικος, sfortunato, καλορίζικος, felice; E.A. SOPHOKLES, Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Bzyantine Periods (from B.C. 146 to A.D. 1100), Athenai 1914, p. 970; DIMITRAKOS 8, 6411. Come pronostico ῥιζικόν compare nella *Syntaxis*, f. 308^{r}, §6; f. 307^{v}, §61.

[40] Qui ἀσῆμι = argento *tout court* deriva dalla locuzione ἀσήμιον ἀργύριον, argento non segnato, vd. DUCANGE col. 138 *s. vv.* ἀσήμιν, ἀσήμιον, donde l'agg. ἀσημικό = argenteo.

[41] §10, 19 a, 20, 22, 24 a.

[42] §10 b, 12 b, 13 b, 14 b, 15 b, 16 b, 17 b, 18 b, 19 b, 20, 22 b, 24 b, 26 b.

[43] §8, 9, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17 a, 18 a, 22 b, 26 a.

[44] §4 b, 22 b.

[45] Cf. §1 a θέλει ἀποκτήσῃ, per la trad. del sintagma della signoria di molti beni; §2 a, 3 a ἔχει νὰ πάρῃ (< παίρνω); δὲν πρέπει νὰ ὑπανδρευθῇ; 5 a θέλει ξενιτευθῇ; 5 b, 26 b θέλει εἶναι; 6a θέλει γένῃ.

[46] Tali relazioni si fondano sulla nozione magica di similarità, alla cui formazione presiedono in ultima analisi le convenzioni sociali, vd. M. MAUSS, *Teoria generale della magia*

infatti, una volta individuata l'ἐλαία, questo rapporto semiotico di dipendenza s'indovina in modo trasparente. Basti citare la πολυφαγία per i nèi posti sulle labbra e sullo stomaco, la πολυτεχνία per quelli presenti sulle mani, l'ἀρρενογονία, se il nevo si trova sul sesso maschile. Altrimenti viene sviluppata una valenza metaforica della parte trattata, in conformità con la mentalità folclorica corrente. Esemplare al riguardo è il caso del neo posto sul naso, che è inteso in senso letterale per il responso di un futuro bene olezzante (εὐοσμία) in B 5 a; mentre in A 4 a si deve postulare, invece, una palese proiezione fallica, in base alla quale si preannuncia all'uomo che sarà ἀκόρεστος ... τῆς συνουσίας. Lo stesso è profetizzato nella metafrasi neogreca in C 4 a: δὲν χορταίνει συνουσίαν.[47]

In conclusione l'eleoscopia rappresenta un metodo della grecità medievale e moderna d'immediata comprensione e di facile presa, dato l'inesausto riutilizzo della simbologia dell'uomo microcosmo, *imago mundi*, che presiede anche alla più volgare superstizione.[48] Il bagaglio dell'eleomante innesca un apparato metaforico in genere facilmente decrittabile, costruito su una rete di associazioni elementari. Del resto la semplicità del sistema divinatorio è indubbiamente la chiave della fortuna della trattatistica *de naevis* e del suo successo ininterrotto testimoniato da un intenso processo di copia e dal volgarizzamento neogreco.

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e altri saggi, pres. E. DE MARTINO, Torino, 1965 (ed. or. *Sociologie et anthropologie*, avv. G. GURVITCH, intr. C. LÈVI-STRAUSS Paris, 1950), pp. 69 ss., 77.

[47] L'associazione fra naso e *péos* corrisponde ad un'immagine popolare molto produttiva per il membro virile come l'altro *naso*, che nella tradizione greca rimonta in ultima analisi al giambografo Hipp. fr. 78. 14 West, vd. 22 e 118. 1 West. Cfr. la ricognizione del topos di E. DEGANI, rec. M. L. WEST, *Studies in Greek Elegy and Iambus (= Untersuchungen zur antiken Literatur und Geschichte* 14), *Gnomon*, 52 (1980), pp. 512-516: 514 = AA.VV., (a c. di), *Filologia e storia. Scritti di Enzo Degani* (= *Spudasmata* 95/I), 1-2, Hildesheim – Zürich – New York. 2004, pp. 80-84: 82; IDEM, *Marginalia Hipponactea, Eikasmos*, 9 (1998), pp. 11-15: 13 ss. = AA.VV., *Filologia e storia*, pp. 163-167: 165 ss., con citazione dell'eloquente verso di Mart. 6. 36: *mentula tam magna est tantus tibi, Papyle, nasus*. Non s'immagina certo che l'eleomante bizantino conoscesse tali antecedenti poetici, ma va sottolineato che la sua arte di pronosticazione attinge al medesimo ambito metaforico preesistente alla creazione poetica di Ipponatte e Marziale.

[48] Ogni parte del corpo è soggetta all'influsso planetario e riflette la consonanza del Tutto e delle sue componenti in un inesausto tentativo di armonizzare il cosmo e il microcosmo umano, cfr. FR. DORNSEIFF, *Das Alphabet in Mystik und Magie* (= ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΑ H. VII), Leipzig-Berlin, 1925, pp. 81 n. 2, 132 ss.; A.-J. FESTUGIÈRE, *La Révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste. I L'astrologie et les sciences occultes*, Paris, 1942, 1950^{2}, 1981, p. 92; W. KRANZ, *Kosmos* (= *Archiv für Begriffsgeschichte Bausteine zum einem historischen Wörterbuch der Philosophie*, 2, 1/2), Bonn, 1958, pp. 127, 167-173 per l'uomo *mundus minor*; M. PAPATHANASSIOU, *Iatromathematika (Medical Astrology) in Late Antiquity and the Byzantine Period, Medicina nei Secoli. Arte e sciënza*, 11/2 (1999), pp. 357-376.

SUMMARY

For the history of Byzantine divination and its fate in modern Greece as well as in Western Europe it is interesting to draw attention to the history of Greek elaeoscopy, viz. divination by moles, which were thought to be prophetic signs. The phenomenon can be situated within the larger field of general physiognomy. The treatise *On moles* has previously been made available in the *editio princeps* by C. Peruschi, Rome 1545 (= *versio* A). Therefore, the present publication offers the *textus receptus* of the treatise, together with the editions of both a later anonymous text *On moles* (= *versio* B) and a metaphrase in demotic Greek (= *versio* C), both testifying to the survival of this particular method of prophesying.

THE BYZANTINE FAMILY OF OPOI: ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA*

The Opoi were a well known Byzantine family during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Although they did not belong to the great aristocratic families of that period, they nonetheless provided the Empire with several important officers. Some information about the family has already been discussed in a previous article in *Byzantion*[1]. The present contribution takes advantage of the recent publication of new evidence, and specifically of hitherto unknown sigillographic material, to revise that earlier contribution so as to incorporate the necessary additions and corrections. With the inclusion of this new material, the list of the known members of the family of Opoi can be constituted as follows:

1. CONSTANTINE OPOS (first half of the eleventh century)[2]

Constantine Opos is recorded on a lead seal found in Preslav. This seal, preserved in the collection of the Regional History Museum in Šumen (Regionalen Istoričeski Muzej – grad Šumen) (RHM Šumen, no. 22970), is published by I. Jordanov[3]. Jordanov published the same seal in the *Corpus of Byzantine Seals of Bulgaria*: + *Κ(ύρι)ε βο[ή]θ(ει) τῷ σῷ [δ]ού(λῳ) Κω[ν]σταν[τ(ίνῳ)] (πρωτο)σπαθ(αρίῳ) (καὶ) στρατ[ηγ]ῷ τῷ Ὀπῷ*[4]. The seal is dated by the editor to the 1030s-1040s[5]. Both the obverse and reverse of the seal are illustrated by the inscription, covering four lines on each side[6]. As I have argued in my previous article on the Opoi, it seems probable that this person can be identified with the homonymous *katepano* of Italy (cf.

* I wish to thank my good friend and colleague Dr. Nicholas Coureas, Senior Researcher at Cyprus Research Centre, for his useful suggestions and help with the English text.

[1] St. G. GEORGIOU, *A Contribution to the Study of the Byzantine Prosopography: The Byzantine Family of Opoi*, in *Byz.*, 78 (2008), pp. 224-238. For the family of Opoi cf. also St. G. GEORGIOU, *Προσωπογραφικὰ τῆς Κομνήνειας περιόδου Α΄: Ὁ πρωτονωβελίσσιμος καὶ μέγας δούκας Κωνσταντῖνος Ὦπος*, in *Βυζαντινά*, 24 (2004), pp. 219-232; IDEM, *Οἱ τιμητικοὶ τίτλοι ἐπὶ Κομνηνῶν (1081-1185). Συμβολὴ στὴ μελέτη τῶν διοικητικῶν θεσμῶν τοῦ βυζαντινοῦ κράτους*, Ph. D. Thesis, Thessalonica, 2005, pp. 167-168.

[2] Cf. GEORGIOU, *Family of Opoi*, p. 226 (no 1).

[3] I. JORDANOV, *Pečatite ot strategijata v Preslav (971-1088) (Monumenta Slavico-Byzantina et Mediaevalia Europensia*, 2), Sofia, 1993, no 361.

[4] I. JORDANOV, *Corpus of Byzantine Seals from Bulgaria*, I-III/1-2, Sofia, 2003-2009, II, no 767, III/1, n° 1552.

[5] JORDANOV, *Pečatite*, p. 173; IDEM, *Corpus*, II, p. 442, III/1, p. 508.

[6] Cf. *Ibidem*.

Byzantion 83, 103-111. doi: 10.2143/BYZ.83.0.2988913
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below, no 2)[7]. Jordanov maintains that this seal is close in dating to the *katepano* of Italy and could therefore refer to one and the same person, identifiable with the previous one[8]. The iconography of the seal, however, does not resemble that of the homonymous *katepano* of Italy, which depicts the bust of a beardless military saint, holding a spear in the right hand and a round shield in the left hand[9].

2. Constantine Opos (between 1 May 1033 and February 1039)[10]

3. Leo Opos[11]

4. Daniel Opos (eleventh century)

Daniel Opos is known by a lead seal presented in an auction organized by Müller and dated 18-19 May 1990 (Müller, Sale LXV): *K(ύρι)ε β[οήθει] Δανι[ὴλ] σπαθ(αρο)κ[ανδιδάτῳ] τῷ Ὀπ[ῳ]* [12]. As the editors of the catalogue in *Studies in Byzantine Sigillography* 3 have observed, the first name is not certain. On the obverse there is a depiction of SS. Paul and Peter. This seal can be dated to the eleventh century[13].

5. Constantine Opos (eleventh century)

Jordanov published a lead seal in the collection of the Fogg Museum of Art (no. 854), which he dated to the eleventh century: *–.– / + KER'H / Θ'TΩC' Δ8 / Λ'KΩNCT / T'TΩΩΠ / –.–* [14]. The obverse is decorated with dots forming a rosace[15]. On account of its iconography this seal cannot be attributed to any member of the family of Opoi with the name Constantine in the eleventh century.

[7] Georgiou, *Family of Opoi*, p. 226.

[8] Jordanov, *Corpus*, II, p. 444.

[9] Cf. N. Oikonomides, *A Collection of Dated Byzantine Lead Seals* (*Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection*), Washington, D.C., 1986, p. 83 (no 82).

[10] Cf. Georgiou, *Family of Opoi*, pp. 226-230 (no 2).

[11] Cf. *Ibidem*, p. 230 (no 3).

[12] Byzantine Seals published between 1986 and 1991/2, in *Studies in Byzantine Sigillography* 3 (*Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection*), ed. N. Oikonomides, Washington, D.C., 1993, pp. 143-208, esp. p. 194, no 493.

[13] Byzantine Seals published between 1986 and 1991/2, p. 194. For the iconography of SS. Peter and Paul in Byzantine sigillography see V. Stepanenko, *The Sts. Apostles Sts. Peter and Paul in Byzantine Sigillography*, in *Ἠπειρόνδε (Epeironde) Proceedings of the 10th International Symposium of Byzantine Sigillography (Ioannina, 1.-3. October 2009)*, ed. Chr. Stavrakos – B. Papadopoulou, Wiesbaden, 2011, pp. 317-323.

[14] Jordanov, *Corpus*, II, p. 443, no 8.

[15] Cf. *Ibidem*, p. 443.

6. Constantine Opos (eleventh century)

Constantine Opos is recorded by a lead seal preserved in three specimens in the collections of the Regional History Museum in Šumen (RHM Šumen, no. 14730/8), the Fogg Museum of Art (no. 2271) and the State Hermitage Museum (Gosudarstvennyj Ermitaž) (M-3835). Jordanov published the seal of the first collection and dated it to the eleventh century: *Θ(εοτό)κε β(οή)[θ(ει)] Κων(σταντίνῳ) το Ὀπῷ* [16]. The bust of the Virgin *orans* with a medallion on her chest is depicted on the obverse[17]. A specimen, probably of the same seal, was presented in an auction organized by Hirsch in 24-26 November 2004 (Hirsch, Sale 237): *Θεοτόκε βοήθει Κωνσταντίνῳ τῷ Ὠπῷ* [18]. The bust of the Virgin *Episkepsis* is depicted on the obverse. The editors of the catalogue in *Studies in Byzantine Sigillography* 10 dated the seal to the last third of the eleventh century[19]. Due to the iconography the owner of the seal can be identified with the known officer of Alexios I Komnenos (1081-1118) (cf. below, no 14).

7. Michael Opos (mid-eleventh century)

Hypatos and *strategos* Michael Opos is known by a lead seal in the collection of Dumbarton Oaks Center (DO 58.106.4970) published by Jordanov: *+KEROHΘ... ../ – + – / MIXAHA / VΠATΩS / CTPATHГ' / TΩΩΠΩ / –.* [20]. The editor dated the seal to the mid-eleventh century[21]. The bust of St Michael holding a sceptre in his right hand and a globus in his left hand is depicted on the obverse[22]. The combination of the title of *hypatos* with the office of *strategos* confirms the dating of the seal to the mid-eleventh century[23]. This officer can probably be identified with Michael (cf. below, no 8), referred to in the seal of his son Basil Opos (cf. below, no 12).

[16] Jordanov, *Corpus*, III/2, no 2085.

[17] Cf. *Ibidem*, p. 676.

[18] *Auctions*, 2002-2006, in *Studies in Byzantine Sigillography* 10, ed. J.-Cl. Cheynet – C. Sode, Berlin – New York, 2010, pp. 155-195, esp. p. 170, no 1025.

[19] *Auctions*, 2002-2006, p. 170.

[20] Jordanov, *Corpus*, II, p. 444, no 4.

[21] *Ibidem*, p. 444.

[22] Cf. *Ibidem*.

[23] Cf. e.g. J. W. Nesbitt, *Over-struck Seals in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection: Reused or Counter-stamped?*, in *Studies in Byzantine Sigillography* 2 (*Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection*), ed. N. Oikonomides, Washington, D.C. 1990, pp. 67-93, esp. p. 89, no 23; J. Nesbitt – N. Oikonomides, *Catalogue of Byzantine Seals at Dumbarton Oaks and in the Fogg Museum of Art* (*Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection*), I-III, Washington, D.C., 1991-1996, I, no 23.1, III, nos 72.5, 86.48; Jordanov, *Pečatite*, no 481; Idem, *Corpus*, I, no 28.2, II, pp. 113 (no 146), 145 (no 207), no 414, III/1, nos 1207, 1553, 1601; W. Seibt – M. L. Zarnitz, *Das byzantinische Bleisiegel als Kunstwerk. Katalog zur Ausstellung*, Vienna, 1997, no 3.3.8; Chr. Stavrakos, *Die byzantinischen Bleisiegel mit Familiennamen*

8. MICHAEL OPOS (second half of the eleventh century)

Michael Opos is referred to in the lead seal of his son Basil (cf. below, no 12). Since the seal of his son is dated to the late eleventh century, Michael Opos must have been active in the second half of the same century. Michael Opos is probably to be identified with the homonymous *hypatos* and *strategos* (cf. above, no 7).

9. NIKETAS OPOS (second half of the eleventh century)

Niketas Opos is recorded in a lead seal in the collection of Dumbarton Oaks Center (DO 55.1.3208) published by Jordanov: + / *KEROHΘ'* / *NIKHTA* / *TΩΩΠO* / *N* [24]. There is a bust of St George holding a spear in his right hand and a shield in his left hand on the obverse[25]. Jordanov dates the seal to the second half of the eleventh century[26].

10. ANDRONIKOS OPOS (between the second and the third quarter of the eleventh century)[27]

11. CONSTANTINE OPOS (last quarter of the eleventh century)

Constantine Opos is referred in a lead seal preserved in the collection of the Fogg Museum of Art (no. 2307). This seal was published by Jordanov, who dates it to the last quarter of the eleventh century. St Nicholas standing, blessing with his right hand and holding a book in his left hand is depicted on the obverse, with a vertical inscription: ⊙-*NI-K-O* // *A-A-O-C*. The following inscription is found on the reverse: *CKE.OIC* / *ΩΠΟN..ON* / *AATPIN* / *KΩN*[28]. Due to the iconography the seal is not attributable to any known person with the same name in the eleventh century.

12. BASIL OPOS, SON OF MICHAEL (last third of the eleventh century)

Basil Opos, son of Michael (cf. below, no 8), is recorded as a *dikaspolos* in a lead seal preserved in the collection of Dumbarton Oaks Center (DO 47.2.2100). A.-K. Wassiliou-Seibt published the seal and dated it to the last third of the eleventh century: *Γραφ(ὰς) κυρῶ [σφ]ράγισμ[α] Μιχαὴλ γόνου* / *Ὤπου [δ]ικασ[π]όλου τε τοῦ Βασιλείου*[29]. The vertical inscription covers both sides of the seal, with one dodecasyllable on each side.[30] Jordanov, who also published the seal, dated it to the end of the eleventh century[31]. *Dikaspolos* Basil Opos is probably the same as the person mentioned below (cf. below, no 13).

aus der Sammlung des Numismatischen Museums Athen (*Mainzer Veröffentlichungen zur Byzantinistik*, 4), Wiesbaden, 2000, p. 277 (no 181); J.-Cl. CHEYNET, *Sceaux de la collection Zacos (Bibliothèque nationale de France) se rapportant aux provinces orientales de l'Empire byzantin*, Paris, 2001, no 4a-b; E. MCGEER – J. NESBITT – N. OIKONOMIDES, *Catalogue of Byzantine Seals at Dumbarton Oaks and in the Fogg Museum of Art* (*Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection*), IV-V, Washington, D.C., 2001-2005, V, no 1.1.

[24] JORDANOV, *Corpus*, II, p. 444, no 5.

[25] Cf. *Ibidem*, p. 444.

[26] *Ibidem*.

[27] Cf. GEORGIOU, *Family of Opoi*, pp. 230-231 (no 4).

[28] JORDANOV, *Corpus*, II, p. 443, no 10.

13. BASIL OPOS (late eleventh – early twelfth century)

Basil Opos is known from a lead seal in the collection of Dumbarton Oaks Center (DO 47.2.282) published by Wassiliou-Seibt, who dated it to the late eleventh – early twelfth century: *Γραφῶ(ν) σφράγισμ(α) Βασιλεί(ῳ) τ(ῷ) Ὄπῳ* [32]. Jordanov also published the seal and dated it to the last quarter of the eleventh century[33]. The bust of Theotokos *Hodegetria*, i.e. the Virgin standing and holding Christ in her left arm, is depicted on the obverse[34]. Basil is probably the same person as mentioned previously (cf. above, no 12).

14. CONSTANTINE OPOS (between the last decades of the eleventh and the beginning of the twelfth century)[35]

Constantine Opos, the distinguished senior officer of Alexios I Komnenos, is well known from several sources and especially from a number of lead seals. Here we add two more seals that can be attributed to Constantine Opos. These seals have the same iconography as the other seals of this officer. The Theotokos *Episkepsis*, i.e. the bust of the Virgin *orans* with a medallion in front of her chest, is depicted on the obverse. These two lead seals correspond to two more stages of the career of Constantine Opos:

a) Constantinos Opos is recorded as *magistros* and *vestarches* in a lead seal preserved in two specimens in the collections of Dumbarton Oaks Center (DO 58.106.2958) and the Hermitage Museum (M-6763). Jordanov published the seal and dated it to the last quarter of the eleventh century: *ΘKERO* / *HΘEIKΩN* / *MAΓICTPΩ* / *RECTAPX* / *TΩOIΠ*[36].

[29] A.-K. WASSILIOU-SEIBT, *Corpus der byzantinischen Siegel mit metrischen Legenden* (*Wiener Byzantinistische Studien*, 28/1), 1, *Einleitung, Siegellegenden von Alpha bis inklusive My*, Vienna, 2011, pp. 174-175, no 312.

[30] Cf. WASSILIOU-SEIBT, *Corpus*, p. 175.

[31] JORDANOV, *Corpus*, II, p. 444, no 3.

[32] WASSILIOU-SEIBT, *Corpus*, p. 264, no 564.

[33] JORDANOV, *Corpus*, II, p. 444, no 2.

[34] Cf. JORDANOV, *Corpus*, II, p. 444; WASSILIOU-SEIBT, *Corpus*, p. 264.

[35] Cf. GEORGIOU, *Family of Opoi*, pp. 231-234 (no 5).

[36] JORDANOV, *Corpus*, II, p. 443, no 3.

b) The second seal is preserved in the collection of the Hermitage (M-6763). Constantine Opos is recorded as *protonobelissimos* and *doux* on this seal. Jordanov published the seal and dated it to the beginning of the twelfth century: *.KER. / .ΩNA'NΩ / .ΕΛΙCΙ / MONSΔOV / KANTON / ΩΠΟN* [37].

Some of the published lead seals issued in new editions:

a) Jordanov published the seal of Constantine Opos as *vestarches* preserved in the collections of Dumbarton Oaks Center (58.106.5640) and of George Zacos: *–.– / + ΘKERO / HΘETΩC' / Δ8ΛΩKΩN / RECTAPX' / TΩOΠΩ / –.–* [38]. He dated the seal to the third quarter of the eleventh century[39].

b) Wassiliou-Seibt has recently published the seal of Constantine Opos as *kouropalates* preserved in the collection of Dumbarton Oaks Center (58.106.2883): *Θ(εοτό)κε σκέπ(οι)ς με τ(ῷ) σῷ οἰκέτ(η) κουροπα(λάτῃ) Κων(σταντίνῳ) τῷ Ὤπῳ* [40]. Jordanov also published this seal in the *Corpus of Byzantine Seals from Bulgaria*: *+ΘKE / CKEΠHCM' / TΩCΩOIKE / T'K8POΠA' / KΩNTO / ΩΠO*[41]. Both editors dated the seal after 1094[42].

c) Wassiliou-Seibt has recently published the seal of Constantine Opos as *doux* preserved in the collections of Constantin C. Orghidan, Dumbarton Oaks Center (58.106.4995) and Fogg Museum of Art (no 917): *Ἁγνή, φύλατ(τ)ε δουκὶ Κων(σταντίνῳ) τ(ῷ) Ὤπ(ῳ)*[43]. The seal is also published by Jordanov: *AΓNH / ΦVΛATE / Δ8KIKΩN / TOΩΠO*[44]. Wassiliou-Seibt dated the seal to the late eleventh – early twelfth century[45] and Jordanov to the eleventh – twelfth century[46].

As regards the lead seal of Constantine Opos as *protonobelissimos*, which is preserved in the collection of the Numismatic Museum in Athens (no 418), one can note the existence of an additional specimen in the collection of Dumbarton Oaks Center (DO 47.2.1222)[47].

[37] *Ibidem*, p. 443, no 7.
[38] *Ibidem*, p. 443, no 2.
[39] *Ibidem*, p. 443.
[40] WASSILIOU-SEIBT, *Corpus*, p. 415, no 927.
[41] JORDANOV, *Corpus*, II, p. 443, no 4.
[42] JORDANOV, *Corpus*, II, p. 443; WASSILIOU-SEIBT, *Corpus*, p. 415.
[43] WASSILIOU-SEIBT, *Corpus*, p. 74, no 43.
[44] JORDANOV, *Corpus*, II, p. 443, no 6.
[45] WASSILIOU-SEIBT, *Corpus*, p. 74.
[46] JORDANOV, *Corpus*, II, p. 443.
[47] Cf. STAVRAKOS, *Bleisiegel*, pp. 417-418 (no 288); JORDANOV, *Corpus*, II, p. 443 (no 5).

After the publication of this new material the *cursus honorum* of Constantine Opos can be reconstituted as follows:

a. *Vestarches* (before April 1081).
b. *Magistros* and *vestarches* (before April 1081).
c. Commander of the battalion of *exkoubitoi* (October 1081).
d. *Protoproedros* (towards the end of 1094).
e. *Kouropalates* (after the end of 1094).
f. *Protonobelissimos* (after 1095).
g. *Doux* (towards the end of the eleventh or the beginning of the twelfth century).
h. *Protonobelissimos* and *doux* (towards the end of the eleventh or the beginning of the twelfth century).
i. *Megas doux*, as *protonobelissimos* or *sebastos* (towards the beginning of the twelfth century).

15. *KOUROPALATES* OPOS (August 1095)[48]

16. *MEGAS HETAIREIARCHES* OPOS (1120)[49]

17. ANDRONIKOS OPOS (1147)[50]

18. CONSTANTINE OPOS (1157)[51]

Finally, two more lead seals that could have belonged to the members of the family of Opoi should be discussed.

The first seal belonged to a certain *protospatharios* and *katepano* of Iberia named Michael Opas, published by V. P. Stepanenko and N. A. Alekseenko: *+ Μιχαὴλ πρωτοσπαθαρίος καὶ κατεπάνως Ἰβηρίας Ωπασ*[52]. As the editors observed the bust of St Demetrios of Thessalonica as a warrior with a spear in his right hand and a shield in his left hand is depicted on the obverse. On the left of the figure of the Saint there are the traces of the inscription: *ΔIM*. The letters on the right side are destroyed by a hole[53].

[48] Cf. GEORGIOU, *Family of Opoi*, pp. 234-235 (no 6).
[49] Cf. *Ibidem*, pp. 235-236 (no 7).
[50] Cf. *Ibidem*, p. 236 (no 8).
[51] Cf. *Ibidem*, pp. 236-237 (no 9).
[52] V. P. STEPANENKO – N. A. ALEKSEENKO, *Fema Iverija XI v. (po dannym sfragistiki)*, in *Antičnaja drevnost' i srednie veka*, 39 (2009) (= *K 80-letiju d.i.n., professora V. P. Stepanenko*), pp. 234-241, esp. pp. 236-237, no 1.
[53] STEPANENKO – ALEKSEENKO, *Fema Iverija*, p. 236.

The editors, basing their judgement on the combination of the title of *protospatharios* and the office of *katepano* of Iberia held by Michael Opas, dated the seal no later than the decade of 1020[54]. They also accepted that Michael Opas was a member of the family of Opoi and identified him with *hypatos* and *strategos* Michael Opos (cf. above, no 7), maintaining that the title of *hypatos* and the office of *strategos* reflected the next stage of his career[55].

The editors' conclusion, that Michael Opas might be a known member of the family of Opoi, cannot be dismissed even if it is not completely certain. In any case, the iconography of the seal does not support his identification with *hypatos* and *strategos* Michael Opos.

The second seal cannot be read with certitude. Found in the region of the Danube in Serbia, it is preserved in the collection of the National Museum in Belgrade (Narodni Mujei u Beogradu) (no 38/6). According to the editors L. Maksimović and M. Popović there is a depiction of the Archangel Michael standing on the obverse, holding the *labarum* in his right hand and the globe with cross in his left hand. There are also the acronyms: *Ἀ(ρ)χ(άγγελος) Μ(ι)χ(αήλ)*. An inscription of five lines is found on the reverse: *Ὤτω[ν (?) Μι]χαήλ, ἀρχιστράτηγε, σκέποις*[56]. The editors observed that it is difficult to reconstruct the beginning of the text with certitude. They dated the seal to the twelfth century[57].

If this person was indeed a member of the family of Opoi it is very interesting to observe the similarity of the illustration between his seal and that of the *hypatos* and *strategos* Michael Opos (cf. above, no 7).

By way of conclusion I maintain that the new material confirms my view that the Opoi were an important family in the eleventh and twelfth centuries[58]. In my previous article I presented nine known members of the family. This number has now increased to eighteen, possibly even to twenty. The new material also shows that the family of Opoi had a greater participation in the imperial administration than thought previously. Furthermore, some members of the family held certain important offices, especially in the military and provincial administration, such as those of *strategos*, *katepano*, *dux* and *megas dux*.

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[54] *Ibidem*, p. 237.
[55] *Ibidem*.
[56] L. Maksimović – M. Popović, *Les sceaux byzantins de la région danubienne en Serbie. II – La collection du Musée National de Belgrade*, in *Studies in Byzantine Sigillography* 3, pp. 113-142, esp. p. 121, no 6.
[57] Maksimović – Popović, *Sceaux byzantins*, p. 121.
[58] Georgiou, *Family of Opoi*, p. 237.

Summary

In this study I present the new evidence and specifically the recently published sigillographic material concerning the Byzantine family of Opoi, by way of revising with the necessary additions and corrections my previous article in *Byzantion*, 78 (2008), pp. 224-238. On the basis of this material the nine known members of the family of the previous catalogue have now increased to eighteen, possibly even to twenty. The new material confirms my view that Opoi were an important family in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. In addition, it shows that they had a notable participation in the administration of the Empire and particularly in the areas of military and provincial administration.

MONASTIC THOUGHT ON THE PASSIONS: PSEUDO-MACARIUS *VERSUS* EVAGRIUS PONTICUS

Monastic thought on the passions has proved to be very important and greatly influential, not only in the history of Byzantine monasticism, but also in the monastic movements of other Christian spiritual traditions in the East, the West and the North. Moreover, the concept of the passions is not exclusively Christian. The Greek philosophical systems, Judaism and other religions of the Middle East elaborated their theories about the passions, which in one way or another have influenced the Christian teaching on the passions and on the cardinal sins. In fact, the formation of a Christian theory of the passions was closely connected with early Christian demonology, developing gradually and present most prominently in the *Shepherd of Hermas*, the writings of Origen and Athanasius' *Life of Antony*. The traditional Christian teaching about the passions was an outcome of the synthesis of these different influences, combined with the living experience of Christian faith and practice. Evagrius of Pontus was the first author who tried systematically to bring together the achievements of Greek philosophical thought, traditional Christian demonology and the rich experience of the Desert Fathers. He elaborated the list of the eight principal passions, which was further elaborated and refined in the 6th-7th centuries by later ascetic writers such as Maximus the Confessor and the Fathers of the Sinai tradition (Nilus of Ancyra, John Climacus, Hesychius, Philotheus of Sinai). Evagrius' list of eight passions was transmitted by John Cassian to the Latin context, where it became the basis for the medieval schema of seven cardinal sins (sometimes referred as 'deadly sins') provided by Gregory the Great.

The Evagrian teaching on the passions was so successful, in fact, that it overshadowed all other alternatives and became classical in Christian ascetic tradition. Yet, this does not mean that alternative teachings about the passions failed to accumulate wisdom and deep insights of Christian spiritual experience. One such alternative can be found in the Macarian spiritual homilies. Their author, usually refered to as Macarius/Symeon or Pseudo-Macarius, is anonymous and remains unknown to us, but his writings were no less influential in the history of Byzantine monasticism than those of Evagrius Ponticus.

While these two ascetic writers do represent different approaches to the spiritual life, they have often been too sharply contrasted. This contrast,

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introduced by Irénée Hausherr[1] and followed by many other scholars, has become conventional, though it was gradually moderated and nuanced by scholars such as Vladimir Lossky, Jean Gribomont[2], Kallistos Ware[3], Alexander Golitzin[4] and Marcus Plested[5]. The issue of the precise relation between Ps.-Macarius and Evagrius is still a matter of discussion, continuing even today. The main focus of this discussion was the compatibility of Platonic and Semitic anthropology, especially with regard to the relation between the mind (νοῦς) and the heart (καρδία). Besides this, there were also some attempts to show the similarities between the two authors in other spheres. Thus, Jean Gribomont highlights the substantial common ground between Evagrius and Ps.-Macarius in terms of their treatment of the psychology of temptation, and Marcus Plested goes even further, demonstrating that Ps.-Macarius and Evagrius are compatible in a more fundamental way and that the contrast between them is pushed too far.[6]

The purpose of this paper fits into the latter line of research. In what follows, I will compare the two ascetic writers, Evagrius Ponticus and Ps.-Macarius, with regard to their teachings concerning the passions. The primary intention of this attempt is not so much to combine the two lists of passions but rather to show the similarities and differences between them and determine the originality of Ps.-Macarius, on the one hand, and his agreement (or disagreement) with Evagrius, on the other. This examination will also shed light on the question of the relation between these two ascetic authors and will show both how far their teachings on the passions differ or approach each other and whether they are compatible or not. The paper has three parts. First, I will briefly present the Evagrian scheme of eight principal thoughts. Then, I will consider the Macarian understanding of the passions. Finally, I will compare the Macarian and Evagrian lists of passions and show some parallels and differences between them. Coming from different geographical backgrounds and monastic contexts, these lists of

[1] I. HAUSHERR, *Les grands courants de la spiritualité orientale*, in *OCP*, 1 (1935), pp. 114-138; J. MEYENDORFF, *A Study of Gregory Palamas*, London, 1964, pp. 137-138.

[2] J. GRIBOMONT, *Mystique et orthodoxie: Évagre et Syméon*, in J. GRIBOMONT (ed.), *Commendements du Seigneur et libération évangélique. Études monastiques proposées et discutées à Saint-Anselme, 15-17 février 1976* (*Studia Anselmiana*, 70), Roma, 1977, 106-119, p. 107.

[3] K. WARE, *Prayer in Evagrius and the Macarian Homilies*, in R. WALLER and B. WARD (eds.), *An Introduction to Christian Spirituality*, London, 1999, pp. 14-30.

[4] A. GOLITZIN, *Hierarchy versus Anarchy? Dionysius Areopagita, Symeon the New Theologian, Nicetas Stethatos, and their Common Roots in Ascetical Tradition*, in *St Vladimir's Theological Quarterly*, 38 (1994), 131-179, p. 153.

[5] M. PLESTED, *The Macarian Legacy. The Place of Macarius-Symeon in the Eastern Christian Tradition*, Oxford – New York, 2004, pp. 59-71.

[6] *Ibidem*, p. 65.

passions appeared approximately at the same time (in the late fourth century), though Ps.-Macarius probably belonged to an older generation. Hopefully, the comparison of the Macarian and Evagrian lists of passions will contribute some new insights to the question of the relation of the two writers and will help to bring them closer to each other. The examination will show that the contrast between the two writers is not so radical, but lies mostly in vocabulary and nuances, which reflect different backgrounds and mentalities.

EVAGRIUS PONTICUS AND HIS SCHEMA OF EIGHT GENERIC *LOGISMOI*

Evagrius of Pontus (345-399) was an admirer and follower of Origen. He was influenced by Origen both directly – through reading Origen's writings and indirectly – through his formation under the tutorship of Gregory of Nazianzus, Basil of Caesarea and the Egyptian Desert Fathers who all were, to a greater or lesser extent, influenced by Origen's ideas and writings. Evagrius left behind a promising ecclesiastical career in Constantinople and became a monk in Palestine at the monastery of Rufinus and Melania the Elder. Later, he went to Egypt, where he became a disciple of the two famous Macarii: Macarius the Great and Macarius of Alexandria. After some time of monastic formation in Nitria he finally settled in Kellia, attracted disciples and soon became a spiritual master himself. Among his disciples were Palladius, John Cassian and the Tall Brothers. In this last period of his life Evagrius was very productive in writing ascetical books. Being a highly educated and gifted writer, he tried to systematise the ascetic experience of the desert, drawing on his general knowledge of philosophy and early sources of the Christian tradition. One of the most successful outcomes of this systematisation was his schema of eight principal *logismoi* (often translated variously as thoughts, passions, demons, spirits or temptations). Among a variety of ascetic temptations, Evagrius singled out eight generic thoughts, from which all others derive: gluttony, fornication, love of money, anger, sadness, acedia, vainglory and pride. Evagrius not only marked out the eight generic *logismoi* but also classified them according to the Platonic idea of the tripartite division of the soul. He associated gluttony, fornication and avarice with the appetitive part of the soul; anger, sadness and acedia with the irascible part; and vainglory and pride with the rational part of the soul.[7]

[7] Actually, we have no extant text of Evagrius with such a division, but we find this classification already in the writings of John Cassian. See *Conlationes patrum*, 24:15, in

Evagrius most probably elaborated this list with the pedagogical purpose of helping his disciples to deal with various evil temptations. Though it is obvious that this list accumulates and summarises a number of different sources and influences, it is hardly possible to say precisely which of these influences was decisive. Among the most significant sources that inspired this schema were probably Origen's writings and the ascetic experience of the Egyptian Desert Fathers. More recent study of Evagrius' writings also points to some other biblical and extra-biblical sources such as the Wisdom literature and the New Testament, deuterocanonical and pseudepigraphical literature as well as Hellenistic philosophical works.[8]

J. CASSIEN, *Conférences*, Introduction, texte latin, traduction et notes par E. PICHERY (*SC*, 64), Paris, 1959, pp. 186-187. Therefore, it is quite logical to presuppose that this division derives from Evagrius, since association of virtues and vices with the particular parts of the soul is very characteristic of him. Evagrius does this explicitly for virtues, associating temperance, charity and self-control with the appetitive part of the soul; courage and patience with the irascible part; and prudence, understanding and wisdom with the rational part of the soul. The classification of vices according to the thee parts of the soul is also preserved in the text of the *Disciples of Evagrius* (from the 6th century) but with a slight difference: While John Cassian linked acedia, together with anger and sadness, to the irascible part of the soul, the text of the *Disciples of Evagrius* associates it, together with the passions of vainglory and pride, with the rational part of the soul. See *Capita cic auctoribus discipulis Evagrii*, 177, in *Évagre le Pontique, Chapitres des disciples d'Évagre*. Introduction, texte critique, traduction, notes et index par P. GÉHIN (*SC*, 514), Paris, 2007, pp. 244-245. It is hardly possible to say which of the two classifications was original and which represents the deviation. Here, I follow the division preserved in the writings of John Cassian. However, Columba Stewart gives preference to the devision provided in the text of *Disciples of Evagrius*. He explains why acedia appears among the passions of the rational part of the soul as follows: 'Evagrius rooted acedia in desire and reaction but he noted the complex nature of this thought that envelops the whole soul and gradually suffocates the nous. This fatal effect on the intellect explains why the text from the *Disciples of Evagrius* linked acedia with the rational part of the soul.' See C. STEWART, *Evagrius Ponticus and the Eight Generic Logismoi*, in R. NEWHAUSER (ed.), *In the Garden of Evil: The Vices and Culture in the Middle Ages*, Toronto, 2005, pp. 30-32.

[8] The Evagrian scheme of eight principal thoughts has already been studied for more than a century. Among the classic studies are the following: O. ZÖCKLER, *Das Lehrstück von den sieben Hauptsünden: Beiträge zur Dogmen- und zur Sittengeschichte, in besonders der vorreformatorische Zeit* (Biblische und kirchenhistorische Studien, 3), Munich, 1893 (reprint. 2010); Stephan SCHIWIETZ, *Die Achtlasterlehre des Evagrius Pontikus und die griechische Philosophie*, in *Der Katholik*, 83 (1903 II), pp. 311-322 (reprinted in S. SCHIWIETZ, *Das morgenlandische Monchtum, Vol. 1, Mainz 1904, 264-274*); L. WRZOL, *Die Hauptsündenlehre des Johannes Cassianus und ihre historischen Quellen*, in *Divus Thomas*, 37 (1923), pp. 385-404; 38 (1924), pp. 84-91; I. HAUSHERR, *L'origine de la theorie orientale des huit peches capitaux*, in *Orientalia Christiana*, 30 (1933), pp. 164-175; Anton VÖGTLE, *Woher stammt das Schema der Hauptsünde*, in *Theologische Quartalschrift*, 122 (1941), pp. 217-237; C. & A. GUILLAUMONT, *Introduction*, in *Évagre le Pontique, Traité pratique ou Le moine*, ed. A. GUILLAUMONT & C. GUILLAUMONT (*SC*, 171), Paris, 1971, pp. 63-84; R. JEHL, *Die Geschichte des Lasterschemas und seiner Funktion: Von der Vaterzeit bis zur karolingischen Erneuerung*, in *Franziskanische Studien*, 64 (1982), pp. 261-359; P. NÉGRIER, *Des huit esprits de perversité d'Évagre du Pont*, in *Collectanea Cisterciensia*, 56 (1994), pp. 315-330;

PSEUDO-MACARIUS AND HIS IDEA OF THE PASSIONS

The spiritual homilies of Ps.-Macarius, a spiritual master and a seasoned preacher in late fourth century Mesopotamia or Asia Minor, can be dated more or less to the same time as the literary activity of Evagrius. They were most probably delivered in the final stage of Ps.-Macarius' life, which fell into the last decades of the fourth century.[9] However, the author's identity is virtually impossible to establish. Scholars usually associate him with the Messalian movement and trace in his writings some connection to the Cappadocian circles. Most of his homilies and letters were addressed to a closed ascetic audience or to individual ascetics. Though written in Greek, they betray a strong Semitic influence and presuppose a Syrian origin and formation of their author; that is, he was probably bilingual, since his language contains many Semitic words and expressions. His paraenetic discourses differ from Evagrius' systematic treatises and chapters in that the Macarian discourses reflect more closely an oral delivery than a written text. The corpus of the writings of Ps.-Macarius is a product of a later composition with a complicated history of transmission; before the Macarian homilies were compiled into several greater and smaller collections in the 10th-11th centuries, they were subject to numerous changes and redactions.[10]

J. STOCKINGER, *Zum Gedanken des eitlen Ruhmes und der Überheblichkeit bei Evagrios Pontikos*, Wien, 1995; L. NIEŚCIOR, *Kategorie myśli w nauce ascetycznej Ewagriusza z Pontu*, in *Roczniki Humanistyczne*, 44 (1996), pp. 203-230; C. STEWART, *Evagrius Ponticus and the Eight Generic Logismoi*, pp. 3-34; A. TILBY, *From Evil Thougths to Deadly Sins: Evagrius of Pontus's Psychology of Sin*, in R. S. SUGIRTHARAJAH (ed.), *In Wilderness: Essays in Honor of Frances Young*, London – New York 2005, pp. 143-152; L. MISIARCZYK, *Osiem logismoi w pismach Ewagriusza z Pontu*, Kraków, 2007 (reprint. 2008, 2009). There are also a number of studies dedicated to the analysis of particular passions, among which acedia has received the greatest attention of scholars. See below some references to other studies concerning particular passions.

[9] Klaus Fitschen places the activity of Ps.-Macarius approximately between the years 360 and 390. See K. FITSCHEN, *Messalianismus und Antimessalianismus: ein Beispiel ostkirchlicher Ketzergeschichte* (*Forschungen zur Kirchen- und Dogmengeschichte*, 71), Göttingen, 1998, p. 218.

[10] The present analysis is based mainly on the three major collections of the Macarian corpus: I, II, and III. Collection I: *logos* 1 (*Epistula magna* referred to as *EpM*) in R. STAATS (ed.), *Pseudo-Macarius. Epistola magna: eine messalianische Mönchsregel und ihre Umschrift in Gregors von Nyssa "De instituto christiano" / Makarios-Symeon*, Göttingen, 1984; *logoi* 2-64 (referred to as B) in H. BERTHOLD (ed.), *Makarios/Symeon. Reden und Briefe*; *die Sammlung I des Vaticanus Graecus 694 (B)*, (*GCS*, 55), Berlin, 1973, T. 1: *Einleitung und Tabellen. Die Logoi B 2-29*; T. 2: *Die Logoi B 30-64*; Collection II: 50 homilies (referred to as H) in H. DÖRRIES, E. KLOSTERMANN, M. KROEGER (eds.), *Die 50 geistlichen Homilien des Makarios* (*PTS*, 4), Berlin, 1964; and a supplement of seven homilies in G. L. MARRIOTT, *Macarii Anecdota. Seven Unpublished Homilies of Macarius* (*Harvard Theological Studies*, 5), Cambridge, MA – London – Oxford, 1918 (= New York, 1969);

Ps.-Macarius describes passions in a threefold manner: as diseases, as temptations and as afflictions. He associates these three ideas with the spiritual levels of ascetics. At the beginning of the spiritual way, the soul is so wounded by the passions that it can be considered as seriously ill. In the course of gradual recovery from these wounds, the soul is still pestered by the passions in the form of tempting thoughts. Finally, when the soul steadfastly stands against all the evil thoughts and does not give a "pastureland" to them, it experiences passions as afflictions and persecutions for the truth, caused by the evil spirits. Through these three ideas of the passions, Ps.-Macarius presents the process of a gradual purification of the soul from evil. I will discuss each of these three ideas in detail.

The Passions as Spiritual Diseases

Ps.-Macarius knows that passions are diverse and can cause different kinds of suffering. He compares them to various bodily diseases, which can be visible and invisible, intractable and easily curable. Some people suffer from exterior wounds; others have no visible wound and seem outwardly healthy but have serious diseases inwardly. The latter diseases are much more obstinate and cause greater sufferings than the former. The homilist also notes that the exterior impression of one's state of spiritual health can be very misleading: Some people can possess external virtues and imagine themselves to be healthy spiritually, but within, they can be afflicted with horrible diseases. Others suffer some visible vices, being disreputable and worthless in the eyes of many people; however, when they approach the true Physician they will be cured sooner than those who are afflicted with the hidden vices of self-conceit, arrogance, pride, cowardice, disbelief, hypocrisy, and the like. For example, in the Parable of the Pharisee and the Tax Collector, the tax collector was an outcast in the eyes of the Pharisee but left the temple more justified, while the Pharisee remained unhealed from his disease of pride (Lk 18:9-14).[11]

As there is a great variety in diseases, so also there is a great diversity in human dispositions to healing and health. To explain the specific character of different processes of healing, the homilist tells a parable of two sick patients in the course of medical treatment and their convalescence. One quickly sweats, and in a short time, he can receive heavy food and soon recovers fully from his fever. Another does not easily sweat, and the fever

Collection III (referred to as C): H. DÖRRIES, E. KLOSTERMANN, M. KROEGER (eds.), *Die 50 geistlichen Homilien des Makarios* (*PTS*, 4), Berlin, 1964.

[11] C 7:7.

continues longer, but if he strictly follows the prescriptions of an experienced doctor, the fever is slowly extinguished, and he gradually comes to full recovery. However, once he has recovered, if one or another leads the wrong way of life and neglects the discipline prescribed by the physician, the disease again returns and becomes even worse than before, and such a person comes closer to the brink of death.

Ps.-Macarius then applies this parable to the spiritual life. After the transgression of Adam, the soul fell sick and suffered from the fever of evil passions, but the Physician cured it and nourishes the wounded soul with the heavenly bread through the holy sacraments of regeneration and the Body of Christ and the Scriptures. In this process of healing, one person receives grace with power and deep conviction, while in another person, grace operates to a lesser degree. Everyone receives grace according to his faith and commitment to the commandments. Nevertheless, both, if they obey the word of the Gospel, gradually recover from the heavy disease of evil passions and come to the healthy state of spiritual virtues. However, if after recovery the soul is careless and inattentive to the commandments of the Gospel, then its former disease of evil passions again recurs, and if the soul continues in such a way of thinking to the end, it is given up to the eternal death of sin, according to the words of the Lord, *Take the talent from him*, and *From the one who has not, even what he has will be taken away* (Mt 25:28, 29). Ps.-Macarius concludes that therefore, whether a person recovers quickly or slowly, he should obey the Word of truth and work out his salvation with labour, diligence and much struggle.[12]

The Passions as Tempting Thoughts

Ps.-Macarius also speaks about the passions as evil thoughts that originate from the natural needs of the body and permeate the human senses of perception. He employs colourful images to portray the process of mixing passions with the natural thoughts of the soul. For example, at one point he compares the passions to muddy water flowing through the pipes of the senses to the spring of the thoughts of the soul, polluting the pure and clear water of the natural thoughts.[13] Another time, he likens the passions to wild beasts sleeping beside every fruit-bearing tree in the garden, and he emphasises the need for attentiveness and caution to avoid waking them and getting bitten. He can also describe passions/thoughts as invisible robbers who plunder and murder the careless and imprudent travellers on the roads of their senses of

[12] B 25:2 (1-11).

[13] B 25:1 (11).

perception.[14] Therefore, the soul must be constantly cautious and vigilant to guard the heart from evil thoughts and not to mingle with them.

However, first one should discern and separate one's pure and good thoughts from the mud of sin, in which they have been buried since the transgression of Adam. The soul is incapable of scrutinizing its own thoughts and discerning them; for this, it needs divine illumination. Just as the widow needed to light a lamp and sweep her house in order to find her lost drachma (Luke 15:8-10), so also the soul can discover its own thoughts only after the divine lamp illumines the heart. Only then does the soul see its thoughts mixed with dirt and squalor, prompting it to sweep the evil thoughts and passions out of its house.[15] Assisted by divine grace, Christians gradually learn how to resist and overcome the sinful passions which the evil spirits mix with the natural impulses of the soul.

Ps.-Macarius also knows that Satan can mislead inexperienced souls under the semblance of good and can even appear in the guise of a good angel of light. He instructs his disciples on how to discern various spiritual experiences and distinguish between false and authentic visions, between the actions of Satan and those of grace. He explains that every being (hypostasis), while operating, draws the mind to a particular love. Satan is material and earthly, and he draws the mind towards the love of the world and earthly things. The action of grace is the opposite: It draws the mind from worldly and fleshly things towards the love of God, prayer and sorrow.[16] Moreover, the actions of sin and grace can be discerned by their spiritual effects in the soul. The signs accompanying grace are evident, namely much joy, peace, love and truth, which sin, even if it appears under the guise of light, cannot effect. The actions of Satan, on the other hand, can excite neither desire for God, nor the love of neighbour, nor peace, nor joy, nor meekness, nor patience, nor relief, nor quietness of thoughts and passions, nor spiritual delight, nor desire for heavenly things; instead, these actions overburden and bring turmoil, so that the soul feels an aversion to them. The homilist gives a good example: Lettuce looks like endive and vinegar like wine, but the former are bitter and the latter sweet, and the tongue immediately distinguishes them by taste. In the same way, the soul, by means of spiritual senses, discerns the gifts of the Spirit and the apparitions of Satan according to their effects.[17] The discernment of evil thoughts is essential for the soul in order to avoid the passions.

[14] B 25:1 (14-16).
[15] B 53:1 (7-8), H 11:3-4.
[16] B 5:4 (3-4).
[17] B 2:10 (4-5); B 4:20 (1), H 7:3.

Ps.-Macarius does not differentiate between passions and evil thoughts but uses them as synonyms. Suggestions, thoughts and passions do not follow each other in a successive order but go together in rank; that is, the passions do not derive from evil thoughts but are parallel to them. Like actual sins, passions, evil thoughts and suggestions represent the same reality and testify to the presence and operation of indwelling sin.[18] They are, in fact, only shoots of this root. One can struggle against the former but cannot reach and overcome the latter, because, as long as this root is present within the human soul, it produces its shoots, just as the earth produces thorns, thistles and weeds time and again. Therefore, Ps.-Macarius does not see the final goal of the spiritual way in the elimination of the passions and evil thoughts but in the extirpation of their root, which is indwelling sin.

The Passions as Afflictions

As with passions and temptations, the distinction between passions (πάθη) and afflictions (θλίψεις) is also lacking is the corpus. For Ps.-Macarius, passions sometimes simply mean various kinds of sufferings, tribulations, trials, damages, losses, dishonour, misfortunes, adversities, troubles, distresses, or persecutions, both bodily and spiritual, by means of which evil spirits wage war against Christians and try to mislead them from the way of righteousness. Some scholars ascribe such multiple meanings to inconsistency in Ps.-Macarius' usage of terms.[19] However, he appears to be very consistent once we realise that both passions and afflictions belong to the same consequences of Adam's transgression, which was passed down to all people. As physical death and bodily sufferings became a reality of fallen humanity, so also the passions entered human nature after the fall and became a sort of spiritual affliction. The passions reflect the reality of spiritual death in the same way as bodily sufferings reflect the reality of physical mortality and corruption, to which all humans became subject after the fall. Baptism does not remove the passions but gives the grace to overcome them.

Ps.-Macarius considers the presence of the passions after baptism to be part of God's economy of salvation. Though these sufferings can become serious obstacles for spiritual growth, God allows these afflictions to come upon both faithful and unfaithful Christians, for they function as a test of

[18] *EpM* 3:3.
[19] A. HATZOPOULOS, *Two Outstanding Cases in Byzantine Spirituality. The Macarian Homilies and Symeon the New Theologian* (*Αναλεκτα βλαταδων*, 54), Thessalonike, 1991, pp. 70-71.

faithfulness whether they truly love God and as an instrument for training and improvement of Christians. Those who have preferred God before all other things will steadfastly endure all afflictions with trust and faith, and those who still love anything in this world will not be able to overcome them and will fall away from God. Therefore, Christians ought to patiently endure all troubles that come upon them and accept them as if they were sent by God himself. God wishes that souls undergo all these trials in humility and do not forsake him or forget him.[20]

Ps.-Macarius usually associates this idea of passions as afflictions with Christians who are close to perfection. Having recovered from the wounds of the passions and learned to overcome evil thoughts, Christians are not completely free from various afflictions caused by evil spirits. Since the Evil One is never quieted and always wages war against faithful souls, Christians still remain subject to his attacks and must patiently endure them. However, these distresses no longer harm but rather stimulate them to run towards the goal, like a lash that makes a horse quickly race to the finish.[21] The experience of the passions only promotes the spiritual progress of faithful Christians who already know how to distinguish the intrigues of malice, for it pushes them to run away from the bitterness of evil towards the sweetness of the kingdom and to seek the Lord more eagerly.

The Macarian Lists of Principal Passions

Among the scholars of the Macariana the opinion prevails that the author of the corpus is completely unsystematic in his teaching on the passions and provides no classification of them. For example, Vincent Desprez points out that Ps.-Macarius 'does not know Evagrius' classification of evil "thoughts" and he mentions the virtues and vices in no particular order'.[22] It is certainly true that the homilist could hardly know the classification of the passions made by Evagrius Ponticus, nor does he tend to care much for logical order in his enumeration of the passions. However, it would be an oversimplification to think that the homilist had no conception of principal passions. Though he had no intention to bring his teaching concerning the passions into a general classification, he did know that vices (like virtues) are dependent on each other and that some of them are more significant than others.

[20] H 53:1-5.
[21] B 18:4 (15); B 18:5 (3).
[22] V. Desprez, *Pseudo-Macarius, II: Spiritual Combat, Prayer and Experience*, in *American Benedictine Review*, 46:2 (1995), pp. 207-224, p. 212.

In *logos* 7 (Collection I) Ps.-Macarius gives two very similar lists of main generic passions.[23] Since both lists occur in the same context, following one after another, they should be considered as two variations of the same chain of passions. Both lists deal with six major passions. In the first list the homilist mentions covetousness, love of money, gluttony, anger, pride and deceit (πλεονεξίαν, φιλαργυρίαν, γαστριμαργίαν, θυμόν, ὑπερηφανίαν, δόλον).[24] A few lines beneath, he repeats this list with some variations, enumerating love of money, glorification, gluttony, laziness, hatred and arrogance (φιλαργυρίαν, δόξαν, γαστριμαργίαν, ἀργίαν, μῖσος, τῦφον).[25]

covetousness	πλεονεξία	glory	δόξα
love of money	φιλαργυρία	love of money	φιλαργυρία
gluttony	γαστριμαργία	gluttony	γαστριμαργία
anger	θυμός	hatred	μῖσος
deceit	δόλος	laziness	ἀργία
pride	ὑπερηφανία	arrogance	τῦφος

These two lists of passions do not perfectly correspond to each other. Some elements of the rows in the table are identical (love of money and gluttony), some express the same reality in different words (anger-hatred, pride-arrogance), and some are quite different in their meaning (covetousness and deceit versus glorification and laziness). Yet, since Ps.-Macarius considers both lists in the same passage, one should suppose that he is speaking of the same reality of principal generic passions. I will try to explain the correspondence between these two lists through a closer analysis of the text.

In the passage with the first list of passions, Ps.-Macarius instructs that Christians should direct their minds not only to prayer but also to all virtues. However, instead of virtues, he speaks of the necessity of the destruction of the six passions. He underlines that all other passions and vices are generated from these few passions and that those who fight against them simultaneously oppose every other passion, acquire a thousand advantages and progress spiritually. The reason is that the Lord himself intercedes for whoever decides to struggle against these passions. In the passage with the second list of passions, Ps.-Macarius says that one who is going to wage war should have a brave soul and turn away (ἀποστραφεὶς) from the love of money, glory, gluttony, laziness, hatred and conceit so that he may

[23] B 7:18 (1-2).
[24] B 7:18 (1).
[25] B 7:18 (2).

conquer all lusts and passions. It seems that in the former case, he deals with the sprouts of passions or suggestions that come into the minds of progressing athletes, while in the latter case, he instructs beginners on how to undertake the struggle against the acquired passions that are still acting and need to be renounced. So the two lists are complementary, as they indicate the root and the fruit of the passions respectfully. Thus, anger (θυμός) at the beginning becomes hatred (μῖσος) at the end, and pride (ὑπερηφανία) in its germ results in self-conceit and arrogance (τῦφος).

It is more difficult to find correspondences between covetousness and glorification, and between deceit and laziness. Yet, they are not incompatible in the Macarian theology, as we will see. Covetousness (πλεονεξία) implies not only avarice or greed with regard to material gains and advantages but also assumption and arrogance. It marks the character and conduct of one who is disposed to take and claim more than his due; that is, one can be covetous of power, glory and honour just as one can be covetous of riches and a larger share of the profit. However, Ps.-Macarius sometimes also understands 'πλεονεξία' to mean 'vainglory', which leads a person to pursue all other vanities of this world; this useage of 'πλεονεξία' as 'vainglory' is testified in one passage from the *Great Letter*, in which the homilist considers the problem of self-conceit and the desire to please people more than God:

> If a man is far from memory and fear of God, he by necessity seeks glory and hunts after praise from those whom he serves. Such a man is blamed by the Lord as unfaithful (in the words)*: How can you believe since you accept glory from one another but do not seek the glory that comes from the only God?* (Jn 5:44). Such a man *cleans the outside of the cup and dish, but inside* he is *full of greed and* all *self-indulgence* (ἁρπαγῆς καὶ πάσης πλεονεξίας, Mt 23:25).[26]

Though 'πλεονεξία' (covetousness/vainglory) in the corpus can be understood as the desire of human glory, its meaning is not reduced to this one aspect. In the Macarian understanding, this passion covers a broad scope of various disordered desires, including avarice and lust, which Ps.-Macarius summarises by the expression 'all kinds of covetousness' (πλεονεξίας πάσης).[27] That covetousness can acquire many different

[26] *EpM* 7:5: ἐὰν γὰρ ἐκτὸς μνήμης καὶ φόβου θεοῦ εὑρίσκηται ὁ ἄνθρωπος, ἀνάγκη καὶ δόξαν ζητεῖν καὶ ἔπαινον θηρεύειν παρὰ τῶν διακονουμένων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ὁ δὲ τοιοῦτος ἄπιστος παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου ἀπελέγχεται· Πῶς γάρ, φησί, δύνασθε ὑμεῖς πιστεύειν δόξαν παρὰ ἀλλήλων λαμβάνοντες καὶ τὴν δόξαν τὴν παρὰ τοῦ μόνου θεοῦ οὐ ζητεῖτε; ὁ τοιοῦτός ἐστιν ὁ τὸ ἔξωθεν τοῦ ποτηρίου πλύνων καὶ τῆς παροψίδος, τὸ δὲ ἔνδον γέμει ἁρπαγῆς καὶ πάσης πλεονεξίας·

[27] B 54:2 (1).

forms can be seen on the basis of one more list of passions, similar to those discussed above but with some variations, found in *logos* 34 (Collection I). This list records seven passions: anger (indignation, θυμός), vainglory (κενοδοξία), gluttony (γαστριμαργία), bad desire (ἐπιθυμία κακή), zeal for things (ζῆλος), love of money (φιλαργυρία), falsehood (ψεῦδος) and similar.[28] Here covetousness is not mentioned, but instead, a few new elements appear, such as vainglory, evil desires and jealousy, the three of which can be understood as providing specificity to the meaning of greediness.

This third list of passions can also help us to bring into agreement the second pair in tension, that is, to find a correspondence between deceit and laziness. This list contains falsehood, which corresponds to deceit in the first list. Both falsehood and deceit stand at the very end of the lists, and both enumerations finish with an addition that implies the existence of many other passions, following after those mentioned or similar to them. It seems that by deceit or falsehood, the homilist intends various kinds of vices that have a connection with delusion. This passion can signify any cunning contrivance of the Evil One for deceiving the soul into different kinds of sins, whether it is hypocrisy, falsehood, adultery, fornication, laziness, pride, or any other evil desire or thought. Therefore, deceit, like covetousness, can have manifold manifestations. If in the first list it corresponds to laziness, in the third list it can also imply pride or self-conceit or any other vice not mentioned in the list.

If Ps.-Macarius understands deceit in terms of laziness, it is because he is determined by his monastic context, in which the primary temptation is relaxation and carelessness with regard to prayer and spiritual struggle. He is convinced that the chief interest of the evil adversary is to distract the person from prayer, by which all other virtues can be acquired. Since the Evil One knows very well that he will be defeated as soon as he allows the soul to seek the One who can destroy him, he tries by all means to distract the mind and direct it towards worldly things in order to divert it from seeking the Lord and spiritual labour.[29] For Ps.-Macarius, the opposite of laziness is spiritual labour, which he understands as the interior work of directing the mind and thoughts towards God, as the perseverance in prayer and work over the acquisition of virtues and the fulfilment of the commandments. One who neglects prayer and spiritual work becomes unable to fulfil God's commandments as well as to acquire any virtue. This makes clear

[28] B 34:13: θυμόν, κενοδοξίαν, γαστριμαργίαν, ἐπιθυμίαν κακήν, ζῆλον, φιλαργυρίαν, ψεῦδος καὶ τὰ ὅμοια.

[29] C 18:1.

that laziness (ἀργία) in the corpus implies not simple idleness but a spiritual kind of sloth, which Evagrius defines as acedia and John Cassian specifies as '*anxietas sive taedium cordis*'. Ps.-Macarius considers this passion to be one of the most dangerous demonic deceptions in the life of ascetics. As in the case of the pair 'covetousness-vainglory', here we are dealing with the embodiment of the general idea of deceit in a concrete form of laziness. However, it does not mean that deceit can be narrowed only to this particular kind of evil ploy.

The consideration of the three Macarian lists of the passions has shown that the first list is basic and has a more general character, while the second and the third appear to be its specifications and elaborations, probably adapted to the spiritual needs of the concrete audience to which the teaching of Ps.-Macarius was addressed. Therefore, it should not be surprising that these lists do not fully correspond to each other and vary not only in terms of the names of the passions but also in terms of their number.

This short analysis of the Macarian lists of the passions has also brought us to the striking realisation that the teaching of Ps.-Macarius concerning the passions very closely approaches that of Evagrius Ponticus. Now we will turn to a close analysis and comparison of the Macarian and Evagrian lists of the passions.

The Macarian and Evagrian Lists of Passions: A Comparison

The most obvious difference between the two lists of the passions is that the Evagrian list is more extensive than that of Ps.-Macarius, but the lists differ in other ways as well. While Evagrius classifies *logismoi* according to the Platonic idea of the tripartite division of the soul, Ps.-Macarius does not explicitly follow this Platonic structure, though he is aware of it, as we can clearly see from one passage in Collection I. There, he mentions three passions: desire, hatred and arrogance (ἐπιθυμία ἢ μῖσος ἢ ὑψηλοφροσύνη)[30], which correspond to the three parts of the soul in the Platonic division and can be regarded as a shortened version of the Evagrian classification.

The Evagrian list of passions forms a chain with interrelated members; to compare, though Ps.-Macarius also acknowledges that all vices as well as virtues depend on each other and are generated one from another, he prefers to speak of passions in terms of cause and effect and to classify them according to the criterion of their exterior or interior manifestation.

[30] B 7:18 (3).

Following the Pauline teaching about *dishonourable passions* (Rom 1:26-32), the homilist divides all passions into two major groups: those that are visible on the exterior and the invisible ones that usually operate in the interior and are not easily detected.

Contrary to Evagrius, Ps.-Macarius is never systematic; rather, he modifies his lists of passions by means of mixing and combining both kinds of passions (interior causes and their exterior manifestations) in one list so that the number of enumerated passions can increase from six to twenty. In this he does not care for consistency but for the spiritual needs of his listeners. For example, among the visible sins he records fornication, theft, murder, gluttony, slander, lying, idle talk, clamour, laughter, ribaldry, love of money and covetousness; among the invisible passions and secret sins he names lust, vainglory, man-pleasing, hypocrisy, ambition, maliciousness, hatred, unbelief, envy, arrogance, jealousy, self-complacency, self-love, conceit and other similar vile affections.[31]

The attempt to bring the basic Macarian and Evagrian lists into correspondence has brought us to the following result, demonstrated in the table below.

Ps.-Macarius[32]		**Evagrius Ponticus**	
gluttony	γαστριμαργία	gluttony	γαστριμαργία
deceit / evil desire	δόλος / ἐπιθυμία κακή	fornication	πορνεία
love of money	φιλαργυρία	love of money	φιλαργυρία
anger / hatred	θυμός / μῖσος	anger	θυμός / ὀργή
covetousness / jealousy	πλεονεξία / ζῆλος	sadness	λύπη
deceit / laziness	δόλος / ἀργία	acedia	ἀκεδία
covetousness / vainglory	πλεονεξία / κενοδοξία	vainglory	κενοδοξία
pride/arrogance	ὑπερηφανία / τῦφος	pride	überjfanía

I will discuss each of these passions in detail and compare the two lists. Since the Evagrian list is more extensive and became classical in ascetical theology, I will take it as the basis for comparison, but my main attention will be focused on the consideration of the Macarian understanding of the passions.

[31] *EpM* 3:3: ἐπιθυμίας κενοδοξίας ἀνθρωπαρεσκείας ὑποκρίσεως φιλαρχίας δόλου κακοηθείας μίσους ἀπιστίας φθόνου ἐπάρσεως ζήλου αὐταρεσκείας φιλαυτίας τύφου καὶ τῶν τούτοις ὁμοίων ἀοράτων τῆς ἀτιμίας παθῶν.

[32] Since the Macarian basic list is shorter than that of Evagrius, it lacks two elements, namely fornication (πορνεία) and sadness (λύπη). These lacunas are filled by applying some elements from the second and the third lists of Ps.-Macarius. For the same reason, some of the elements from the basic list are used twice, for usually they have a much broader sense than their parallels in the Evagrian list.

Gluttony

Evagrius describes gluttony (γαστριμαργία)[33] as the temptation of the monk to abandon his ascetic practices[34] and distinguishes between two kinds of food abuse: gluttony of quantity (eating too much because of the fear of diseases) and gluttony of delicacy (the desire for various kinds of more refined and delicate food as the result of satiety)[35]. The first deals with the quantity of food and the pleasure of the belly, the second with the quality of food and the pleasure of the palate.[36] Gluttony is dangerous for it inflames the appetitive part of the soul and awakes the desire for other pleasures. To avoid gluttony Evagrius advises to practice fasting, which helps an ascetic to overcome the attachment to food and quenches this burning desire.[37]

The Macarian teaching about gluttony is very close to that of Evagrius. Though Ps.-Macarius does not distinguish between different kinds of this passion, he knows that it implies not only excessive eating and drinking, but also the desire for luxury and pleasure[38], which provokes the love of money, greediness and unclean thoughts[39]. While Evagrius considers fasting to be a remedy against gluttony, Ps.-Macarius digs deeper and lays a foundation based on the Gospel. The latter teaches that in order to overcome this passion one should follow the commandment of the Lord, *do not worry for tomorrow* (Mt 6:34); that is, one should not care about food and drink beforehand. Ps.-Macarius, though being aware of this passion, does not pay much attention to its consideration, and his reflections of gluttony

[33] See a recent study by Gabriele Bunge on Evagrius' teaching concerning gluttony: G. BUNGE, *Gastrimargia: Wissen und Lehre der Wüstenväter von Essen und Fasten, dargestellt anhand der Schriften des Evagrios Pontikos (Eremos: Texte zur Spiritualität, Geschichte und Kunst*, 3), Berlin, 2012. See also L. Misiarczyk, *Myśli zmysłowej części duszy i sposoby walki z nimi według Ewagriusza z Pontu*, in *Studia Płockie*, 29 (2001), pp. 147-165.

[34] *Praktikos*, 7, in *Évagre le Pontique, Traité pratique ou Le moine*, ed. A. GUILLAUMONT & Claire GUILLAUMONT (*SC*, 171), Paris, 1971, p. 508. For English translations, see: *Evagrius of Pontus, The Greek Ascetic Corpus*. Translation by R. E. SINKEWICZ (*Oxford Early Christian Studies*), Oxford, 2003; or by Luke Dysinger in public domain: http://www.ldysinger.com/evagrius/00a_start.htm (accessed 20.03.2011).

[35] *Praktikos*, 16, in *SC*, 171, p. 540.

[36] Later John Cassian added to these two an additional kind of gluttony: the desire to eat outside meal times (besides *concupiscentia ventris* and *concupiscentia gulae*). See *De institutis coenobiorum*, 5:20, in J. CASSIEN, *Institutions cénobitiques*, Texte latin revu, introduction, traduction et notes par J.-C. GUY (*SC*, 109), Paris, 1965, p. 224 (or *PL*, 49:236B-237A). See also *Conlationes patrum* 5:11, in J. CASSIEN, *Conférences*. Introduction, texte latin, traduction et notes par E. PICHERY (*SC*, 42), Paris, 1955, pp. 199-201 (or *PL*, 49:624A-625A).

[37] *Praktikos*, 15, in *SC*, 171, p. 536; *Peri logismōn*, 3, in ÉVAGRE LE PONTIQUE, *Sur les Pensées*, ed. C. GUILLAUMONT, A. GUILLAUMONT, P. GÉHIN (*SC*, 438), Paris, 1998, p. 162.

[38] B 3:1 (3).

[39] B 6:3 (4).

are rather scanty. Likewise, he does not give any instruction on fasting. If Evagrius instructs that fasting should be exercised at proper times and in proper measures, Ps.-Macarius takes it for granted that fasting, together with other ascetic practices such as vigils, psalmody and virginity, is a must for every ascetic. For him, it is an undeniable truth that Christians must prefer fasting to pleasure and that they should flee from pleasure as from the fire. Yet, he also warns that fasting has no value in itself and that ascetics have to be attentive not to be deceived into the pride of fasting by the Evil One. He always emphasises that no one should rely on exterior practices and bodily virtues, for if prayer and fasting do not bring the fruits of love, peace and joy, meekness, humility, simplicity, serenity, faith and patience, they are useless and vain.[40] This is also one of the reasons why Ps.-Macarius speaks so little of gluttony and fasting, for he knows the inner struggle within the soul against much stronger and more serious temptations than gluttony and he knows much more difficult ascetic practices than simply fasting or any other exterior work of righteousness. Unlike Evagrius, the homilist considers the practice of fasting not so much as an antidote to gluttony but rather as the companion of prayer[41], the means of appealing to the Lord until one is heard.

Fornication

Fornication (πορνεία) as such is not explicitly mentioned in any of the Macarian lists of passions. This does not mean that Ps.-Macarius has nothing to say about this temptation. On the contrary, he speaks of this vice quite often and extensively. This raises the question: If this passion received so much attention in the corpus, why did its author not include it in his list of the principal passions? To answer this question we have to examine the Macarian idea of lust and fornication, which is much broader than that of Evagrius. The Egyptian ascetic defines fornication in terms of unclean thoughts and acts of sexual immorality. For him, the unclean demon of lust compels the desire for different bodies; it contaminates the soul through shameful desires and voluptuous thoughts that foretell the fall from chastity and bend it towards these sorts of deeds.[42] Dealing with the passion of lust,

[40] *EpM* 9:9-10; B 52:2 (3).

[41] See, for example, *EpM* 9:2, 11:2, 7.

[42] *Praktikos*, 8, in *SC*, 171, pp. 510-512; *Antirrhetikos*, 2:21-33, in W. FRANKENBERG (ed.), *Evagrius Ponticus*, pp. 144-147. For an English translation of selections from the *Antirrhetikos*, see: M. O'LAUGHLIN, *Evagrius Ponticus. Antirrheticus (Selections)*, in V. WIMBUSH (ed.), *Ascetic Behavior in Greco-Roman Antiquity. A Sourcebook* (*Studies in Antiquity and Christianity*), Minneapolis, MI, 1990, pp. 243-262.

Evagrius describes different kinds of sexual immorality such as unclean thoughts, desires, dreams, fantasies and concrete sins[43].

The Macarian understanding of lust and fornication is much more complex. There are two key passages in the corpus that shed light on this issue. The first passage concerns the Macarian exegesis of 1 Cor 6:18: *he who sins sexually, sins against his own body*. The homilist offers two interpretations of these words: literal and spiritual. Both are based on Gen 2:24 that two *become one flesh*.[44] According to the first literal exegesis, the 'body of the adulterer' is his own wife, and he who commits adultery sins against his own wife. In the second interpretation, the body is understood spiritually in the light of the Pauline teaching about the mystery of love between Christ and the Church (Eph 5:32). Since Ps.-Macarius defines the Church in terms of the gathering of souls or as one soul taken as a whole, he applies the idea of one body to the soul and the Lord, referring again to the Pauline teaching about the Church as the body of Christ. Since it is written, *you are the body of Christ, and each one of you is a part of it* (1 Cor 12:27), the soul united with the Lord forms one spiritual body. Therefore, if the soul invisibly converses in thoughts through secret passions with the Evil One, as if with a strange man, it sins against its own body, that is, against the Lord.[45] This exegesis shows that the homilist has a twofold idea of fornication. One refers to the body, the other to the soul that enters into fellowship with Satan.[46]

The analysis of a second key passage will highlight even more how Ps.-Macarius understands these two kinds of fornication: that according to the body and that according to the soul. In this passage the homilist deals more extensively with the question of what it means to serve the Lord in purity and with the whole heart (καθαρῶς τουτέστιν ὅλῃ τῇ προαιρέσει) and to keep the body and the soul pure from corruption and defilement.[47] With regard to the body, he explains that the body becomes corrupted and polluted through unclean intercourse with another body. However, he goes further and points at the responsibility of the person to restrain not only from fornication and adultery but also from theft, lying, idle talk, gluttony and all covetousness and other sins committed through the body. The reason for this restraint is that the body is the temple of God and should be preserved pure from any defilement, for it is written, *If any one defiles the*

[43] See B. BÜRGLER, *Porneia. Die geistliche Lehre des Evagrios Pontikos von der Unzucht und ihre Bedeutung für heute – dargestellt an einem Abschnitt aus dem Traktat „Über dischi Gedanken"*, Innsbruck, 1997.

[44] Compare Eph 5:31.

[45] B 2:11 (1-2).

[46] B 7:6 (10), H 26:13.

[47] B 54:2 (1-7).

temple of God, God will destroy that person (1 Cor 3:17). Thus, for Ps.-Macarius, the corruption of the body is not limited simply to fornication or adultery but implies all kinds of corporal sins.

If the body is to be kept pure from defilement because it is the temple of God, the soul should be preserved pure from evil thoughts because it is meant to be the bride of the Lord, according to the words of the Apostle, *I have espoused you to one husband, that I may present you as a chaste virgin to Christ* (2 Cor 11:2). While the body is corrupted through various sins, the soul becomes defiled when it secretly converses with the evil spirits and adulterates with invisible passions such as unfaithfulness, falsehood, vainglory, anger, envy, jealousy and rivalry. Using the words of the Apostle, Ps.-Macarius characterises those who do such things as *men of corrupt minds* (1 Tim 6:5), whose *mind and conscience is defiled* (1 Titus 1:15)[48], and whose heart 'is like a brothel of unclean spirits'[49].

Though the homilist stresses that both the body and the soul should be kept free from corruption, he cares much more about the purity of the soul. That is not because bodily chastity is less important but because the purity of the soul belongs to much subtler matters of the spiritual life and often slips from the attention of ascetics. Nevertheless, he is convinced that the purity of the soul is the necessary condition for entering the kingdom of God, because whatever physical virginity one may possess, it avails one nothing if one fails to preserve the purity of the soul. The soul that inwardly commits fornication in its thoughts with the evil spirits against God becomes unworthy of the heavenly Bridegroom, like a deceived maiden who is loathed by her husband because of her adultery.[50] Ps.-Macarius cites several examples of such a kind of spiritual fornication from biblical history. The first time, it happened in Paradise, when the former Adam turned away from the commandment of God to the deceitful words of Satan. It was also the case with the Israelites who turned away from God to their idolatry, fornication and all ungodliness, for which they were reprimanded by God through the prophet Ezekiel: 'You turned away from me and went after your lovers and committed your fornication.'[51]

These two passages show that, in contrast to Evagrius, who considers fornication as a result of bodily lust, Ps.-Macarius understands fornication in terms of bodily and spiritual impurity and corruption. Even if he speaks of fornication as bodily defilement, he never reduces it merely to the lustful

[48] Compare 2 Cor 11:3.

[49] B 16:2 (6), H 17:9.

[50] B 7:6 (9-10), H 26:13.

[51] B 31:3 (3). Compare H 15:3, Ez 16:6-15.

thoughts and actions of sexual immorality but connects it with any evil thought or desire that leads to an external act of impurity and corruption, whether this thought or desire is avarice, vainglory, pride, envy, or anger.[52] However, the author of the corpus primarily sees fornication as a spiritual adultery, and only afterwards, as a possible physical impurity. In fact, the Macarian idea of fornication on this spiritual level is broadened so far that it becomes equivalent to the demonic deceit (δόλος), which can be embodied in many different sins. It signifies the unfaithfulness of the soul to God, which is equal to idolatry. If for Evagrius the virtue opposite to fornication is chastity[53], Ps.-Macarius teaches that fornication can be prevented through vigilance and abstinence of the soul from evil thoughts as well as from their fulfilment through bodily actions[54]. Ultimately, to avoid any kind of fornication, one should '*put off the old man* (Col 3:9), *which is corrupt according to the deceitful lusts*' (Eph 4:22).[55] This consideration also explains why the homilist does not include fornication in his list of principle passions. If Ps.-Macarius speaks of lust in the Evagrian sense of the word, he places it among various evil desires as one aspect of the manifold manifestation of the passion of covetousness.[56]

Still, the Evagrian idea of fornication should not be oversimplified, for Evagrius knows no less than Ps.-Macarius about the soul's ability to converse with the incorporeal beings as a result of its inner disposition towards them.[57] In one passage, Evagrius also speaks of fornication in the Macarian sense of the word, pointing out that demons cause the irascible and appetitive powers of the soul to act contrary to nature and 'through disturbance of these two powers the mind mentally commits adultery (ὁ νοῦς κατὰ διάνοιαν μοιχεύει) and becomes incensed, being no longer able to welcome in itself the representation (φαντασία) of its [divine] lawgiver…'.[58] However, Evagrius does not elaborate this idea as far as Ps.-Macarius does, and the former's understanding of fornication is mainly focused on the desires of bodies and the intercourse with bodies.[59] Though the two authors have quite different approaches to fornication, it does not mean that they disagree in their basic ideas about this passion. It is rather a matter of accents and terms: While Ps.-Macarius is more interested in the spiritual aspects of

[52] B 4:29 (13), H 15:50.
[53] *Praktikos*, 58, in *SC*, 171, p. 636-638.
[54] B 5:2 (5).
[55] B 40:3 (2). Compare H 25:4.
[56] See, for example, B 4:29 (13), H 15:50; B 33:4 (3), C 13:3; B 33:4 (7); B 46:1 (2); B 49:5 (3-8).
[57] *Praktikos*, 56, in *SC*, 171, pp. 630-632.
[58] *Peri logismōn*, 2, in *SC*, 438, pp. 154-156.
[59] *Praktikos*, 22, in *SC*, 171, p. 552.

fornication and diminishes his consideration of the bodily aspects of this passion, Evagrius is more concentrated on practical questions related to the temptation of sexual immorality.

Love of Money

Love of money (φιλαργυρία)[60] is mentioned in almost all Macarian lists of vices, sins and passions. According to Ps.-Macarius, it derives from luxury and pleasure and goes together with desire, gluttony, covetousness and unclean thoughts.[61] Yet, this passion does not attract much of his attention, for he considers it to be among the visible exterior vices and sins, while his major concern is with stronger invisible passions.[62] In this idea, he is in harmony with Evagrius, who also classifies avarice and love of money among the passions of the irrational lower part of the soul; such passions do not allow the mind to move rationally, coarsening it and making it incapable of praying as it ought to.[63]

Evagrius considers love of money, together with gluttony and vainglory, to be in the first wave of attack, after which all other passions march, so to speak, for it is impossible, he states, to avoid anger or the spirit of sadness or pride if one has first succumbed to these three, coveting and fighting for food, money or fame.[64] Therefore, one who wants to banish the devil and all other passions must first despise these three tempting thoughts. In this statement, Evagrius bases his argument on the Gospel story of the three temptations with which the devil tempted the Lord in the desert (Mt 4:3ff).

Ps.-Macarius has a similar classification of three major passions. This is most prominent in his second list of passions, where love of money, glory and gluttony open the list and precede the other passions. He also refers to many habits that are developed from the thoughts and desires attached to evil love, namely to shameful pleasures, to love of money and to pride (εἰς ἡδονὰς αἰσχρὰς ἢ εἰς φιλαργυρίαν ἢ εἰς ἔπαρσιν).[65] It is apparent that

[60] On the sin of greed in general, see a recent study of Richard Newhauser: R. NEWHAUSER, *The Early History of Greed: The Sin of Avarice in Early Medieval Thought and Literature* (*Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature*, 41), Cambridge, 2000. On Evagrius' teaching concerning love of money see: S. GREBAUT, *La mauvaise passion de l'avarice selon Evagrius*, in *ROC*, 18 (1913), pp. 213-225; J. Driscoll, *Love of Money in Evagrius Ponticus*, in *Studia Monastica* 43 (2001), pp. 21-30.
[61] B 3:1 (6); B 6:3 (4).
[62] *EpM* 3:3.
[63] *De oratione*, 51, in *PG*, 79:1177C; *Praktikos*, 36, in *SC*, 171, p. 582.
[64] *Peri logismōn*, 1, in *SC*, 438, pp. 149-152.
[65] B 4:6 (7). See also a similar list in B 60:2 (4): τοῦ κόσμου πράγμασιν, οἷον ἢ ἐπιθυμίᾳ τινὶ τοῦ κόσμου ἢ δόξῃ ματαίᾳ ἢ αἰσχρῷ τινι κέρδει (worldly things, for example, desire of something in the world or idle glory or dishonourable profit).

the Macarian 'shameful pleasures' and pride correspond to the Evagrian gluttony and vainglory respectively, since Ps.-Macarius speaks of evil habituation, while Evagrius speaks of tempting thoughts. However, both ascetic authors refer to the same reality in different stages of its development, for the habit of seeking fleshly and worldly pleasures begins with gluttony and seeking human glory results in pride.

In considering love of money, Ps.-Macarius looks backwards, pointing at the cause from which this passion derives (that is, luxury and pleasure), and Evagrius looks forward, showing to what it leads, namely to anger, vainglory and pride.[66] If for Evagrius love of money is principally *the root of all evil* (1 Tim 6:10), from which other passions derive, Ps.-Macarius admits not only the generic nature of this passion but also its derivative character. The latter case can be especially noted in the longer lists of passions, in which Ps.-Macarius combines different kinds of passions and vices together with their expressions in evil deeds.[67] In such lists, the meaning of the love of money is narrowed to certain aspects of stronger passions or simply to the level of exterior actions.[68]

Anger

Turning to the consideration of the passion of anger, one can be astonished how close Ps.-Macarius and Evagrius approach each other. While their ideas of other passions, however similar or different they may be, always need to be nuanced, their teachings about anger appear in perfect agreement.

Both authors employ different terms and expressions or stress different aspects, but the essence of their teaching is the same. Not surprisingly, Evagrius is more sophisticated and systematic: In his definition of anger he relies not only on the Scriptures but also on philosophical and medical achievements in this sphere.[69] Ps.-Macarius, for his part, does not burden himself with referring to scholarly sources, nor does he provide any definition of this passion, but he speaks of anger using common notions and relying on his own experience supported by the Scriptures. Both ascetic

[66] *Peri logismōn*, 1, 21, in *SC*, 438, pp. 148-152, 226-228.
[67] *EpM* 3:3, 9:14; B 2:1 (2); B 4:29 (13), H 15:50; B 48:3 (8), H 5:6; B 54:2 (1)
[68] B 2:1 (2).
[69] See G. BUNGE, *Drachenwein und Engelsbrot. Die Lehre des Evagrios von Zorn und Sanftmut*, Würzburg, 1999 (English translation: G. BUNGE, *Dragon's Wine and Angel's Bread: The Teaching of Evagrius Ponticus on Anger and Meekness*, Crestwood, NY, 2009); C. STEWART, *Evagrius on Prayer and Anger*, in R. VALANTASIS, (ed.), *Religions of Late Antiquity in Practice* (*Princeton Readings in Religions*), Princeton, NJ, 2000, pp. 71-80.

authors employ at least three different terms dealing with anger: indignation (θυμός), anger (ὀργή) and hatred (μῖσος). Evagrius usually speaks of 'θυμός' and 'ὀργή', while Ps.-Macarius uses 'θυμός' and 'μῖσος'. Evagrius defines anger (ὀργή) as 'a boiling up and moving indignation (θυμός) against a wrongdoer or a presumed wrongdoer'[70]; Ps.-Macarius states that 'hatred depends on indignation'[71].

The points of affinity between Ps.-Macarius and Evagrius especially concern motives and consequences of anger, types of indignation and remedies against it. Both Evagrius and Ps.-Macarius agree that anger arises from the desire for pleasure and glory.[72] Evagrius, for example, records the following apophthegm: 'I cut down pleasure in order to cut out excuses for anger (θυμός). I know that anger always fights on behalf of pleasures and disturbs my mind and chases away knowledge'.[73] He teaches that 'desire (ἐπιθυμία) provides the matter for indignation (θυμός), thus disturbing the noetic eye [and] abusing the [stable] condition of prayer'.[74] Similarly, Ps.-Macarius says that the adversary entices a person 'with things that lead to pleasure, whereby the anger that slays a brother is engendered, and the soul that gives birth to it [anger], itself dies'.[75] He also points out that indignation (θυμός) grows up together with the desire for money, regardless of whether one actually possesses it or not.[76] The homilist also accords with Evagrius in the question of how anger can be alleviated. The former teaches that 'the soul led by love of God easily banishes from itself passions of anger, indignation and animosity and subdues them to gentleness, benevolence and kindness'.[77] Evagrius expresses a similar view, but he elaborates this question further than Ps.-Macarius, distinguishing between the remedies against indignation and against anger: While indignation is diminished by merciful compassion and gentleness[78], anger is overcome by psalmody[79].

The same harmony can be noticed in the teaching of the two writers concerning the consequences of anger. Both writers point at the destructive effects of anger that darken the soul and impede it from prayer. Ps.-Macarius expresses this reality in terms of the dark veil or the death of the soul. In his

[70] *Praktikos*, 11, in *SC*, 171, pp. 516-518.
[71] *EpM* 8:2 (= B 4:1 (2), H 40:1).
[72] *Peri logismōn*, 1, in *SC*, 438, pp. 148-152; B 36:2 (1), H 37:1; B 38:2 (7).
[73] *Praktikos*, 99, in *SC*, 171, pp. 708-710.
[74] *De oratione*, 27, *PG*, 79:1172D-1173A.
[75] B 36:2 (1), H 37:1. See also B 38:2 (7).
[76] B 36:4 (2), H 37:9.
[77] B 62:3. See also B 36:2 (3), H 37:2.
[78] *Praktikos*, 20, in *SC*, 171, p. 548.
[79] L. DYSINGER, *Psalmody and Prayer in the Writings of Evagrius Ponticus*, Oxford, 2005, pp. 124-130.

view, hatred *par excellence* belongs to the dishonourable invisible passions, which the Apostle Paul equated with the external sins that deserve death (Rom 1:26, 28-32). To support this opinion, he also refers to 1 Jn 3:15, where the secret hatred towards a brother is regarded as the actual sin of killing. On this basis, he asserts that both the interior passion and real murder equally deprive the person of eternal life.[80] Ps.-Macarius characterises hatred as the 'veil of the soul that impedes from seeing the malice of the adversary and the help of the Lord'[81] and prevents the soul from entering the chamber of the Bridegroom[82]. It is remarkable that Evagrius uses very similar images of the darkness and blindness of the soul. While the homilist speaks of the veil of the soul, Evagrius refers to a kind of fog that deprives the mind of spiritual contemplation.[83] Evagrius goes even further than Ps-Macarius and makes the distinction between the consequences of indignation and anger: Indignation obscures spiritual knowledge; anger destroys it completely.[84] Both Ps.-Macarius and Evagrius agree that there should be no wrath in those who pray, referring to the commandment of the Apostle to *lift up holy hands, without anger or disputing (and without quarrelling)* (1 Tim 2:8).[85]

Both authors also clearly state that there is no justifiable anger against a neighbour. Evagrius teaches that one should avoid by all means the explosion of indignation.[86] Similarly, Ps.-Macarius in his *Great Letter* admonishes coenobitic brothers that they cannot have grace in their service if there is mutual hatred between them, for if the body is divided, it is impossible to receive spiritual edification and fulfil God's will.[87] The homilist transfers this truth about the life of the brotherhood to the reality of the soul: The soul that cherishes envy, anger, hostility is *like the horse or the mule* (Ps 31:9) and lacks the wisdom of love.[88]

Besides the prohibition to feel anger against a brother, both ascetics also acknowledge the existence of righteous anger, implying not only the anger of God but also the correct use of anger (θυμός) on the spiritual level. Evagrius teaches that the irascible faculty of the soul is not simply an evil

[80] *EpM* 3:5.
[81] B 38:2 (7).
[82] B 7:18 (6).
[83] *Peri logismōn*, 32, in *SC*, 438, pp. 262-266; *Praktikos*, 23, in *SC*, 171, p. 554; *Kephalaia gnostica*, IV, 47, in W. FRANKENBERG (ed.), *Evagrius Ponticus*, pp. 292-293.
[84] *Kephalaia gnostica*, V, 39, in W. FRANKENBERG (ed.), *Evagrius Ponticus*, pp. 332-333; *De oratione*, 48, in *PG*, 79:1177A.
[85] H 15:12; *Peri logismōn*, 5, in *SC*, 438, pp. 166-170.
[86] *De oratione*, 24, in *PG*, 79:1172C.
[87] *EpM* 11:7.
[88] B 3:3 (4).

that ought to be extinguished; it is, rather, an essential weapon in the spiritual arsenal which must be properly controlled and employed against the enemy.[89] He believes that our hatred against demons greatly contributes to our salvation, banishes evil thoughts at the time of prayer and is helpful for the practice of virtue.[90] If Evagrius directs this kind of anger against demons, Ps.-Macarius speaks of hatred against one's own self. He teaches that man ought to hold himself as an object of hatred, to deny his soul and be angry with it, to resist the passions, to struggle with thoughts and evil desires that live in him and to fight the battle with himself.[91] In this he relies on the Lord's word that one has to deny and *hate his own soul* (Lk 14:26). He stresses hatred against one's own self because the Evil One has become attached to the soul as its member and adhered to the corporeal person, pouring out many unclean thoughts; therefore, whoever does his own will does the will of the evil powers and cannot get rid of dark passions.[92] Ps.-Macarius highly esteems the exploits of those who engage in the fight against evil thoughts, seeing them as 'the prudent ones' and likening them to one who has captured a city from his enemy.[93] He also directs hatred against all glorious and great things of this age, because without such hatred, it is impossible to cut oneself off from the passions. Therefore, man should hate all earthly impediments, carnal love, worldly friendship or affection towards parents or relatives and any other earthly concerns, whether it be the passion for power, glory or honour.[94]

While Evagrius considers such anger to be a means of spiritual growth, Ps.-Macarius regards it as the necessary condition for the acquisition of God's mercy and grace. He says, 'The fact that war comes is not your doing. To hate it, however, is up to you. Then the Lord, seeing your mind that you are struggling and that you love him with your whole soul, drives death away from your soul in a very short time.'[95]

Sadness

The passion of sadness (λύπη)[96], like that of fornication, is not explicitly mentioned in the Macarian list of principal passions, since the homilist con-

[89] L. DYSINGER, *Psalmody and Prayer*, pp. 144-145.
[90] *Peri logismōn*, 10, 29, in *SC*, 438, pp. 184-186. See also *Praktikos*, 42, in *SC*, 171, p. 596.
[91] H 26:12. See also H 3:3; H 15:49; H 27:2.
[92] H 9:12.
[93] H 15:51; H 15:35. See also H 4:27.
[94] H 9:10.
[95] H 26:18.
[96] The Greek term 'λύπη' is usually translated into English as 'sorrow'. However, the English word 'sorrow' can be employed to translate a variety of words used in the New

siders it to be derivative. This passion appears in the Evagrian list; though Evagrius also knows of the derivative character of sadness, he still describes it as a separate passion. Moreover, he distinguishes between two kinds of sadness with regard to its cause: One is caused by anger, forfeiture and frustrated desires; another derives from excessive concerns.[97] The lack of this passion in the Macarian list, however, does not mean that Ps.-Macarius is not aware of sadness. He certainly knows this passion as well as the fact that it comes as the result of anger. In one of his lists, he presents a chain of passions in the following sequence: depraving love of pleasure, indignation, anger and sadness (ἡδονὴν λέγω φθορᾶς καὶ θυμὸν ἄδικον, ὀργήν τε καὶ λύπην).[98] The homilist does not include sadness among the generic passions, for other notions compensate for its lack: Partly it is covered by the passion of covetousness (πλεονεξία) and partly by jealousy (ζῆλος), which can be found in the third list of passions. In the corpus, the idea of jealousy is expresses by two terms: envy (φθόνος) and zeal (ζῆλος). Envy (φθόνος) usually implies the characteristic of Satan in his malicious deeds and first of all in his deception of Adam and Eve. When Ps.-Macarius refers to human envy or jealousy, on the other hand, he uses the term 'zeal' (ζῆλος), which can mean both the zeal of pleasing God and jealousy or passionate rivalry. By saying that those who rely on their deeds 'engage in feverish activity provoked by the feeling of the emotional zeal and rivalry

Testament and the Christian tradition: 'λύπη' (grief, distress), 'αἰσχύνη' (shame, disgrace) and 'πένθος' (grief, sadness, mourning). John Cassian renders λύπη as '*tristitia*', which is usually translated as 'sadness'. Modern translators render this term as 'depression'. Luke Dysinger suggests that both of these translations are misleading, as they suggest that the state produced by this *logismos* happens without the cooperation – or even despite the exercise – of free will. He argues that since modern psychologists would vigorously oppose any suggestion that sorrow and depression are moral 'faults' that could be avoided through an act of the will, these translations run the risk of portraying the early Christian spiritual tradition as false and cruel. Therefore, Dysinger proposes to translate 'λύπη' as 'gloominess', for it 'has the advantage of implying cooperation of the will with the mental state produced and it suggests that the victim of this *logismos* at some level consents to, and perhaps even welcomes and seeks to maintain a state of negativity and cynicism' (see: L. DYSINGER, *Perseverance*, in Ph. SHELDRAKE (ed.), *The New SCM Dictionary of Christian Spirituality*, London, 2005; see also: http://www.ldysinger.com/CH_599z_Asceticism/04_x4_gloom/00a_start.htm, (accessed 20 March, 2011)). Dysinger's suggestion is reasonable but not sufficiently elegant. It also fails to portray another side of this vice, which implies envy leading to worldly worry and excessive activity. Therefore, I would prefer to maintain the traditional term 'sadness'; though it is not fully satisfactory either, it has already become in a certain sense a *terminus technicus* in ascetic theology. See also G. KITTEL (ed.), *Theological Dictionary of the New Testament*. Translation by G. W. BROMLEY, Vol. 4, Grand Rapids, MI, 1967, pp. 313-322; *LSJ*, pp. 1065-1066; G. W. H. LAMPE (ed.), *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, Oxford, 1961, p. 814. On sadness in Evagrius, see L. MISIARCZYK, *Próżność i pycha: myśli racjonalnej części duszy w duchowej walce według Ewagriusza z Pontu*, in *Studia Płockie*, 31 (2003), pp. 27-38.

[97] *Kephalaia gnostica*, VI, 84, in W. FRANKENBERG (ed.), *Evagrius Ponticus*, pp. 416-417.

[98] B 40:1 (2).

(προφάσεως ζήλου καὶ ἔριδος),'[99] he clearly refers to the second kind of sadness, which Evagrius characterises as deriving from an excessive concern and care for obtaining things and achievements and from fear of the future. In this negative sense, zeal (ζῆλος) stands in continuity with envy (φθόνος) and rivalry (ἔρις).[100] In his understanding of sadness as envy, Ps.-Macarius antecedes Gregory the Great, whose list of seven cardinal sins also replaces John Cassian's *tristitia* with *invidia*.[101]

Acedia

Acedia (ἀκηδία)[102] was considered in monastic circles as one of the most dangerous temptations. Evagrius and John Cassian speak of two kinds of acedia: One drives the monk out of his cell; the other makes him sleepy.[103] The latter was especially characteristic of solitary monks and

[99] B 64:6.

[100] B 54:2 (6): ἐν φθόνῳ, ἐν ζήλῳ, ἐν ἔριδι.

[101] See *Moralia in Job*, 31:45, in M. ADRIAEN (ed.), *S. Gregorii Magni Moralia in Iob*, Vol. 3, (*CCSL*, 143B), Turnhout, 1985, pp. 1610-1613 (or *PL*, 76:620-622). See also M. BLOOMFIELD, *The Seven Deadly Sins: An Introduction to the History of a Religious Concept, with Special Reference to Medieval English Literature*, Michigan, 1967, pp. 72-73.

[102] The Greek word 'ἀκηδία' is not easy to translate. John Cassian preserved the Greek term, defining it as '*taedium sive anxietas cordis*'. This vice was included into the list of the medieval seven 'deadly' sins (see M. W. BLOOMFIELD, *The Seven Deadly Sins: An Introduction to the History of a Religious Concept, with Special Reference to Medieval English Literature*, Michigan, 1967, pp. 60-75). In modern English 'ἀκηδία' is translated variously as sloth, apathy, depression, despondency, spiritual weariness or 'distress of heart', tiredness, laziness, being disheartened, restless discouragement, or sluggishness. However, all these terms indicate only one of two possible manifestations of acedia that drives into sleep, while completely neglecting the other kind of acedia that drives the monk out of his cell. Therefore, I prefer to preserve the Greek term 'acedia' without translating it into English. On the meaning of the term 'acedia' and its development in the Middle Ages, see S. WENZEL, *Ακηδία. Addition to Lampe's Patristic Greek Lexicon*, in *VigChr*, 17 (1963), pp. 173-176; S. WENZEL, *The Sin of Sloth: Acedia in Medieval Thought and Literature*, Chapel Hill, NC, 1967, pp. 20, 211, note 81. For Evagrius' teaching on acedia, see: L. Louf, *L'acédie chez Évagre le Pontique*, in *Concilium*, 99 (1974), pp. 113-117; B. MAIER, *Apatheia bei den Stoikern und Akedia bei Evagrios Pontikos: ein Ideal und die Kehrseite seiner Realität*, in *Oriens Christianus*, 78 (1994), pp. 230-249; G. BUNGE, *Akedia. Geistliche Lehre des Evagrios Pontikos vom Überdruß*, Würzburg, 1995 (= Köln, 1989); A. RÜDIGER, *Lebensverwirklichung und christlicher Glaube. Acedia. Religiöse Gleichgültigkeit als Logismos und Denkenform bei Evagrios Pontikos* (*Saarbrücker Theologische Forschungen*, 3), Frankfurt am Main – New York, 1990; C. FILIPPO, *L'acédie dans la tradition spirituelle*, in *Christus*, 40 (1993), pp. 51-61; Ch. JOEST, *Die Bedeutung von Akedia und Apatheia bei Evagrios Pontikos*, in *Studia Monastica*, 35 (1993), pp. 7-53; B. MAIER, *Apatheia bei den Stoiken und Akedia bei Evagrios Pontikos: Ein Ideal und die Kehrseite seiner Realität*, in *Oriens Christianus*, 78 (1994), pp. 230-249; M. SCHNEIDER, *Akedia*, Köln, 2000; L. MISIARCZYK, *Acedia według Ewagriusza z Pontu*, in *Studia Płockie*, 32 (2004), pp. 63-84.

[103] See *Praktikos*, 12, in *SC*, 171, pp. 520-526; *Peri logismōn*, 11, 17, 35, in *SC*, 438, pp. 188-192, 210-214, 272-276; *Antirhertikos*, 6:1-57, in W. FRANKENBERG (ed.), *Evagrius*

associated with the mid-day demon (Ps 90:6), since usually it came at mid-day during the highest heat. Ps.-Macarius is no less aware of the danger of acedia and often describes it in his homilies. Besides the classical term 'ἀκηδία', he employs a considerable arsenal of words for its description, indicating different aspects of this passion, such as: 'ἀργία', 'μετεωρισμός', 'ὀλιγωρία', 'χαύνωσις', 'χαυνότης', 'ἀμέλεια', 'ῥαθυμία', 'ἀπελπισμός', 'καταφρόνησις' and others. He presents the way in which this passion develops using the following sequence: Love of pleasure (φιληδονία) leads to impatience (ἀνυπομονησία) that produces acedia (ἀκηδία), resulting in carelessness (ὀλιγωρία), after which weariness (χαυνότης) comes and finally negligence (ἀμέλεια).[104] While Evagrius and John Cassian distinguish between two kinds of acedia according to their expression in deeds and the effects they cause, Ps.-Macarius is more interested in the question of how the Evil One uses acedia to fight against different categories of people according to their spiritual states and levels. In his homilies, he deals with at least three types of acedia.

The first type is characteristic of worldly people who are far from the Word of God. Such people, being filled with the hostile power of the Evil One and subject to the spirit of this world, are unable to perceive and apprehend the spiritual word, and when they hear the word about the light of the kingdom, they feel disgust and acedia.[105] Even if they wish to convert to the commandments of the Lord, the Evil One resorts to various tricks in order to divert their will from a good decision. For example, he reminds them of their previous sins and leads them to despair, apathy, negligence or carelessness, so that they may not come to the Lord and receive salvation.[106] Remaining in disbelief and dreams, a despondent soul puts the word of God off, postponing its conversion from one day to the next. Because of acedia, such a soul can neither hear the word of God nor get to know itself, nor comprehend the spiritual struggle.[107] Ps.-Macarius points out that this kind of spiritual sloth is very dangerous, for in the end, it brings the person to perdition. If one succumbs to this passion, one gradually adds sins to sins and joins sloth to sloth until one reaches the limits of one's sinfulness by coming to such wickedness that one becomes incapable of conversion and

Ponticus, pp. 520-531. See also JOHN CASSIAN, *De institutis coenobiorum*, 10, in *SC*, 109, pp. 384-424 (or *PL*, 49:359C-398A); *Conlationes patrum*, 5:9, in *SC*, 42, p. 197 (or *PL*, 49:620C-621A).

[104] *EpM* 8:2; B 4:1 (3), H 40:1.

[105] B 33:4 (6).

[106] B 49:6 (4).

[107] B 3:3 (7).

ultimately perishes.[108] Ps.-Macarius considers acedia to be the first characteristic feature of those who do not bear the fruits of life.[109]

The second type of the manifestation of acedia concerns the Christians who rely on their own righteousness and do not put their hope in divine power. Ps.-Macarius compares them to the five foolish virgins who were not allowed to enter the kingdom because of their laziness and carelessness. Due to their self-conceit concerning their own righteousness, they fall asleep and failed to please the heavenly Bridegroom.[110] This second type of acedia is usually the result of delusion based on self-confidence and assurance in the possession of salvation. The person, feeling sure of achieving the final state of perfection, stops the spiritual struggle and becomes a victim of the passions.

While Ps.-Macarius only occasionally deals with the first two types of acedia, the third type receives a thorough consideration in his writings. Since his direct audience consisted mostly of solitary ascetics, for whom spiritual sloth was a fundamental temptation, the homilist deals with this kind of acedia rather extensively, explaining how the Evil One uses acedia to fight against those souls who eagerly seek to please God and progress on the way to perfection. He considers acedia both in the narrow context of the everyday life of the ascetic and from the broader perspective of the entire spiritual way to the heavenly kingdom. He teaches that this temptation attacks especially those who want to dedicate themselves to unceasing prayer. Ps.-Macarius warns such ascetics that in their exploits, they will face many evil impediments, such as sleep, despondency, dispersed thoughts, a disordered mind, heaviness of the body, relaxation and other evil suggestions, by means of which the devil depresses the soul in order to weaken its will and divert it from the hope and love of God. Therefore, they should undertake great labour and struggle and preserve due diligence, forcing their minds and compelling their wills and thoughts towards God in constant expectation of his coming, for if they do not divorce themselves from sloth and from the toleration of voluntary laziness, weariness or negligence, they lose their good work and give it to the demon as traitors.[111]

For Ps.-Macarius, acedia is the basic temptation that undermines the very foundation of spiritual life, for it not only endangers the spiritual progress of beginners but also destroys all the spiritual achievements of athletes progressing in Christ. It comes at the time of suffering and affliction, caused

[108] B 49:5 (5), H 4:21.

[109] B 2:1 (1).

[110] B 49:2 (1).

[111] *EpM* 9:6-8. See also B 4:7 (3), H 31:3; B 19:3 (1); B 29:1 (3); B 60:1 (2, 4).

by people or evil spirits. At the time of such trials, the soul runs the risk of loosing heart and giving way to despair, as if it will never be released from all these distresses, for if one fails to endure all afflictions in steadfast faith, loses hope and gives in to sloth, such a person will not inherit life, for he has not followed Christ and the saints to the very end.[112]

Acedia also becomes a serious temptation to the more advanced ascetics who eagerly devote themselves to prayer and ascetic practices, yet still have not received the gift of the Spirit in full assurance. Such athletes take the risk of being disappointed with God's delay in the fulfilment of his promise, becoming despondent about the possibility of achieving perfection and giving up all their spiritual efforts and struggle.[113] Ps.-Macarius presents this temptation in the image of the earth's becoming desolated due to the carelessness and laziness of its farmer, and this is exactly what happens to those who neglect the earth of their heart: If they do not weed it of its thistles, thorns and stones (that is, if they do not care for spiritual work), their soul becomes entirely like a desert.[114] In both cases – whether through suffering and affliction or by means of suggestions of distrust of God's promises – the Evil One tries to make the soul slacken and give up the spiritual struggle. This temptation, however, does not happen without God's will and dispensation. The homilist makes it clear that God allows the Evil One to afflict the soul in order to test the human will and determination and to see whether the soul remains faithful to God and patiently endures up to the end, in fullness of faith and zeal, or whether it becomes remiss, surrenders to laziness, distrust and unbelief, and gives itself up to despair.[115]

Taking into account the threat acedia poses to Christian faith and practice, Ps.-Macarius often admonishes his disciples to resist any temptation to laziness and sloth at every stage of spiritual progress. Unlike Evagrius, who is concerned more with the question of how to banish acedia from the mind when it comes and affects it, Ps.-Macarius focuses more on the inner attitude towards this temptation: how to escape it and make it unable to affect the soul, how to resist the evil thoughts that lead the soul to sloth, carelessness and despair. If Evagrius considers manual work, psalmody and perseverance in a cell as the basic weapons against acedia, Ps.-Macarius emphasises the need for strengthening faith, hope, patient endurance, readiness and vigilance in the expectation of God. He does not connect acedia with the climate and midday heat, as is the case in Egyptian monasticism, but

[112] B 55:1 (3, 6).
[113] B 31:1 (3), H 29:2.
[114] B 3:3 (9).
[115] B 55:1 (1), 3 (4), 4 (1).

rather with the constant temptation to become tired of the spiritual struggle and to give up. It begins with a small voluntary negligence, gradually leads to carelessness and sloth and ultimately brings one to despair and spiritual death. Therefore, the first precaution of Ps.-Macarius towards ascetics is, 'Whoever goes to the royal city let him not be relaxed and careless'.[116] He tries to cherish a correct attitude towards acedia that tolerates neither idleness of the soul nor its restraint from spiritual labour. To eliminate the danger of sloth, one should cherish zeal in seeking God and become like those who are always hungry and thirsty for truth.[117]

Vainglory and Pride

Though Ps.-Macarius clearly distinguishes between vainglory and pride, these two passions are very closely connected and frequently mentioned together.[118] The homilist indicates that pride depends on and develops from vainglory[119], and he pays much more attention to the consideration of pride as a more dangerous passion than vainglory. He points out that those who are subject to pride and vainglory due to their excessive self-conceit are not even aware of their disease.[120] Dealing with these two passions, Ps.-Macarius does not consider all their faces and forms as, for example, Evagrius and later John Cassian do. Instead, he discusses only some of them, those which are most characteristic of progressing ascetics on the way of their spiritual growth.

Ps.-Macarius usually speaks of vainglory (κενοδοξία) in two contexts when he warns ascetics against this multifaceted, deceitful and subtle passion. One refers to the exterior human glory or praises on behalf of one's spiritual achievements; the other refers to the interior self-praises and glory in one's own eyes. In the first case, Ps.-Macarius cautions ascetics against *doing [any]thing out of selfish ambition or vain conceit* (Phil 2:3) and against practising their righteousness in front of other people, for if they do so, they will have no reward from the Lord in heaven (Mt 6:1).[121] The homilist explains that the vainglorious soul cares for its exterior garment and neglects the interior purity of the heart. Such a soul abandons working the

[116] B 3:2 (1).
[117] B 3:2 (5). See also B 19:3 (1); B 55:2 (1). Compare Mt 5:6.
[118] On vainglory and pride in Evagrius, see L. Misiarczyk, *Próżność i pycha: myśli racjonalnej części duszy w duchowej walce według Ewagriusza z Pontu*, in *Studia Płockie*, 31 (2003), pp. 27-38.
[119] *EpM* 8:2, B 4:1 (3), H 40:1.
[120] B 64:6.
[121] B 3:3 (9).

earth of its heart and, on the day of departure from the body, when it shows its vineyard to the Lord, the soul will discover that its earth has grown desolate and dry. Then, this soul, seeing other souls in great glory, while itself being deserted, will realise that it was a plaything of self-complacency and vainglory and a subject of mockery for evil spirits.[122]

The second context, in which Ps.-Macarius speaks more extensively of vainglory, concerns spiritual gifts and the advantages of ascetics over others. He advises those who possess spiritual gifts and grace not to boast but rather to accuse themselves of sin, for whoever does not wish to acknowledge the existence of an evil part in himself sins against the truth in search of glory and human praises.[123] Even if one does not see evil in oneself, one should not be self-confident and should instead remain conscious of the danger of sin to awake again, for it is a trick of the Evil One to conceal sins and expose only the good part in order to lead the soul into self-conceit and to destroy all its good. This second case is much more subtle and not easily unmasked. Even if an ascetic acknowledges the existence of evil in himself, the demon also here finds a loophole to seduce him, advising him to cover up his real sins and to accuse himself of unreal ones, so that afterwards he may say, 'You are blessed, for you are not such'. So, hiding a secret self-conceit under feigned humility, the Evil One kills the ascetic who does not keep to truth.[124] Due to such various cunning suggestions of vainglory, the devil is called in the corpus the 'vainglorious counsellor'.[125] Ps.-Macarius stresses that those who find pleasure in human glory and the recognition of others gradually become proud and, finally, fall into the depth of sin.

This Macarian idea of pride is in line not only with Evagrius, but also with the entire Christian tradition. Like other ascetic writers, Ps.-Macarius considers pride to be the most dangerous passion that leads a person to the greatest fall. However, contrary to such ascetic theoreticians as Evagrius and John Cassian, he is not attached to one technical term to denote pride. What Evagrius implies by the word 'ὑπερηφανία' and John Cassian refers to as '*superbia*' is described by Ps.-Macarius in many different words. The homilist, though employing the term 'ὑπερηφανία', has more preferable words for the description of this passion. Among them are οἴησις, ἔπαρσις, τύφωσις, τῦφος, ὑψηλοφροσύνη, ὕψωμα, φυσίωσις and others. All these terms reflect different aspects of the same passion of pride in its manifold manifestations. Though this temptation is always present and

[122] B 3:4 (1).
[123] B 8:3 (3-4).
[124] B 39:1 (5-7).
[125] B 36:3 (2), H 37:7.

accompanies people at every stage of their spiritual lives, Ps.-Macarius especially warns advanced ascetics, who are filled with grace and bestowed with spiritual gifts, for they have more grounds to be seduced by pride. He records several cases of great ascetics who succeeded in virtues but fell because of their self-conceit and pride.[126]

The homilist presents various shapes of pride at different stages of spiritual progress and cautions ascetics to be careful not to yield to this temptation. The beginners are usually seduced by pride, due to lack of experience. Practising poverty, fasting, psalmody and vigils, they receive a certain degree of grace that gives them grounds to value their soul and become proud, thinking as if they were something, but, in fact, they have not yet even started to lay a proper foundation. By such an opinion of righteousness, they only sadden the Holy Spirit and lose the good they possess, due to the folly of their infancy.[127]

The more advanced ascetics, who have succeeded in grace and possess some spiritual gifts, as soon as they realise their own advantages, are tempted to think of themselves more highly than of those who have not received similar gifts. This is the temptation of the 'righteous ones', to be puffed up and to judge 'sinners'.[128] To prevent this kind of pride Ps.-Macarius warns ascetics not to rely on their gifts and justifications but rather to be attentive to their own hearts and constantly to investigate their own consciences concerning the perspective of the final goal, which is the kingdom of God.[129]

The homilist also warns those who are close to perfection and participants in the Spirit against the danger of self-satisfaction; the serpent can suggest pride and persuade an ascetic to believe in his own perfection, saying: 'You are perfect, you are sufficient unto yourself, you are rich, you need nothing, you are blessed'.[130] This is the same temptation of pride by means of which the Evil One overthrew Adam in Paradise and now destroys the race of Christians. It implies the satisfaction of one's own self and the refusal to acknowledge the lordship of God. To this false opinion (οἴησις) of perfection, Ps.-Macarius opposes the idea of long-term growth (αὔξησις) and progress on the journey (προκοπή) towards the heavenly kingdom.[131] To avoid pride, ascetics should remain in truth (ἀλήθεια), which

[126] B 7:14 (1-7), H 27:14-16.
[127] B 21:13-14. Compare Gal 6:3, Eph 4:30. See also B 8:3 (3); C 1:3; B 51:5, H 10:3.
[128] H 7:4. See also B 7:18 (6).
[129] B 7:112 (2), H 29:7. See also B 16:3 (6), H 17:14.
[130] B 7:12 (2), H 27:6. See also B 16:4 (5).
[131] See E. A. DAVIDS, *Das Bild vom Neuen Menschen: Ein Beitrag zum Verständnis des Corpus Macarianum* (Salzburger Patristische Studien, 2), Salzburg – München, 1968, pp. 91-93.

means two things: First, one must acknowledge that all goods come from God alone and not from human nature; second, one ought to follow the example of Jesus who, though being God, withdrew from his glory and humiliated himself even to sufferings, dishonour and the cross and through humility conquered the devil.[132] Ps.-Macarius teaches that ultimately vainglory can be overcome by humility[133] and pride by perfect charity[134].

Conclusion

This comparative analysis of the Macarian and Evagrian lists of the passions has shown that they emerged independently and from different monastic milieus. On the one hand, they are quite different as to the numbers of elements, terminology and its application; on the other hand, however, they are not incompatible and express similar basic ideas concerning the principal temptations of the spiritual life. Though Ps.-Macarius had no intention to give any systematic teaching on the passions, the analysis of his ideas dispersed here and there throughout the corpus of his works shows his profound insight and deep spiritual knowledge concerning the passions. The Macarian list of six generic passions proves to be in no way inferior to that of Evagrius and is in some points even more comprehensive. Though his list is shorter, some of its elements cover a much broader scope of meanings than the more precise technical terminology of Evagrius. For example, covetousness in the Macarian corpus includes fleshly lust, worldly desires, vainglory and even sadness as its consequence, either in the form of envy or of excessive activity. Likewise, the notion of deceit in the list of Ps.-Macarius is so rich and multifaceted that it not only supersedes the group of passions from the Evagrian list but can imply any form of delusion of the soul that derives from the contrivance of the Evil One, whether it is pride or laziness or another vice. The difference between the two authors' lists reflects the diverse linguistic and mental contexts in which they arose, but it does not affect the essence of their teaching. If the Evagrian teaching about the main passions won the day, it is because it was better systematised and popularised, not because it was the only one to condense the unique experience of the Egyptian Desert Fathers. The Macarian teaching about the passions clearly testifies that the experience and knowledge concerning the passions were also part and parcel of other monastic milieus of

[132] *EpM* 10:11; B 8:3 (1).
[133] B 3:4 (2).
[134] B 7:12 (1), H 27:5.

that time and that other monastic milieus had equally valid insights into the passions.

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Summary

This paper offers a comparative study of two prominent figures of Byzantine monasticism – Evagrius of Pontus and Pseudo-Macarius – with regard to their teaching concerning the passions. The author considers the basic ideas of the passions in the writings of these two authors and discusses the similarities and differences between their teachings, as well as the compatibility of the Macarian teaching on the passions with the Evagrian schema of eight generic thoughts. The comparative analysis shows that the Macarian and Evagrian lists of passions, though different, are not incompatible. They represent different approaches and emphases, rather than a disagreement in principles between the two ascetic writers.

A HOMILY WITH A DESCRIPTION OF THE CHURCH OF THE HOLY APOSTLES IN CONSTANTINOPLE*

In his publication of an anonymous homily on the translation of John Chrysostom, François Halkin remarked that this text 'esquisse une description de l'église qui ne laissera pas indifférents les archéologues'.[1] The homily, listed as BHG 877h, survives in a single tenth-century manuscript, *Sabaiticus gr.* 242, and has been dated to the late ninth or early tenth century. Devos made a strong case that it was written by the emperor Leo VI, though this was disputed by Paschalides, who argued that the author was Niketas David the Paphlagonian.[2] Paschalides was in turn questioned by Theodora Antonopoulou. She ascribed the homily to Leo in her recent edition of that emperor's homilies, suggesting for it a date during the reign of Basil I, specifically to 882 or 883.[3] On the basis of Antonopoulou's reasoning, the issue of authorship will not be re-opened here; rather, the focus of the paper is with what Halkin noted in 1977: that the homily contains material unused by art historians in their discussions of the Church of the Holy Apostles.

As is well-known, the Holy Apostles was one of the most significant churches in Byzantine Constantinople.[4] It was a fourth-century foundation, rebuilt in some style and grandeur by Justinian I and perhaps refurbished in the ninth century by Basil I.[5] However, the church itself was destroyed after the conquest of the city in 1453 and almost nothing now remains of the

* Our thanks to Robert Jordan, Flora Dennis, Efthymis Rizos, Charalambos Dendrinos for their comments on the various drafts.

[1] *Douze récits byzantins sur St. Jean Chrysostome*, edited by F. HALKIN, (*Subsidia Hagiographica*, 60), Brussels, 1977, p. 487. The homily is number ten of Halkin's twelve, pp. 488-497 and the passage is Halkin's section 7 of the text, pp. 494-496.

[2] P. DEVOS, *La translation de St Jean Chrysostome BHG 877h: une œuvre de l'empereur Léon VI*, in *Analecta Bollandiana*, 107 (1989), pp. 5-29; S. PASCHALIDES, Νικήτας Δαβὶδ Παφλαγών. Τὸ πρόσωπο καὶ τὸ ἔργο του, Thessaloniki, 1999.

[3] See *Leonis VI Sapientis Imperatoris Byzantini, Homiliae*, edited by T. ANTONOPOULOU (*CCSG*, 63), Turnhout, 2008, pp. ccxii-ccxvi on the date of the homily (882-883). On the homily, see further the case made in T. ANTONOPOULOU, *The Homilies of the Emperor Leo VI*, (*The Medieval Mediterranean*, 14) Leiden, 1997, esp. pp. 68-69 for its date (882 at the latest) and pp. 136-138 for a discussion of it as a whole piece.

[4] A. EPSTEIN, *The Rebuilding and Redecoration of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople: A Reconsideration*, in *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*, 23 (1982), pp. 79-92.

[5] For a full account of the church see R. JANIN, *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'empire byzantin. Part 1: Le siège de Constantinople et le patriarcat œcuménique. Vol 3: Les églises et les monastères*, Paris, 2nd edition 1969, '᾽Απόστολοι (Ἅγιοι)', pp. 46-55.

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building.[6] Scholars are reliant on written accounts for both the history and appearance of the church. There are three major textual sources: Procopius of Caesarea's *Buildings*, which offers an account of Justinian's rebuilding of the church, but says nothing about its decoration; Constantine of Rhodes's tenth-century poem on Constantinople that dedicates 544 of its 981 surviving lines to an account of the building, architecture and decoration of the church; and Nikolaos Mesarites's twelfth-century prose description of the building, its decoration and its setting.[7] A handful of texts mention the church in passing, but add little to the details provided by Procopius, Constantine and Mesarites. The most significant of these are perhaps the ninth-century *Chronographia* of Theophanes the Confessor, which claimed that Justin II adorned both the Holy Apostles and Hagia Sophia, though it gave no details of the decoration, and the tenth-century *Life of Basil*, which asserted that Basil I strengthened the church and cleaned it up: 'Likewise the famous great church of the Holy Apostles, which had lost its former beauty and firmness, he [Basil] fortified by the addition of buttresses and the reconstruction of broken parts, and having scraped off the signs of old age and removed the wrinkles, he made it once more beautiful and new.'[8] The brief account in this homily is important therefore for what it adds to our knowledge of the church and, because of its date, plays a significant part in debates over the dating of the mosaic decoration of the church.

The *Homily* on Chrysostom's translation, whether its author was Leo or Niketas David, is close to Constantine of Rhodes's poem in date. Halkin also published a further homily, *BHG* 878m, on Chrysostom's translation, one found in an eleventh-century manuscript, *Mosquensis Bibliotheca Synodalis* 26, which shares many of the features of the first and which bears comparison with it. Halkin indeed suggested that it was a reworking of

[6] On which see most recently K. DARK and F. ÖZGÜMÜŞ, *New Evidence for the Byzantine Church of the Holy Apostles from Fatih Camii, Istanbul*, in *Oxford Journal of Archaeology*, 21 (2002), pp. 393-413, though see also the comments made by Cyril Mango in the 'Addenda Altera' to the third edition of his *Le développement urbain de Constantinople*, (*Travaux et mémoires du Centre de recherce d'histoire et de civilisation de Byzance. Monographies* 2) Paris, 2004, p. 76.

[7] PROCOPIUS, *Buildings*, I.iv.9-24, text and translation by H. B. DEWING (*The Loeb Classical Library*), London and Cambridge MA, 1940; CONSTANTINE OF RHODES, *On Constantinople and the Church of the Holy Apostles*. A new Greek edition by I. VASSIS; Edited by L. JAMES, Farnham, 2012, lines 437-981; NIKOLAOS MESARITES in G. DOWNEY, *Nikolaos Mesarites: Description of the Church of the Holy Apostles at Constantinople*, in *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, 47 (1957), pp. 859-918.

[8] THEOPHANES, *Chronographia*, ed. by C. DE BOOR, Leipzig, 1883-1885; tr. by C. MANGO and R. SCOTT, *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor: Byzantine and Near Eastern History AD 284–813*, Oxford, 1997, AM 6058 (565 AD). *Life of Basil* is Book 5 of *Theophanes Continuatus*, edited by I. BEKKER, Bonn, 1838, 5.80, lines 1-3, p. 323. The translation is from C. MANGO, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire 312–1453*, Toronto, reprinted 1986, p. 192.

BHG 877h.[9] Paschalides published the two texts side by side in order to facilitate a comparison of the language of both.[10] The accounts in *BHG* 877h and *BHG* 878m are very similar and explore the same themes but the texts differ slightly in some of their choices of technical terms and in some of the details about the church that they supply. Here, we deal primarily with the text in the *Sabaiticus* manuscript, which we will refer to throughout as *BHG* 877h. However, we have noted in the footnotes where *BHG* 878m offers some additional information about the church.

The section of the *Homily* that describes the church comes at the point where Leo describes Chrysostom's body being taken into the building. This prompts him to interrupt his narrative with a brief account of the place where Chrysostom was to rest.

TEXT AND TRANSLATION[11]

Ἀλλά μοι δότε μικρὸν τῷ ζωγράφῳ λόγῳ κατατρυφῆσαι καὶ τοῦ κάλλους τῶν ὁρωμένων· γένοιτο γὰρ ἂν ἡδονὴ καὶ χάρις φωτιστικὴ ταῖς ἀκοαῖς ἐπεισόδιος. Ἦ γὰρ οὐκ ἐναργῶς ὡς ἐν τύπῳ τὸν οὐρανὸν ὁ τοῦ νεὼ τεχνίτης σοφῶς ἐμιμήσατο; Ἴδε γὰρ οἷα τὰ ὁρώμενα.

Ἐκεῖ τοῦ ἐκ παρθένου μητρὸς θεανθρώπου σωτῆρος ἀνδρείκελος εἰκών, ἔργον ἀμίμητον, ἢ μᾶλλον εἰπεῖν, *γεγραμμένη δακτύλῳ θεοῦ*.[12] Τοῦτον οἷάπερ οὐρανὸς φέρει τὴν γῆν ἐπιβλέποντα ὁ τοῦ ναοῦ ὑπερορόφιος ὄροφος.

Ἐκεῖ λειτουργοὶ αἱ ἄνω τάξεις παρεστήκασι, λαμπρότητες δεύτεραι, τῷ τρισσῷ τῆς Τριάδος τρισσούμεναι καὶ τρισὶν ἁγιασμοῖς ἀκαταπαύστως ὑμνοῦσαι τὴν μίαν κυριότητα καὶ θεότητα.

Ἐκεῖ γεγραμμένα κύκλῳ μουσουργῷ κάλλει πάντα τὰ τῆς θείας τοῦ Λόγου οἰκονομίας σύμβολα καὶ μυστήρια.

Ἐκεῖ τὸ *Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον πυρίνων* εἴδει *γλωσσῶν* κατερχόμενον καὶ τῶν μαθητῶν *ἑκάστῳ μεριστῶς* ἐφεζόμενον.[13]

Ἐκεῖ παντὸς τοῦ κόσμου *πάντα τὰ ἔθνη* τοῖς ἀποστόλοις *μαθητευόμενα*[14] καὶ τῷ φωτὶ τῆς ὑπερφώτου Τριάδος σημειούμενά τε καὶ φωτιζόμενα.

[9] HALKIN, *Douze récits*, no. 12; the relevant piece of text is HALKIN's section 11, pp. 533-534.

[10] PASCHALIDES, Νικήτας Δαβίδ.

[11] We have used ANTONOPOULOU's text and line numbers, *Leonis VI*, Homily 41, pp. 573-585; this section is pp. 583-584. The translation is our own.

[12] EXODUS 31, 18; DEUTERONOMY 9, 10.

[13] ACTS 2, 3-4.

[14] ACTS 2, 5-11.

Ὁ ναὸς ὅλος, τοῦ σταυροῦ τῷ τύπῳ ἀπείρῳ κάλλει καὶ μεγέθει τῷ τεχνίτῃ δημιουργούμενος καὶ τὰ πέρατα οἰκειούμενος· ὁ αὐτὸς ὕλης διαυγοῦς τε καὶ λαμπροτάτης μαρμαρυγῆς ἐλλαμπόμενος, μαρμάρῳ καὶ χρυσῷ καὶ πλαξὶ καὶ ζώναις κοσμούμενός τε καὶ συνδεσμούμενος· ὁ αὐτὸς τετραπόλοις ἁψῖσι φέρων ἐφύπερθεν ἡδρασμένα πέντε σταυροφανῶς ἡμισφαίρια.

Ἐκεῖ φώτων ἀνταύγεια τὸν πολὺν ἀέρα περιλαμβάνουσά τε καὶ καταυγάζουσα, ἔργον ἂν εἴη χρόνου καὶ πόνου τοσούτου λόγῳ βραχεῖ παραστῆσαι, φιλοτεχνήματα.

Ἐκεῖ πλήθει κιόνων καὶ στοῶν καὶ κυλίνδρων καὶ περιβόλων καὶ πυλῶν καὶ εἰσόδων πάντας δεξιουμένων ὁ ναὸς ἅπας ἐστηριγμένος, ὧν ἁπάντων ἐν μέσῳ τὸ τῶν ἁγίων ἅγιον ἄδυτον, ὁμοίῳ κάλλει παράδεισος ἄλλος ἢ οὐράνιος θάλαμος, τοῖς ἐκεῖ σοφοῖς ἀποστόλοις καὶ τὸν ἡμέτερον συνθαλαμεύει Χρυσόστομον· ἔπρεπε γὰρ καὶ τὸν οὗ *εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν ἐξῆλθεν ὁ φθόγγος, καὶ εἰς τὰ πέρατα τῆς οἰκουμένης τῶν ῥημάτων*[15] ἡ δύναμις, συμπαρεῖναι τοῖς ἀποστόλοις μέχρι τῆς τελευταίας καὶ κοινῆς ἀναστάσεως.

262-266: But grant me for a moment also the delight of describing the beauty of what is being seen, for pleasure and illuminating grace might heighten hearing. Indeed, is not it clear that the craftsman of the church wisely imitated heaven in form? For look, these are the sort of things that are seen!

267-270: There is the man-formed[16] image of the Saviour, God and Man, from a Virgin Mother, an inimitable work, or rather say 'drawn by the finger of God'[17]. The highest ceiling[18] of the church bears Him like heaven overlooking earth.

271-274: There, second in splendour, stand the heavenly officiating Hosts, thrice the number of the triune Trinity, singing incessantly triple praises to the One Lord and God.

[15] Psalm 19, 4; Romans 10, 18.

[16] The term ἀνδρείκελος can mean 'man-formed' and 'man-size'. The same word is used in *BHG* 878m. It also appears in Photios' *Homily* X, 6, on the Nea Ekklesia, ed. by B. Laourdas, *Φωτίου Ὁμιλίαι*, Thessaloniki, 1959, p. 162, and is translated by C. Mango, *The Homilies of Photius Patriarch of Constantinople* (*DOS*, 3), Washington, DC, 1958, p. 187, as 'man-like'.

[17] The phrase is used of God's writing of the Ten Commandments onto tablets of stone: Exodus 31, 18; Deuteronomy 9, 10. *BGH* 878m also used the motif of the divine hand: Εἴποις ἂν αὐτὴν ἰδὼν οὐκ ἀνθρωπίνης ἀλλὰ θείας ἔργον χειρός·, 'looking at it you might say that is not the work of human but of a divine hand'.

[18] The phrase ὑπερορόφιος ὄροφος is literally 'the ceiling beyond ceiling'. The text of *BHG* 878m reads ἐν τῇ σφαιροειδεῖ ἄνωθεν ἁψῖδι, 'the spherical vault above'.

275- 276: There inscribed in a circle in beautiful mosaic is represented all the symbols and mysteries of the Word's divine dispensation.

277-278: There, the Holy Spirit descends in tongues of fire and rests individually on each of the disciples.

279-281: There all the people of the entire world are being taught by the apostles and are marked out and enlightened there by the light of the Trinity, itself beyond light.

282-287: The whole church is made by the craftsman[19] in the form of a cross with infinite beauty and magnitude, encompassing the limits [of creation].[20] The same church shines with radiant materials and the brightest splendour,[21] adorned and bound together with marble and gold and slabs and cornices.[22] The same [church] bears five domes[23] stretching out above on four vaults[24] in the form of the cross.

288-290: There reflections of light embrace the abundant air and shine brightly; it would be a task of such great time and effort to describe in few words the masterpieces!

291-299: There the entire church is set with numerous columns and colonnades[25] and cylinders[26] and courtyards and gates and entrances receiving

[19] Τεχνίτης, *craftsman*, is a general term, contrasted with μηχανικός by N. Schibille, *The Profession of the Architect in Late Antique Byzantium*, in *Byz*, 79 (2009), pp. 360-379. It is used by Leo in his homily on the Kauleas Church, Antonopoulou, *Leonis VI*, Homily 31, p. 425 and by Constantine of Rhodes of the architects and artists of the Holy Apostles, for example, *Church of the Holy Apostles*, line 557.

[20] Τὰ πέρατα, the limits, with the sense of the four corners of the earth.

[21] On μαρμάρυγμα as 'gleam' or 'glitter', see B. Pentcheva, *Hagia Sophia and Multisensory Aesthetics*, in *Gesta*, 50 (2011), pp. 93-111.

[22] Ζώνη means 'belt' or 'girdle'; it might be taken here as referring to cornices or string courses. BHG 878m uses περίζωμα, a 'girdle worn round the loins'. S. Kalopissi-Verti and M. Panayotidi-Kesisoglou, eds., *Multilingual illustrated Dictionary of Byzantine Architecture and Sculpture Terminology*, Herakleion, 2010, p. 312, suggest 'frieze' or 'band'. Photios uses διὰ χρυσοῦ περιζώματα in *Homily* X, 5, translated by Mango, *Homilies of Photius*, p. 186, as 'golden cornices'; Constantine of Rhodes, *Church of the Holy Apostles*, line 677, describes 'double girdles'.

[23] For issues around the meaning of ἡμισφαίριον, see G. Downey, *On some Post-Classical Greek Architectural Terms*, in *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*, 77 (1946), pp. 22-26: the term is used of 'dome', 'semi-dome' and hemisphere'.

[24] For ἁψίς as vault, see G. Downey, *On some Post-Classical Greek Architectural Terms*, pp. 28-29, which shows that ἁψίς can mean either 'vault' or 'arch', with emphasis lying on the curving nature of the structure.

[25] For στοά as *colonnades*, see G. Downey, *The Architectural Significance of the use of the Words Stoa and Basilike in Classical Literature*, in *American Journal of Archaeology*, 41 (1937), pp. 194-211 and Downey, *Post-Classical Greek Architectural Terms*, pp. 27-28, making the point that 'stoa' could refer to any colonnaded building. It can mean either an aisled basilica or a colonnaded structure with rows of columns.

[26] *Cylinder*, κύλινδρος, underlines the rolling effect of these features and perhaps implies some form of barrel vaulting.

everyone. The shrine, the holy of holies is in the middle of them all, another paradise or a heavenly bridal chamber[27] of similar beauty, which, together with the wise Apostles there, admits[28] our Chrysostom. Because it is proper [for him], whose words 'went out into all the earth and the power of his words to the ends of the universe,'[29] to be together with the Apostles until the last, common resurrection.

Comments

Interestingly, the *Homily* inverts the expected form of description. Many other homilies that include an account of a building – Photios on the Nea Ekklesia, Leo on the Monastery of Kauleas or the church founded by Stylianos Zaoutzes, for example – start with the outside, or at least with the architecture and move to the inner wonders of the church and then its images. *BHG* 877h plunges straight in with an account of an image of Christ, then the angels, then the images of the 'Word's divine dispensation', which we might interpret as scenes from the life of Christ, Pentecost and what sounds like the Mission of the Apostles. The text then describes the glories of the inside of the church, its external setting, the shrine and finally the resting place of Chrysostom.

If we follow this order in our discussion, then it becomes clear how *BHG* 877h supplements our knowledge of the images in the church. It tells us that the ἀνδρείκελος, 'man-formed', image of Christ was located on the 'highest ceiling', ὑπερορόφιος ὄροφος, of the church (lines 269-270). This almost certainly refers to the central dome which, according to Procopius, Constantine and Mesarites, was the highest of the five and which, according to Constantine and Mesarites, was decorated with an image of Christ, identified as 'like the sun' by Constantine (line 736) but as Pantokrator by Mesarites (chap. XIV).

However, Leo then adds to our information: 'There, second in splendour, stand the heavenly officiating Hosts, thrice the number of the triune Trinity, singing incessantly triple praises to the One Lord and God' (lines 271-274). This implies the existence of images of nine angels in total, and suggests that they were divided into the three ranks of the celestial hierarchy identified by Pseudo-Dionysios, and that they were shown singing the

[27] Θάλαμος can mean 'inner room' or 'bridal chamber'.

[28] Συνθαλαμεύω: 'enter the bridal chamber'. The image of the church as bridal chamber is one also used by Constantine of Rhodes, *Church of the Holy Apostles*, at lines 645 and 703.

[29] Psalm 19, 4; Romans 10, 18.

Trisagion.[30] Where precisely these angels were located is unclear: 'there' may, but need not automatically, indicate a place below the image of Christ in the dome. Leo uses terms like 'there'(ἐκεῖ) and 'see' (ἴδε) here and in other homilies as a way of making his description more immediate, and the use of such language was a standard trope in Byzantine writing, implying the actual presence of the author and his audience in the location and suggesting that the homilist pointed to specific places and sights whilst talking.[31] Although it is not known where the homily was delivered, it is plausible that it was actually given in the Holy Apostles.[32]

Neither Constantine of Rhodes nor Nikolaos Mesarites mention depictions of angels within the Holy Apostles. Constantine, after his account of the image of Christ, moved on immediately to describe images of the Virgin and Apostles (lines 740-741), without locating them definitively within the church. Mesarites described a Communion of the Apostles on the eastern arch (chap. XV); this may have included angels, but he does not tell us so. Anthropomorphic angels were represented in art from at least the third century but the earliest mosaic depiction of hieratically-arranged angels associated with the Trisagion are those from the bema in front of the apse of the Church of the Dormition in Nicaea. Here, four angels, labelled as Ἀρχε, Δύναμις, Κυριότιτε and Ἐξουσίε (Principalities, Hosts, Dominions, Powers), representatives of all three of Pseudo-Dionysios's parts of the heavenly hierarchy) are shown holding standards bearing the Trisagion in the form of the letters *ΑΓ ΑΓ ΑΓ*, 'Holy, Holy, Holy'. It is widely accepted that these images are post-Iconoclastic but it is also possible that they echo pre-Iconoclastic images.[33] Their presence here in the Holy

[30] Pseudo-Dionysios, *De Caelesti Hierarchia* VI.2, PG 3, 200D-201; the most recent edition is G. Heil and A.M. Ritter, *Corpus Dionysiacum. 2, De coelesti hierarchia; De ecclesiastica hierarchia; De mystica theologia; Epistulae* (*Patristiche Texte und Studien*, 36), Berlin, 1991. The celestial hierarchy consists of nine orders of angels divided in three hierarchies: seraphim, cherubim and thrones; dominions, virtues and powers; principalities, archangels and angels. Only the seraphim chant 'Holy, Holy, Holy': Isaiah 6, 3.

[31] R. Webb, *The Aesthetics of Sacred Space: Narrative, Metaphor and Motion in Ekphraseis of Church Buildings*, in *DOP*, 53 (1999), pp. 59-74.

[32] As both Devos, *La translation*, p. 10 and Antonopoulou, *Homilies of Leo*, p. 37 suggest.

[33] O. Wulff, *Die Koimesiskirche in Nicäa und ihre Mosaiken nebst den verwandten kirchlichen Baudenkmälern: eine Untersuchung zur Geschichte der byzantinischen Kunst im I. Jahrtausend*, (*Zur Kunstgeschichte des Auslandes*, Heft 13), Strassburg, 1903; T. Schmitt, *Die Koimesiskirche von Nikaea*, Berlin, 1927; P.A. Underwood, *The evidence of restoration in the sanctuary mosaics of the church of the Dormition at Nicaea*, in *DOP*, 13 (1959), pp. 235-243. Leo VI describes angels in the church of Stylianos Zaoutzes, built after 886 and before c895: Antonopoulou, *Leonis VI*, Homily 37, p. 473; also see A. Frolow, *Deux églises byzantines d'après des sermons peu connus de Léon le Sage*, in *Études byzantines*, 3 (1945), p. 69. It is just conceivable that the Holy Apostles image might represent a depiction

Apostles is another piece to be fitted into the jigsaw of the dating of that church's mosaic programme, a question to which we shall return.

The presence in the church of 'all the symbols and mysteries of the Word's divine dispensation' (lines 275-276) suggests a Christological cycle of images, and such a programme is described by both Constantine and Mesarites. However, Leo then refers to scenes showing the descent of the Holy Spirit (lines 277-278), and the Mission of the Apostles (lines 279-281). Constantine of Rhodes does not mention either of these scenes; Nikolaos Mesarites describes both (chap. XVIII for Pentecost and then chap. XIX-XXI for several separate apostolic missions). As a result, the presence of these scenes in the *Homily* is significant because of the considerable scholarly debates about the dating of the mosaics of the Holy Apostles and the relationship between the church described by Constantine and that described by Mesarites. These disputes over dates fall into two inter-related parts. The first is the question of how much of the decoration detailed by Constantine and Mesarites belongs to the Justinianic building; the corollary is how much might belong to Justin II's or Basil I's renewals (whatever they were) and, because of the discrepancies between Constantine and Mesarites, whether both described the same set of mosaics or if the differences in Mesarites's account indicated a later campaign of mosaic decoration within the church.[34]

August Heisenberg, for example, believed that all the mosaics were sixth-century and that Mesarites's account was of these Justinianic mosaics; Salač and Bees both saw a period of restoration between Constantine's account and Mesarites's; Malickij too believed in a twelfth-century mosaic campaign.[35] Richard Krautheimer also argued for a rebuilding of the church

of the Celestial Liturgy, though the earliest known pictorial examples of this comes from the eleventh century: A. GRABAR, *Un rouleau liturgique constantinopolitain et ses peintures*, in *DOP*, 8 (1954), p. 174 and pl. 10.

[34] The differences are that Constantine described eleven narrative scenes and Mesarites nineteen, but that they only have seven scenes in common (the Annunciation, Nativity, Baptism, Transfiguration, the Raising of Lazarus, the Betrayal, and the Crucifixion) and the details of these differ. Constantine describes four scenes that Mesarites does not (the Coming of the Magi, the Presentation in the Temple, the Raising of the Widow's Son, the Entry into Jerusalem) and Mesarites ten that Constantine does not (in the order in which Mesarites presents them, the Communion of Apostles, Christ Walking on Water, the Women at Tomb, Christ appearing to the Women, the Priests with Pilate and the soldiers, the Disciples going to Galilee, Thomas and the Apostles, Doubting Thomas, the Sea of Tiberias, the Draught of Fishes).

[35] A. HEISENBERG, *Grabeskirche und Apostelkirche. Zwei Basiliken Konstantins. Untersuchungen zur Kunst und Literatur des ausgehenden Altertums, Zweiter Teil. Die Apostelkirche in Konstantinopel*, Leipzig, 1908, vol. 2; A. SALAČ, *Quelques epigrammes de l'Anthologie Palatine et l'iconographie byzantine*, in *Bsl*, 12 (1951), pp. 1-28; N. A. BEES, *Kunstgeschichtliche Untersuchungen über die Eulalios-Frage und den Mosaikschmuck der Apostelkirche zu*

in the tenth century, based in part upon what Constantine and Mesarites did and did not say.[36] Using Krautheimer's arguments, both Ernst Kitzinger and John Beckwith proposed an otherwise unattested redecoration inside the building after the tenth century in which the scenes described by Mesarites but not by Constantine were added.[37] Kitzinger went so far as to claim that Mesarites described a 'vastly richer' cycle of Christological scenes than Constantine, and saw this as indicating a period of redecoration, one that he claimed fitted with an increase in narrative scenes apparent in later Byzantine churches such as Monreale (c1180-1190). The increased detail of Mesarites's mosaic cycle indicated that there had been both a restoration and a development of the mosaics of the church. As a result, Kitzinger, followed by Beckwith, posited a development in Byzantine mosaic decoration, with an increased narrative element, between the tenth and twelfth centuries, spearheaded by the Holy Apostles and this idea of a Constantinopolitan development of narrative (mosaic) art became a standard trope in many art-historical narratives.

However, the description of a scene not present in Constantine's account but found in Mesarites's, in a homily that very probably predates Constantine's poem, undermines a critical element of this debate. The *Homily* establishes that Constantine's account (as it survives to us, and it needs to be noted that the poem as it survives is incomplete and stops abruptly at the Crucifixion) is not a 'complete' account of the mosaics in the church and that, as Ann Epstein argued, differences between Constantine and Mesarites cannot be assumed to indicate a different or additional programme of mosaic-making.[38] Other evidence may well suggest that there were such programmes, but matters are not as straightforward as has been assumed. The differences between Constantine and Mesarites cannot be used as a basis for arguments about the development of narrative programmes in Byzantine art.

The *Homily's* account of the architecture of the church is more straightforward. It reinforces details about the building found in Procopius,

Konstantinopel, in *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft* 39 and 40 (Berlin, 1917), pp. 1-62, esp. pp. 23-26; N. MALICKIJ, *Remarques sur la date des mosaïques de l'église des Saints-Apôtres à Constantinople décrites par Mesaritès*, in *Byz*, 3 (1926), pp. 125-151. See also the discussion in ed. JAMES, *Constantine of Rhodes*, pp. 205-206.

[36] R. KRAUTHEIMER, *A Note on Justinian's Church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople*, originally published in German in 1964, English translation in *Studies in Early Christian, Medieval and Renaissance Art*, London and New York, 1969, pp. 97-201. For a detailed critique of this argument see EPSTEIN, *Rebuilding and redecoration*.

[37] E. KITZINGER, *Byzantine and Medieval Mosaics after Justinian*, in *Encyclopaedia of World Art* 10, London and New York, 1965, p. 344, and J. BECKWITH, *Early Christian and Byzantine Art* (*The Pelican History of Art*), Harmondsworth, 1970, revised editions still in print, p. 222.

[38] EPSTEIN, *Rebuilding and redecoration*.

Constantine of Rhodes and Nikolaos Mesarites. All described it as a building in the form of a cross with five domes surmounting it; this is echoed here (lines 282-287). The *Homily* indicates that there was a shrine or inner sanctuary within the church, placed at the junction of the straight lines of the cross ('in the middle', lines 293-94). Such an inner sanctuary was noted by Procopius (*Buildings*, I.iv.12-13) and by Mesarites (chap. XXXVIII) though not by Constantine of Rhodes. Leo describes the church as beautiful and as containing many splendid materials, including mosaic and slabs of marble, as do both Constantine and Mesarites.[39] He also mentions a variety of architectural features: cornices; columns; colonnades; vaults; gates and entrances, all of which match both with elements found in at least one of the three authors. *BHG* 878m provides a few more specific details about the materials adorning the church. It notes specific materials: gold, silver, and the tesserae (ψῆφος) from which the image of Christ is made. It also employs the trope of the visual appearance of the church rendering the beholder immobile.[40] As Theodora Antonopoulou noted, the way in which *BHG* 877h (and indeed *BHG* 878m) describes the church is close to that of accounts of churches in other ninth- and tenth-century homilies by Leo: there are, for example, clear structural parallels with the description of the church of Stylianos Zaoutzes.[41] Leo's use of descriptions of buildings also owes something to those of his former tutor, the Patriarch Photios, notably on Basil's church of the Nea.[42]

Thus far, the account of the Holy Apostles in the homily has been used as a quarry for information about the appearance of the church. However, describing the building for the benefit of posterity was not Leo's purpose. In the context of the homily, his concern was surely with the role of vivid description, *ekphrasis*, as a device to make spiritual truths clear to the audience.[43] Consequently the church appears in the homily as the appropriate

[39] See, for example, CONSTANTINE OF RHODES, *Church of the Holy Apostles*, lines 650-674 on the marbles; MESARITES, *Description*, chap. XIII, 1, the church is 'κάλλει κάλλιστος', 'in its beauty the most beautiful'.

[40] *BHG* 878m describes the church as ὁ ναὸς ἅπας σταυροειδῶν τῷ τεχνίτῃ διεσκευασμένος καὶ χρυσῷ καὶ ἀργύρῳ καὶ τοῖς διαχρύσοις περιζώμασιν, ἔτι μὴν μαρμάρων διαλεύκων πλαξὶ λαμπρόν τι καὶ χάριεν ἀποστιλβούσαις καλλυνόμενος: HALKIN, *Douze Récits*, section 11, p. 534. The immobility of the beholder is found, for example, in PHOTIOS, *Homily* X, 4.

[41] ANTONOPOULOU, *Leonis VI*, p. ccxv. Also noted by A. FROLOW, *Deux églises byzantines*, pp. 58-63.

[42] ANTONOPOULOU, *Leonis VI*, pp. 272-274. On Photios's relationship with Leo, also see S. F. TOUGHER, *The reign of Leo VI* (*The Medieval Mediterranean*, 15), Leiden, 1997, pp. 68-88, esp. pp. 70-72.

[43] L. JAMES and R. WEBB, *"To Understand Ultimate Things and Enter Secret Places": Ekphrasis and Art in Byzantium*, in *Art History*, 14 (1991), pp. 1-17; WEBB, *Aesthetics of Sacred Space*, and more generally on ekphrasis, R. WEBB, *Ekphrasis, Imagination and Persuasion in Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Practice*, Farnham, 2009.

glorious resting place of Chrysostom, a worthy repository for his body, as the homily goes on to make clear. Even Leo's ordering of the ekphrasis contributes to his message, finishing as it does with Chrysostom's tomb in the central shrine. This is even more conspicuous in *BHG* 878m, which states that Chrysostom's relics enrich the church with the 'stone which is more precious than the costly gold.' The reference to the scenes of Pentecost and the Mission of the Apostles is unlikely to have been random but may perhaps appropriately reflect Chrysostom as a preacher and teacher inspired himself by the Holy Spirit, points about the saint made earlier in the homily. Leo's choosing to pause and describe the church at this point may also have been a delicate tribute to his father, Basil's renovations of the building – whatever they may have been.

Leo's account of the images in the Holy Apostles also touches on a couple of conceptual themes that appear in similar contexts in other homilies of the ninth and tenth centuries.

His use of the word ἀνδρείκελος of the image of Christ, with the implications that that term carries of 'like a man', 'man-formed' and 'man-size', suggests one of the key theological debates from the period of Iconoclasm: the question of whether the divine could be depicted or circumscribed by humanity and through human materials.[44] A key part of the Iconophile justification of divine images was centred on the Incarnation of Christ: through his Incarnation, Christ became visible and so could be shown in pictures. The homily's characterisation of Christ's image as an image of the Saviour, God and Man, born from a Virgin Mother and 'drawn by the finger of God', underlines this further. That phrase, 'drawn by the finger of God', can also be seen to make reference to disputes about the role of the artist in the creation of religious images and the Iconophile belief that God was the ultimate artist.[45] This theme of the Incarnate Christ as Saviour made apparent through art is one used by Photios, for example in his homily at the inauguration of the mosaic of the Virgin in Hagia Sophia.[46] Leo in his later

[44] See, for example, K. PARRY, *Depicting the Word. Byzantine Iconophile Thought of the Eighth and Ninth Centuries*, Leiden, 1996, pp. 70-80.

[45] See the discussion in R. CORMACK, *Painting the Soul*, London, 1998, pp. 29-31 and L. JAMES, *...and the Word was with God...What makes Art Orthodox?*, in A. LOUTH and A. CASIDAY (eds.), *Byzantine Orthodoxies* (*Society for the Promotion of Byzantine Studies*, 12), Aldershot, 2006, pp. 103-110. On Christ Pantokrator in Leo's sermons, also see FROLOW, *Deux églises byzantines*, who argues that Leo VI's homilies reinforce the view that the image of Christ Pantokrator is an expression of the dogma of consubstantiality.

[46] PHOTIOS, *Homily* XVII, 2; Laourdas, *Φωτίου Ὁμιλίαι*, pp. 166-167; MANGO, *Homilies of Photius*, p. 290.

homilies on the Kauleas church and the church built by Stylianos Zaoutzes describes works of art such a way as to make this point.[47] The relationship between images of Christ and his life and proof of the Incarnation is also a central idea in Constantine of Rhodes's account of the Holy Apostles.[48] Another key theme apparent in here and in others of Leo's homilies, and again in Photios's writings, is the emphasis laid on God as the ultimate overseer of earth.[49]

In his homily, Leo added, however unintentionally, another piece to our understanding of the Church of the Holy Apostles and of the use of pictorial images in homiletic literature.

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SUMMARY

This article provides a translation and discussion of a short section from a homily by the future Emperor Leo VI describing the Church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople. The account supplements our knowledge of the church and makes it clear that the differences in the accounts of the church given by Constantine of Rhodes and Nikolaos Mesarites do not necessarily indicate an alteration in the mosaic programme of the building between the tenth and twelfth centuries. Leo's description also appears to treat the images from an overtly Iconophile perspective.

[47] For example, LEO, *Homily* 37 (Zaoutzes), ANTONOPOULOU, *Leonis VI*, p. 472 where the image of Christ shows that 'his incarnation on earth did not detract from his sublimity', tr. MANGO, *Art of the Byzantine Empire*, p. 203.

[48] See the discussion in ed. JAMES, *Constantine of Rhodes*, pp. 211-216.

[49] PHOTIOS, *Homily* X, 6; LEO, *Homily* 31 (Kauleas), ANTONOPOULOU, *Leonis VI*, p. 425: the image of Christ appearing as 'Overseer of the universe himself who appeared in human form'; tr. by MANGO, *Art of the Byzantine Empire*, p. 202.

PATRONS AND PAINTINGS ON THE ISLAND OF KYTHERA IN THE EARLY PALAEOLOGAN PERIOD*

MEDIEVAL CERIGO

In 1238, Nikolaos Eudaimonoiannis, a native of Monemvasia and *padrone* of Kythera, medieval Cerigo, gives his daughter in marriage to a certain Bartolomeo Venier, a Venetian landowner on Crete. According to the sixteenth-century Venetian document which records this event, the island, situated just off the coast of southern Peloponnese, formed part of her dowry.[1] From this moment, Cerigo becomes subject to the conflicting interests of a Monemvasiot merchant family, an influential Venetian nobleman and, a few decades later, the first Palaeologan emperor, Michael VIII. The written documents concerning this period are anything but conclusive and often contradictory. It is, however, striking to observe that precisely the decades following the appearance of the Venier on the island had seen an activity in church building and decoration that is unparalleled in the medieval history of Kythera. The painted programs in Cerigotan chapels may indeed provide further evidence regarding the island's condition during the early Palaeologan era.

In general, prevailing features on Cerigo are the conservatism and the undisturbed continuity displayed by the numerous chapels.[2] The island preserves

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[1] '... messer Nicolò Eudemonoiani. Il quale ritrovandosi padrone di quest'isola et di altre cavalerie su l'isola di Candia, et nelli suoi anni essendossi ritrovato havere una figliola quale come legitima herede havendola dottata di questi suoi beni, la dette in moglie a messer Bortholamio Veniero gentilhuomo, et habitatore dell'isola di Candia, sopra ciò potendossi havere qualche bella chiarezza per lettere Ducali registrate nelli Annali della Canea fino nel 1238 all'hora di molto felice memoria di Venetia Principe Serenissimo misser Giacomo Tiepolo.' *L'Antique memorie dell'isola di Cerigo* (MS Marc. Cod. ital. Classe VII, no. 1808), ed. C. N. SATHAS, *Documents inédits à l'histoire de la Grèce au moyen âge*, VI, Paris, 1884, repr. Athens, 1972, pp. 299-311, esp. 302.

[2] A. XYNGOPOULOS, *Fresques du style monastique en Grèce*, in *Atti del IX congresso internazionale di studi bizantini, Thessaloniki 1953*, Athens, 1955, pp. 510-516; P. L. VOCOTOPOULOS, *Fresques du XIe siècle à Corfou*, in *CA*, 21 (1971), pp. 151-180; IDEM, *Byzantine Art on Kythera*, in M. KOUMANOUDI, CH. MALTEZOU (eds.), *Venezia e Cerigo. Atti del simposio internazionale, Venezia 6-7 dicembre 2002*, Venice, 2003, pp. 49-56; IDEM, *Before Venice: Monumental Art in Corfu in the Eleventh and Twelfth Century*, in Ch. MALTEZOU, G. H. ORTALLI

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an abundance of Byzantine remains, from the sixth century through the late Byzantine period, and beyond. In shaping and, eventually, preserving this development, a key role can be assigned to the domination of the island by Venice which was to last for almost six hundred years. But – unlike Venetian Corfu – Cerigo had never been economically prosperous or politically influential. Its existence as a strategically highly important, but otherwise rather insignificant outpost of the Republic may account for the particular slowness in which changes appear to have evolved on Cerigo.[3]

Among the many wall-paintings datable to the early Palaeologan period, some are of an astonishing artistic quality, others reproduce decidedly metropolitan subjects and iconographies hardly found elsewhere in the Byzantine periphery.[4] As the identity of the workshops is in most cases unknown and the common view of historic reality on Cerigo fails to account for the phenomena not encountered in other 'backward' areas, new ways of explanation are needed. The medieval fate of Cerigo may in fact turn out to have been much more varied and complex than hitherto assumed.

My point of departure will be the image of Christos Antiphonetes, an icon reportedly once kept in the Church of the Virgin in the Chalkoprateia at Constantinople – and surprisingly, frequently encountered within monumental painting on Cerigo. The rarity of this decidedly metropolitan epithet was pointed out long ago by Cyril Mango, who listed only two examples then known: a destroyed eleventh-century mosaic in the Church of the Dormition at Nicaea (fig. 1), and a much later wall-painting at Agios Demetrios,

(eds.), *Venezia e le Isole Ionie*, Venice, 2005, pp. 3-19; M. CHATZIDAKIS, I. BITHA, *Corpus of the Byzantine Wall-paintings of Greece. The Island of Kythera*, Athens, 2003, p. 41. See also K. M. SKAWRAN, *Stylistic Cross-Currents in Twelfth-Century Painting in Greece*, in *Actes du XVe congrès international d'études byzantines, Athènes 1976*, Athens, 1981, pp. 697-715; A. WHARTON EPSTEIN, *Art of Empire. Painting and Architecture of the Byzantine Periphery*, University Park and London, 1988.

[3] J. HERRIN, *Byzantine Kythera*, in J. N. COLDSTREAM, G. L. HUXLEY (eds.), *Kythera. Excavations and Studies conducted by the University of Pennsylvania Museum and the British School at Athens*, London, 1972, p. 52; C. BROODBANK, *Kythera Survey. Preliminary Report on the 1998 Season*, in *Annual of the British School at Athens*, 94 (1999), pp. 191-214; T. GREGORY, *Australian Paliochora Kythera Archaeological Survey. Field Season 2000*, in *Australian Archaeological Institute at Athens Newsletter*, 14 (2000), p. 11; IDEM, *Survey Field Season 2001*, in *Australian Archaeological Institute at Athens Newsletter*, 15 (2001), pp. 10-11; TH. KOUKOULIS, *A Late Byzantine Windmill at Kythera*, in J. M. SANDERS (ed.), Φιλολακων. *Lakonian Studies in Honour of Hector Catling*, London, 1992, pp. 155-163; R. WEIL, *Kythera*, *Athenische Mitteilungen*, 5 (1880), pp. 222-244.

[4] Also, architectural features emerge during this period which seem to be confined to the island. See CHATZIDAKIS, BITHA, *Corpus*, pp. 24-26; E. GHINI-TSOFOPOULOU, in Ἀρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον, Χρονικά, 38-46 (1983-91); P. LAZARIDES, in Ἀρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον, 20 (1965), BI, pp. 18-99; 21 (1966), BI, pp. 22-25; 22 (1967), BI, pp. 17f., 204f.; G. SOTIRIOU, Μεσαιωνικά Μνημεῖα Κυθήρων, Κυθηραϊκή Ἐπιθεώρησις, 1 (1923), pp. 313-336.

Fig. 1. Church of the Koimesis, Nicaea: Christos Antiphonetes, mosaic (destroyed). Photo after Schmit, *Die Koimesis-Kirche*, pl. 27.

Thessalonike.[5] Since then, the late twelfth-century paintings at the Panaghia tou Arakos at Lagoudhera on Cyprus and at Episkopi, near Stavri (Mani) could be added to the list, as well as the later fresco at the monastery of Timios Prodromos at Serres (Eastern Macedonia), and a steatite icon reportedly from southern Peloponnese.[6]

It seems certain that the Antiphonetes icon was by the tenth century kept in the Chalkoprateia, though it might have been located before in some unidentified domed structure called the 'Tetrastylon'.[7] The anonymous English pilgrim of c. 1190 saw the icon in a chapel of Christ at the Chalkoprateia which is otherwise unaccounted for.[8]

The legend of the Antiphonetes relates the story of the shipwrecked merchant Theodore who – after being denied a loan by his Christian friends – borrows fifty pounds in gold from the Jewish moneylender Abraham. This transaction takes place in front of the icon of Christ Antiphonetes, meaning the 'guarantor'.[9] The icon is accepted as the surety by Abraham. But Theodore suffers a second shipwreckage during his journey to Syria and subsequently receives a second loan by Abraham, again in front of the icon. Eventually, the merchant succeeds in turning his load into money on a third journey to an island in the Atlantic ocean. The fifty pounds are miraculously returned to the moneylender in a box which Theodore had cast into the sea, and which Abraham, warned in advance by a dream, collects on the shores of the Golden Horn. The merchant's load of tin and lead is discovered, on his arrival back in Constantinople, to have all turned into silver. Subsequently, Abraham converts to Christianity and builds a chapel at the Tetrastylon. He himself is ordained presbyter and his two sons deacons. The story is set at the time of the emperor Heraclius.[10]

[5] C. MANGO, *The Brazen House. A Study of the Vestibule of the Imperial Palace of Constantinople*, Copenhagen, 1959, pp. 142-148; IDEM, *The Date of the Narthex Mosaics of the Church of the Dormition at Nicaea*, in *DOP*, 13 (1959), p. 252.

[6] For two other Cypriote examples, see Z. RASOLKOSKA-NIKOLOVSKA, *Le Christ Antiphonitis d'après les monuments de Chypre*, in Πρακτικὰ του Δευτέρου Διεθνοῦς Κυπρολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου, II, Nicosia, 1986, pp. 523-527.

[7] See P. MAGDALINO, *Constantinopolitana*, in I. ŠEVČENKO, I. HUTTER (eds.), *Aetos. Studies in honour of Cyril Mango*, Stuttgart and Leipzig, 1998, pp. 224-225; MANGO, *Brazen House*, 146.

[8] S. G. MERCATI, *Santuari e reliquie costantinopolitane secondo il codice ottoboniano latino 169 prima della conquista Latina (1204)*, in *Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia di Archeologia*, 12 (1936), pp. 133-156, esp. 139, 145-150.

[9] B. N. NELSON, J. STARR, *The Legend of the Divine Surety and the Jewish Moneylender*, in *Annuaire de l'Institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales et slaves*, 7 (1939-44), pp. 289-338; T. RAFF, *Das 'heilige Keramion' und 'Christus der Antiphonetes'*, in H. GERNDT, K. ROTH, G. SCHROUBEK (eds.), *Dona ethnologica Monacensia. Leopold Kretzenbacher zum 70. Geburtstag (Münchener Beiträge zur Volkskunde)*, Munich, 1983, pp. 149-161; MANGO, *Brazen House*, p. 146.

[10] JOHANNES MONACHUS, *Liber de miraculis*, ed. M. HOFERER, Würzburg, 1884, pp. 5-29. Magdalino assumes that the homily was written not earlier than after the second Iconoclasm;

The Greek text of this popular legend exists in numerous versions and was at the latest from the eleventh century onwards occasionally read in church on the Feast of Orthodoxy (the first Sunday during Lent before Easter, celebrating the 7th council at Nicaea in 787, where iconoclasm was refuted). Notably, continued interest in the Antiphonetes legend much later – in the early Palaeologan period – is suggested by Constantine Acropolites' 'Narratio seu oratio de Antiphonete'.[11] Already by the eleventh century, a Latin version existed.[12] A second wave of popularity of the icon was prompted by empress Zoë's (d. 1050) particular attachment to the image. She possessed an icon of the Antiphonetes, evidently already a replica of the image at the Chalkoprateia, which would warn her of the future by changes of colour: when the Lord's face appeared pale it meant disaster, when it looked rosy it was a good omen. This story is related in detail by Psellus.[13] Zoë erected (or embellished) a church of the Antiphonetes in which she was buried.[14]

MAGDALINO, *Constantinopolitana*, p. 222. The Chalkoprateia icon was, as Mango points out, not part of the original Abraham legend; the association appears to have been made only in the titles of various manuscripts relating the legend; MANGO, *Narthex Mosaics*, p. 252.

[11] *BHG* III, Appendix II, nos. 8d-f, ed. F. HALKIN, Brussels, 1957, pp. 112-113, see especially 8f, 113: Μέγας εἶ σύ, κύριε, καὶ ποιῶν θαυμάσια - Des. ὅσοι τῆς θείας αὐλῆς καὶ ἡμετέρας ἀλλότριοι. Sequitur epilogues: 'Αλλ' εἰ σκοπήσει τις ἄνωθεν καὶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς. For Acropolites on the Antiphonetes, see also *AB*, 51 (1933), p. 266:... ἐν εἰκόνι Χριστον ὅθεν καὶ ἡ ἐπιγραφὴ ἡ ἔν τισιν εὑρισκομένη τῶν σεπτῶν εἰκόνων Χριστοῦ ἡ ὁ ἀντιφονητὴς τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔσχηκεν.

[12] M. HUBER, *Johannes Monachus, Liber de miraculis*, Heidelberg, 1913, pp. 3-35, esp. 3, 25-26, 31, 35; MANGO, *Brazen House*, 146.

[13] PSELLUS, *Chronographia* I, 66, p. 149 (ed. É. RENAULD, 1926); trsl. E. R. A. SEWTER, *Fourteen Byzantine Rulers. The Chronographia of Michael Psellus*, Harmondsworth Middlesex, 1966, p. 188. On the significance of the icon's colour change and on Psellus' concern with the symbolic meaning of colour, see L. JAMES, *Light and Colour in Byzantine Art*, Oxford, 1996, pp. 83-85. See most recently G. ZULIAN, *Reconstructing the Image of an Empress in Middle Byzantine Constantinople: Gender in Byzantium, Psellos' Empress Zoe and the Chapel of Christ Antiphonites, Rosetta. Papers of the Institute of Archaeology and Antiquity, University of Birmingham*, 2 (Spring 2007, online): especially section II with notes 28, 33. As Zulian points out, because of Zoë's sponsorship and the role played by the Chalkoprateia complex in imperial ceremonial, the Antiphonetes chapel would have become a renowned shrine by the late 11th century; see *ibidem*, section III.

[14] Cf. T PAPAMASTORAKIS, *The Empress Zoë's Tomb*, in: *The Empire in Crisis (?): Byzantium in the 11th Century (1025-1081)*. Institute for Byzantine Research, International Symposium 11, Athens, 2003, pp. 497-511, who argues for the refurbishment of an already existing building, while MAGDALINO, *Constantinopolitana*, pp. 225-226 assumes a grand foundation that constituted a substantial addition to the Chalkoprateia complex. There was also a *diakonia* connected with the church of the Antiphonetes. Zoë's church could also have been located in the neighborhood of the Golden Horn, west of the palace of Kalamos, since a cistern of Christ Antiphonetes is mentioned three times in an agreement between Isaac II Angelos and the Genoese; R. JANIN, *Constantinople Byzantine. Développement urbain et répertoire topographique*, Paris, 1950, pp. 207-208; F. MIKLOSICH, J. MÜLLER, *Acta et diplomata graeca medii aevi*, III, Vienna 1860-90, pp. 28, 32, 37. MANGO, *Brazen House*, p. 146. Empress Irene,

Strikingly, the rare image of the Antiphonetes survives no less than three times on the comparably remote island of Kythera. All paintings are datable to the early Palaeologan era and bear the inscription of the epithet. One of the paintings is of a striking quality and still reflects the style of the late Komnenian period. How did it come about that, side by side with the continued employment of particularly archaic patterns and iconographies, these metropolitan Byzantine compositions – and their painters – found their way to Cerigo? Are there other traces of such enterprising artists on the island? And in which way became the famous Constantinopolitan icon popular with the island community? Was it preeminently as a responsive image, or because of its imperial associations? Furthermore, the role of patrons has remained largely elusive, since the commonly accepted reading of the extant sources almost excluded the existence of individuals who would have been sufficiently prosperous and at the same time familiar enough with the monuments of Constantinople to account for a demand for such programs as are encountered in a number of chapels on Cerigo. An attempt towards an identification of these patrons and their social background shall be made in the following section of this article.

PATRONAGE

There has been considerable confusion regarding the question of precisely when the long Venetian domination of Cerigo by the Venier family formally commenced, a domination that would last for centuries down to the disintegration of the Republic in 1797. The answer to this question has some bearing on the problems dealt with here, as the majority of the painted churches of Cerigo would appear to date to the thirteenth century in general, and to its last quarter in particular: the still largely unknown period of transition between Byzantine and Venetian rule on the island. The historic and economic foundations of this rather sudden flourishing remain as yet unexplained.

The principal source is the sixteenth-century Italian manuscript quoted in the beginning, the 'Antique memorie dell'isola di Cerigo' in the Biblioteca Marciana in Venice.[15] William Miller still followed Karl Hopf in assuming that Kythera passed already in 1207 into the possession of Marco Venier, a Venetian landowner on Crete, three years after the Fourth Crusade had led

wife of Alexios I Komnenos, also possessed an icon of the Antiphonetes; see P. GAUTIER, *Le typikon de la Théotokos Kécharitômènè*, in *REB*, 43 (1985), p. 153.

[15] *Memorie*, see note 1.

to the fall of Constantinople.[16] This date was maintained by Freddy Thiriet, who conceived the two marriages between members of the Venier family and daughters of the local Eudaimonoiannis clan in terms of 'actions philogrecques des Venier', a 'méthode d'entente avec les authochthons'.[17] More recently, Chryssa Maltezou stressed the absence of any evidence for the assumption that Cerigo came under Venier rule as early as 1207. On the contrary, at the latest by 1275 Cerigo formed part of the Palaeologan empire. Only in 1308, the Venier family was backed by the Republic and formally took over the island – a century after its traditionally presumed occupation.[18]

A brief survey of the early and middle Byzantine periods on the island may be inserted here. After a long period of total desertion (from about 700), the hermit Theodore spent eleven years during the reign of Romanos I Lekapenos (920-44) on the island. His miraculously preserved body was discovered during the time of Nikephoros Phocas near an early Byzantine chapel of SS Sergios and Bakchos '...con una pietra di sopra la parte del capo, nella qual si leggera scritto il giorno che haveva chiusi gl'occhi.'[19] The repopulation of Kythera seems to have been initiated by the despot of Sparta. A governor was regularly elected, but in the course of the twelfth century a ruling governor was killed 'in a rain of stones', during a revolt of the islanders, 'con pioggia di pietre... secondo San Steffano', with the approval of the despot.[20] Subsequently Georgios Pachys (Zorzi Pacchi) of Monemvasia was made governor by the despot of Sparta. Around 1180/90 Pachys passed on his post to a member of the merchant family Eudaimonoiannis, self-styled archontes of Monemvasia.[21] While Eudaimonoiannis established himself in

[16] W. MILLER, *The Latins in the Levant*, London, 1908, pp. 564-568; K. HOPF, *Chroniques Gréco-romanes inédites ou peu connues*, Berlin, 1873, p. 346 note 5; cf. I. MIKELIS, Ἱστορία της νήσου Σερίγου (1825), MS National Library of Greece, Athens; P. TSITSILIA, Ἡ ἱστορία των Κυθήρων, vol. Α'/Β' (Ἑταιρεια Κυθηραϊκων Μελετων, 2-3), Athens, 1993-94.

[17] F. THIRIET, *A propos de la seigneurie des Veniers sur Cérigo*, in *Studi Veneziani*, 12 (1970), pp. 199-210, especially 201-03. According to Thiriet, this 'philhellenic' attitude much later culminated in the Cretan revolt of 1363 against Venice, in which the Venier formed part of the leading group of nobles, who were subsequently disowned and executed in 1364.

[18] CH. MALTEZOU, *Le famiglie degli Eudaimonoiannis e Venier a Cerigo dal XII al XIV secolo. Problemi di cronologia e prosopografia*, in *Miscellanea A. Pertusi*, II, Bologna, 1982, repr. in eadem, Βενετικη παρουσία στα Κυθηρα, Athens, 1991, pp. 205-217, esp. 205-206.

[19] *Memorie*, p. 300; N. A. OIKONOMIDES, Ὁ βίος του Ἁγίου Θεοδώρου Κυθήρων, in *Actes du 3e congrès d'Études Ioniennes*, I, Athens, 1967, pp. 264-291, esp. 264-267; I. VELOUDOS, Χρονικόν περὶ του ἐν Κυθήροις μοναστηρίου του Ἁγίου Θεοδώρου, Venice, 1868. For a general survey of the history of medieval Cerigo, see HERRIN, *Byzantine Kythera*, pp. 41-52.

[20] *Memorie*, p. 301.

[21] *Memorie*, p. 301. The other two archontic families of Monemvasia were those of Mamonas and Sophianos; see MILLER, *Latins*, p. 98 with note 2. See also P. LEMERLE, *La chronique*

Potamos in the north, Pachys retired to Metata in the centre of the island. Sometime around 1200, the foundation of the city of Agios Demetrios, the medieval capital, must have taken place, today the ruined settlement of Palaiochora. The son of the first Eudaimonoiannis, Nikolaos, later became *padrone* of Cerigo. Already by 1211, he had been in possession of 'cavalerie' on Crete. As mentioned in the beginning, in 1238, he marries his daughter and heiress to the Venetian Bartolomeo Venier of Candia: the island of Cerigo thus passed to the Venier. Until 1238, Cerigo evidently had remained Greek, and the taking over of the island was not the result of military action, but of a marriage contract.[22] When the Venier took possession of the island in 1238, they nevertheless continued to reside on Crete, where they also had property, leaving the Eudaimonoiannides in charge of matters on Cerigo.[23]

Such a reconstruction of the rather unspectacular events that preceded the long existence of Venetian Cerigo still leaves a number of questions unanswered. Why are monuments of the twelfth century so scarce on Kythera? And why should so few be attributable to the first half of the thirteenth century which according to this interpretation of the sources must be regarded as a period of undisturbed Greek continuity? Nikolaos Eudaimonoiannis took part in an anti-Venetian revolt on Crete commencing in 1230.[24] Why should he give his daughter and island possession to a Venetian noble? The Cretan-Venetian conflict of 1230-36 was eventually settled peacefully. Two years later, Nikolaos Eudaimonoiannis evidently sought the dynastic alliance of a Venetian, in order to prevent further trouble while retaining some

improprement dite de Monemvasie: le contexte historique et légendaire, in *REB*, 21 (1963), pp. 5-49; P. CHARANIS, *The Chronicle of Monemvasia and the Question of the Slavonic Settlements in Greece*, in *DOP*, 5 (1950), pp. 141-166.

[22] MALTEZOU, *Le famiglie*, p. 208; M. KOUMANOUDI, *Illi de Ca' Venier. The First Venetian Lords of Kythera*, in *Venezia e Cerigo*, pp. 87-106, esp. 88-90.

[23] The Veniers' involvement in Cretan affairs commenced in 1211 with Marino, son of Angelo Venier, who sailed for Crete together with his cousin Domenico; see THIRIET, *Seigneurie*, pp. 201-202. Already in 1207, Michael Venier had acquired a house in the 'territorium Sancti Marci' in Constantinople; see C. MALTEZOU, *Il quartiere veneziano di Costantinopoli (Scali marittimi)*, in Θησαυρίσματα, 15 (1978), pp. 49-50; MOROZZO DELLA ROCCA-LOMBARDO, *Fonti per la storia di Venezia*, Venice, 1950, Documenti II, no. 492; A.S.V., Mensa Patriarchale, B.9, c, no. 18. The Veniers who, in a hyperbolic fashion, subsequently based their dynastic claims on a mythical descent from the goddess Venus who had emerged from the sea on the shore of Kythera, were associated in Venetian chronicles with the Gens Aurelia and the Roman emperors. As the Veniers' involvement with Cerigo was merely started off by the political and dynastic enterprises of Nikolaos Eudaimonoiannis, the idea to emphasize the ancestry of Venus in this particular context must have been a brilliant second thought and would not have been of any use before 1238. It is probably of much later date and might have occurred to the Venier only when they were forced to support their claim to the island after 1301.

[24] MALTEZOU, *Le famiglie*, p. 209.

influence in Cerigotan matters. Chryssa Maltezou suggests that Cerigo reverted to the state of a Byzantine province shortly after 1261 through an intervention from Monemvasia, which had just been restored to imperial control. Although a representative of the Byzantine emperor is not recorded on Cerigo until 1275, the assumption of a somewhat earlier Byzantine action based at Monemvasia is convincing.[25] There could hardly be a doubt about the ongoing involvement of Monemvasia in Cerigotan matters and it may be questioned whether a military action was needed at all. Since the Venier stayed on Crete and the Monemvasiot Eudaimonoiannis clan must have remained virtually undisturbed in control of Cerigo, any advances made by the Palaeologan emperor would have had to face little resistance, if any. This means that Cerigo was in all likelihood part of the Palaeologan territory almost from its beginning. From 1261, the *renovatio* initiated by the two first Palaeologan emperors would have included Cerigo. Piracy re-emerged as a major problem only from 1301 on.[26] The extraordinary flourishing of wall-painting and building enterprises in non-fortified areas during a period roughly between 1260 and 1300 seems to support such an interpretation of the sources. Paulos Notaras Sevastos of Monemvasia, who does not seem to have been a member of the Eudaimonoiannis family, appears in 1275 in a Venetian document as 'homo domini imperatoris et capitaneus loci Cedrigi'.[27] A later document of 1353 records that the emperor had put the island in the late thirteenth century under the control of 'tre nobiles grecos'.[28] It is likely, but not evident, that the two other nobles were members of the Eudaimonoiannis clan. This period of the three archontes exactly coincides with the main evidence of a Palaeologan *renovatio* on Cerigo. It probably commenced not long after 1261 and lasted until 1308. This almost half century would appear to have been moderately prosperous and fairly stable, as evidently locally established workshops were continuously involved in the decoration of several churches. Apparently, Cerigo remained almost entirely Byzantine during the thirteenth century: the twenty-three years of Venier 'rule' (1238-1261) seem to have had no impact on social structure and cultural orientation, since the Eudaimonoiannis family remained fully in charge of island matters. This political arrangement was continued under the three archontes (1261(?)-1301) who were directly responsible to the emperor.

[25] *Ibidem*, pp. 211-213.

[26] *Chilas chronicon monasterii S. Theodori in Cythera insula siti*, in HOPF, *Chroniques Gréco-Romanes*, p. 348; MALTEZOU, *Le famiglie*, p. 214.

[27] MALTEZOU, *Le famiglie*, p. 214. This year is also recorded in the founder's inscription at Ag. Georgios, Dourianika; CHATZIDAKIS, BITHA, *Corpus*, pp. 140-141.

[28] MALTEZOU, *Le famiglie*, p. 214 with note 51; M. K. PETROCHILAS, Ιστορία της νησου Κυθηρων, Athens, 1940, repr. 1984, pp. 28-31.

It would appear that under the three archontes, the ties to the Byzantine metropolis were strengthened, since Constantinopolitan iconographical features, styles and themes in painting essentially emerge not prior to the last quarter of the thirteenth century. The dates established by Chatzidakis and Bitha essentially rely on the surviving inscriptions at Agios Georgios, Dourianika and Agios Demetrios, Pourko, but the stylistic parallels and the repeated occurrence of certain workshops in many cases corroborate the proposed dates, which indeed mainly fall into the period of the three archontes.

All this means that Palaeologan rule commencing in the 1260's did not initiate fundamental changes to the Byzantine system of running the island that had been in effect on Cerigo before 1238. The capture of the Byzantine governor's son, Michael Notaras, in 1301 by pirates from Crete, supported by the Venetian authorities, led to an interlude during which the system of the three archontes seems to have ceased to exist. Bartolomeo Venier's grandson Bartolomeo II arrived in 1301 on Cerigo in order to take back the island by marrying, once again, an Eudaimonoiannis daughter. But when not long afterwards it was revealed that he was already married, he was driven away from Cerigo.[29] But who expelled him? Who was in charge of the island from 1301? It seems certain that Cerigo had fully returned to Venetian control by 1308, when the Senate of the Republic ceded the island to Marco, the son of Bartolomeo I Venier, thus recognizing the Veniers' ancestral claims. The Venier assumed the title of 'domini insule Cederici'.[30] In contrast, it is far from clear what happened between the expulsion of Bartolomeo II, which must have taken place in or shortly after 1301, and 1308. There is no evidence as to whether the Byzantine emperor once more regained control of the island and the system of the three archontes was temporarily revived, or whether the Venier, despite their unsuccessful dynastic enterprise, managed to hold on to their island. As there is neither any evidence for the installation of another Byzantine governor (or, his later expulsion), it seems to me most likely that the ever-present Eudaimonoiannis family, after getting rid of both the Venier and Notaras, once again took charge of Cerigotan affairs in this interlude resulting from a sudden power vacuum. In the absence of evidence, this third option is speculative, but it would mean that Cerigo remained essentially a Byzantine stronghold until 1308, since the interlude of 1301 apparently had no lasting consequences. Michael VIII's and Andronikos II's *renovatio*

[29] For a document of 1353 recording this marriage see F. THIRIET, *Régestes et délibérations du Sénat de Venise concernant la Romanie I. 1329-99*, Paris, 1958, p. 75, no. 264. KOUMANOUDI, *Ca' Venier*, pp. 92-93.

[30] MALTEZOU, *Le famiglie*, pp. 215-216; THIRIET, *Segneurie*, p. 204.

evidently resulted in prosperity, and continuing strong ties of the Greek island nobles with Constantinople were reflected in features they chose to have depicted in their chapels.[31] Also, it is certain that during this period the entire nobility on the island would have remained Orthodox.

Subsequently, in 1310, the island was divided between the four sons of Marco – the son of Bartolomeo I –, except for Palaiopoli and Chora (Kapsali) which remained a shared property of the four. The population of the island 'tutti gli habitanti isolani' was also divided in 1310, into four portions, the individuals being reduced to the status of *parichi* (serfs).[32] From this passage in the 'Memorie' it is clear that a fundamental change in the island's social structure took place only from 1310, the period of the shared rule of Cerigo by Marco Venier's four sons. Measures of this sort were evidently never taken by Bartolomeo Venier during the first two decades of nominal Venier domination of Cerigo from 1238 to about 1261, and I believe that this was an economic and social precondition for the flourishing of the arts in the later thirteenth century on Cerigo. Conversely, the scarce occurrence of chapels on Cerigo during the period of the four brothers' rule (1310-63) would seem to imply a diminished, or impoverished Greek nobility. On the other hand, the brothers almost immediately started inviting settlers from Crete, like Leo Kassimates from Schilù, in order to increase the island's economic potential and output.[33] These settlers were guaranteed exemption from taxes and all services, and during the fourteenth century would have constituted the only Greeks in a position to commission churches or private chapels.[34] Moreover, a total disinheritance of the local Greek landowners would not seem to match the Veniers' attitude of assimilation, which ultimately led to their partaking in the Cretan uprising of 1363, prompted by their longing for independence from Venice. Besides, their long term relations with the Eudaimonoiannis family would seem to speak against such drastic measures as stated in the 'Memorie'. But relations might have seriously deteriorated after the attempted bigamy of Bartolomeo II in 1301. At any rate, a new social class of Greek landowners subsequently evolved, as the 'Memorie' mention Nicolò Venier's donation of substantial property

[31] On the nature and scale of this *renovatio*, see A. M. TALBOT, *The Restoration of Constantinople under Michael VIII*, in *DOP*, 47 (1993), pp. 243-261.

[32] *Memorie*, p. 302. The term 'paricho' used in the *Memorie* would appear to be synonymous to the Greek πάροικος.

[33] *Memorie*, pp. 302-303.

[34] KOUMANOUDI, *Ca' Venier*, pp. 94-96, 97 with note 38; M. K. PETROCHILAS, Χειρόγραφον του Στυλιανου Κασιμάτη, Κυθηραϊκή Δρασις, no. 174, 15, November 1974. The Venier evidently ceded land to the Kassimates family on 16 October 1316, see K. HOPF, *Geschichte Griechenlands vom Beginn des Mittelalters bis auf unsere Zeit*, I, New York, 1961, repr. of 1867/8, p. 397.

around Gonia to an islander.[35] These new *padroni isolani* were most likely a driving force behind the revived building activity of the fifteenth century, now largely confined to fortified towns.[36] In rural areas there are in contrast remarkably few surviving church buildings of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The wide distribution of early Palaeologan local landowners' and rural communities' chapels all over the island was never achieved again. But the concentration of habitation and church architecture in fortified settlements might simply have been due to a more pressing occurrence of piracy that forced the rural population to look for protection.

However, a number of questions result from these historical observations. Very few church buildings survive from fourteenth-century Cerigo: had all former Greek landowners who presumably had been responsible for numerous late thirteenth-century chapels, lost their land and been reduced to the status of *parichi*, as the 'Memorie' would have it? Where rural communities no longer prosperous enough to build churches? What elements had the pre-Venier island aristocracy consisted of? Did they mainly belong to branches of the Eudaimonoiannis clan, or were there substantial numbers of comparably wealthy refugees from Monemvasia or Constantinople, who settled on Cerigo after the fall of the Empire in 1204? In order to clarify this demographic question, it may be useful to take a brief look at the subsequent developments of the fourteenth century.

After the Cretan rebellion of 1363 Venice sent a provedittore to Cerigo and the island remained under the control of the Republic until 1374, when Polo and Frangia Venier, the sons of the loyal Piero, regained most of their confiscated property.[37] Nevertheless, from 1368, Cerigo was administered by a Venetian castellan. The legal situation of the *parichi* remained unchanged, but was more secure under Venice, as the law was in the hands of the state, not of a local tyrant: all legal disputes were now subject to the Venetian court. In the fifteenth century, the local monk Cheilas, in retrospective, stresses the insecurity of Venier rule as opposed to the protective rule of the commune of Venice, which enabled the people once more to 'build castles and churches'.[38] Cheilas contrasts the period before 1364, and after. It is not entirely clear, when precisely his age of insecurity commenced; at any rate it

[35] *Memorie*, p. 303.

[36] G. E. INCE, TH. KOUKOULIS, D. SMYTH, *Paliochora: Survey of a Byzantine City on the Island of Kythera. Second Report*, in *Annual of the British School at Athens*, 84 (1989), p. 407.

[37] The Venier further divided their share of the island in subsequent years; *Memorie*, pp. 303-305. Frangia Venier would eventually accumulate 11 of the 12 Venier shares. There seems to have existed already in 1355 a conspiracy of Tito Venier and Francesco Gradenigo, prior to the revolt; see F. THIRIET, *La Romanie vénitienne au Moyen Age. XIIe-XVe siècle*, Paris, 1959, pp. 275-277.

[38] *Chilas Chronicon Monasterii S. Theodori*, in HOPF, *Chroniques Gréco-Romanes*, p. 347.

would have been sometime between 1301 and 1310. Cheilas' observations cannot be understood to refer to the most prosperous period of 1261-1301. In the newly established security after 1364, the settlers from Crete and Monemvasia, mostly craftsmen and artisans, formed a new social stratum, the *cittadini*.[39] These seem to be largely responsible for the chapels built from the late fourteenth century onwards, especially at Palaiochora, Mylopotamos, and Mesa Vourgo (the area just outside the castle of Kapsali, Chora). The *cittadini* and *padroni isolani* seem to have gradually merged, as landowners tended to move to these fortified settlements.[40] It is perhaps notable that a portion of Marco Venier's share was given sometime after 1395 to his niece Donna Erigni Veneropula, and from her passed on to the heirs of Zorzila Venier and to his two nephews Zorzi and Manoli Murmuri, who were *cittadini Cerigotti*.[41] The Greek version of the name 'Venier' assumed by Marco's niece as well as the Greek name of Zorzila's nephew Manolis would seem to point to a continued entente between the Veniers and a still existing Greek element on Cerigo, outside the class of the *parichi*. Furthermore, the fact that Zorzila Venier's nephews held the status of *cittadini*, just like the settlers from Candia, suggests some kind of equal rights of Veniers and *cittadini* about which the 'Memorie' remains largely silent. But, in fact, from another passage we learn that part of the Murmuris' property, originally the possession of Gabriele Venier (the part of the island then called 'Gabrilianà'), was eventually passed on to Zuane Cassimati, a descendant of the first settlers invited from Candia, who subsequently were counted among the first *cittadini* of Cerigo.[42] It is likely that all of them were Orthodox, including the Venier who had taken Greek wives. These frequent intermarriages with indigenous Greek families and the repeated occurrence of Greek versions of the name 'Venier' suggest that conversion to Orthodoxy was by no means exceptional.[43] There is no evidence for the celebration of mass according to

[39] On the 'cittadini' and 'popolani' of Cerigo, see C. MALTEZOU, *A Contribution to the Historical Geography of the Island of Kythera during the Venetian Occupation*, in A. LAIOU-THOMADAKIS (ed.), *Charanis Studies. Essays in Honor of Peter Charanis*, New Brunswick, 1980, pp. 151-176; KOUMANOUDI, *Ca' Venier*, 105-106. Around 1400, the castellan was renamed 'provedittore e castellano', which points to the new interest Venice took in the island after the loss of her last strongholds on the Peloponnese.

[40] Prior to the introduction of the 'Libro d'Oro' of Cerigo in 1573 (similar to those kept on Corfu and Zante) listing the names of the island nobles, the local aristocracy had not been a legally defined group; see G.N. LEONTSINIS, *The Island of Kythera. A Social History (1700-1863)*, Athens, 2000, p. 21.

[41] *Memorie*, p. 305.

[42] *Ibidem*.

[43] Even later, according to another 16th-century document, many cittadini di Venezia became Cerigotes when they took a Greek wife and 'alla greca vive', i.e. became Orthodox; see *Relationes Provisorum Cytherae* (1545), SATHAS, *Documents inédits* VI, p. 294.

the Latin rite in fourteenth-century chapels on Cerigo: on the contrary, as we shall see, the chapel of Agios Demetrios at Mesa Vourgo still shows around 1400 a remarkably conservative, if not consciously retrospective, program reflecting Orthodox thought and liturgy.

The Cerigotan assimilation of the Veniers already prior to their engagement in the Cretan rebellion of 1363 is perhaps underrated, and overshadowed by the reportedly drastic measures taken by the four sons of Marco after 1310, and the subsequent decline of living conditions on Cerigo. The Morosini Codex records the revolt under the Doge Lorenzo Celsi (1361-5) of citizens of Candia, but fails to mention Cerigo at all. It is nevertheless emphasized that these rebellious Candiotes, who had earlier been sent there by the Doge Pietro Ziani from Venice, were now 'following the customs of the Greeks'. Tito Venier, Tito Gradenigo and others had made Marco Gradenigo their duke, and they were 'rather submitting to the Greeks of Candia'.[44] This repeated observation points to the same religious rapprochement which is evident in the frequent Greek-Venetian intermarriages of the Veniers on Cerigo in the fourteenth century, or the alleged friendship between Biagio Venier and the Orthodox abbot of the monastery of St Theodore in the fifteenth century. Reportedly, the Greek patron saint of the island, Theodore, was also venerated by Biagio.[45]

Regarding the early Palaeologan period which is of main interest here, the historical facts may be reassessed and summed up as follows. When in 1261 the reconquest of Constantinople by Michael VIII restituted Byzantine rule on Cerigo, the social and political patterns on the island do not appear to have changed much, despite two decades of Venier 'rule'. The period of Venier control (1238-1261) does not seem to have affected the key position of the Eudaimonoiannis clan in any discernable way, nor that of the local Greek landowners, two groups who would have been to an unknown but presumably large extent identical. There is no need to stress a Byzantine 'reconquest' of Cerigo. Right from the establishment of the Palaeologan empire in 1261, Byzantine power would have far outweighed any Venier influence, since the Eudaimonoiannis family still continued to practically run Cerigotan matters. The election of Paulos Notaras by the emperor sometime before 1275 was but a formal act, merely maintaining and securing a political set up that had in fact not undergone much upheaval since the 1180's. After the brief crisis caused by Bartolomeo II Venier's

[44] *The Morosini Codex II. Marino Falier to Antonio Venier* (1354-1400), ed. M. P. GHEZZO, J. R. MELVILLE-JOHNS, A. RIZZI, pp. 27-35 (91B-44 recto, Vienna – 92B-45 recto, Vienna).

[45] CH. MALTEZOU, *From Byzantine to Venetian Kythera*, in CHATZIDAKIS, BITHA, *Corpus*, pp. 311-312.

unsuccessful advances at another dynastic alliance in 1301, the Veniers once again were driven off the island and Eudaimonoiannis rule continued until 1308. This year seems to constitute the turning point in the realization of the Veniers' claims, as Marco was formally granted the island by the Venetian senate, which simply recognized his dynastic aspirations as a son of Bartholomeo I, who had received the island as part of his wife's dowry. Venetian authority in the Aegean was accepted on the basis of the treaty of 1302 and the Veniers returned to Cerigo. Apparently, the instability that had resulted from the capture of Paulos Notaras' son and the subsequent disintegration of the system of the three archontes was used by the Republic to finally disinherit the weakened Eudaimonoiannis clan in favour of a Venetian family.

In the twelfth century, Cerigo had been part of the episcopal diocese of Corinth, while during much of the thirteenth the island was under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Monemvasia. By 1275, when the Veniers were expelled by Notaras, this pattern had been revived, and from the 1301 chrysobull of Andronikos II is evident that the episcopal see of Cerigo was subject to the metropolitan see of Monemvasia.[46] The history of Greco-Venetian involvement on Cerigo is characterized rather by continuity than drastic changes. The 'Byzantineness' of Cerigo was not challenged significantly throughout the thirteenth century, neither by the Veniers' and Eudaimonoiannides' somewhat unstable family ties, nor by the emperor's favouring of Paulos Sevastos Notaras, and probably not even after Notaras' withdrawal. According to the monk Cheilas, the only period, during which the island suffered a destruction of its traditional social structure, was after 1310 when the four Venier brothers divided the island and dispossessed a large percentage of the population. Even this destruction was not as complete as it would appear from the 'Memorie', since there are traces of survivals from the old Byzantine system. The murals in the church of the Archistrategos Michael at Bithoulas are dated 1327 by an inscription, while the conspicuous ogival arch of its entrance recalls both the doors of San Marco (Porta dei Fiori) and the window frames in the Palace of the Despot at Mystras.[47] The same

[46] MALTEZOU, *Byzantine to Venetian Kythera*, pp. 305-314, esp. 308-309; see EADEM, Μονεμβασία και Κυθηρα. Ἀνακοίνωση στὸ Συμπόσιο Ἱστορίας καὶ Τέχνης μὲ θέμα: Ἡ Πελοπόννησος τὴν ἐποχὴ τῶν Παλαιολόγων *(Monemvasia, 20-23 July 1989)*, in EADEM, Βενετικη Παρουσία στα Κυθηρα, pp. 1-9, esp. 2,7; see also EADEM, *Cythère. Societé et économie pendant la période de la domination vénitienne*, in *Balkan Studies*, 21 (1980.1), pp. 33-44; PETROCHILAS, Ιστορία, pp. 32-33.

[47] Cf. S. SINOS, *Organisation und Form des byzantinischen Palastes von Mystras, Architectura*, 17 (1987), pp. 105-128, figs. 4, 11, 18, 21, 24. Similar ogival arches are found on Crete, see G. GEROLA, Βενετικα Μνημεια της Κρητης. Εκκλησιες, Crete, 1993, pls. 242, 326, 335, 343-48.

distinctive feature reappears in the later arch at Agios Antonios, Palaiochora (fig. 2). Traditions formed during the early Palaeologan era seem to have extended right into the period of unchallenged Venier rule, and beyond. Later, the *cittadini* obviously became the heirs to the Greek nobility of the Byzantine period. And the Veniers, once they had lost their autocratic power, became *cittadini* themselves and frequently converted to Orthodoxy.[48]

Some Early Palaeologan Decorative Programs

The unexpectedly frequent appearance of Christos Antiphonetes on Cerigo is a conspicuous example of the Constantinopolitan element in early Palaeologan painting on the island. Agios Andreas in Livadi, southern Kythera, is a rather spacious cross-in-square type church (fig. 3) preserving a palimpsest of different layers of wall-painting, dating from around 1000 to the fourteenth century, and beyond. The Antiphonetes is encountered on the south pillar of the bema (figs. 4, on the left; 5). The icon is set off with a frame and shows a half figure wearing a red himation. The face is lost, but the halo survives as well as the inscription Ο ΑΝΤΙΦΩ... on the left side, which presumably continued on the right, where it has fallen off. No hands are visible, the bottom frame displays an ornament resembling script. The image is paired with an icon of the Virgin and Child inscribed ΑΚΑΤΑ-ΜΑΧΗΤΟΣ ('invincible', an icon possessed by the emperor Constantine IX Monomachos) on the northern pier of the bema.[49] The two pillars are integral parts of the original templon which now carries a much later re-painting. The corresponding icons, the Antiphonetes and the Virgin reproduce famous Constantinopolitan prototypes.[50] In the sanctuary vault, fragments of an

[48] Still much later, in a letter dated 21 September 1585, written by Giovan Francesco Morosini about bishop Massimo Marguni of Kythera, the last mentioned is described as '...benissimo inclinato alla unione della chiesa Greca con la Latina, et sopra tutto devotissimo suddito di questo Serenissimo Dominio...' In the same letter, it is also stated that '...nelle sue Isole di Levante li populi per la maggior parte del rito Greco, è necessita a supportar aco che possino haver li suoi sacerdoti et prelati per vivere con la loro religione...' Sathas, *Documents inédits* V, pp. 69-72. During this later period also many priests at the church of San Giorgio dei Greci in Venice originated from Cerigo; see also Ch. Maltezou, *Les archives vénitiennes de Cythère. Un fonds historique négligé*, *BF*, 5 (1977), pp. 249-252.

[49] B. V. Pentcheva, *Icons and Power. The Mother of God in Byzantium*, University Park, 2006, pp. 80, 93, 100; Vocotopoulos, *Art on Kythera*, p. 54.

[50] The main apse at Agios Andreas once contained a large Deesis, but its surface is very worn now; above are jewel-studded medallions containing busts of prophets. This earliest stratum of painting has been variously assigned to the tenth and eleventh centuries. P. Lazarides, Μεσαιωνικα και Βυζαντινα Μνημεια Κυθηρων, in Ἀρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον 20.Β'1, Χρονικά (1965), p. 187; Chatzidakis, Bitha, *Corpus*, p. 73; A. G. Mantas, *Überlegungen zur Deesis in der Hauptapsis mittelbyzantinischer Kirchen Griechenlands*, in

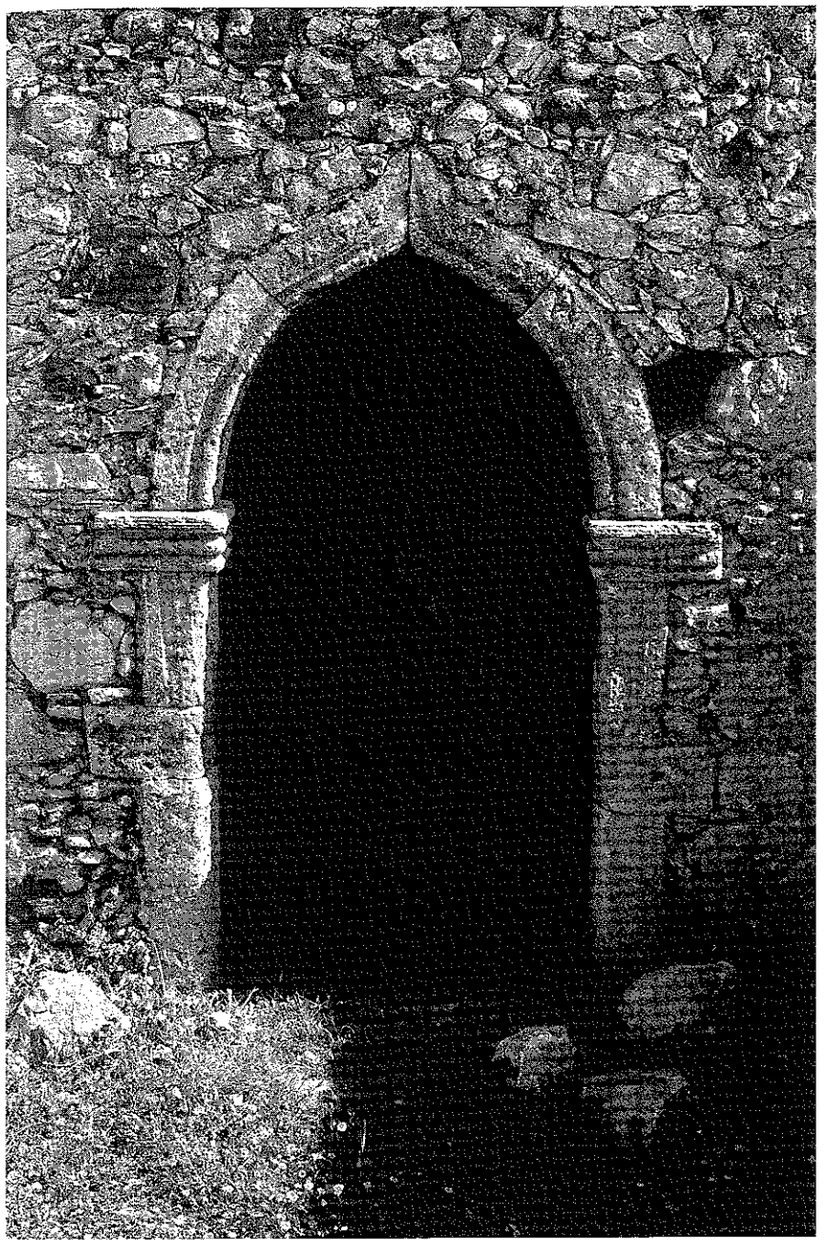

Fig. 2. Agios Antonios, Palaiochora (Kythera), poros arch. Photo author.

Fig. 3. Agios Andreas, Livadi (Kythera). Photo author.

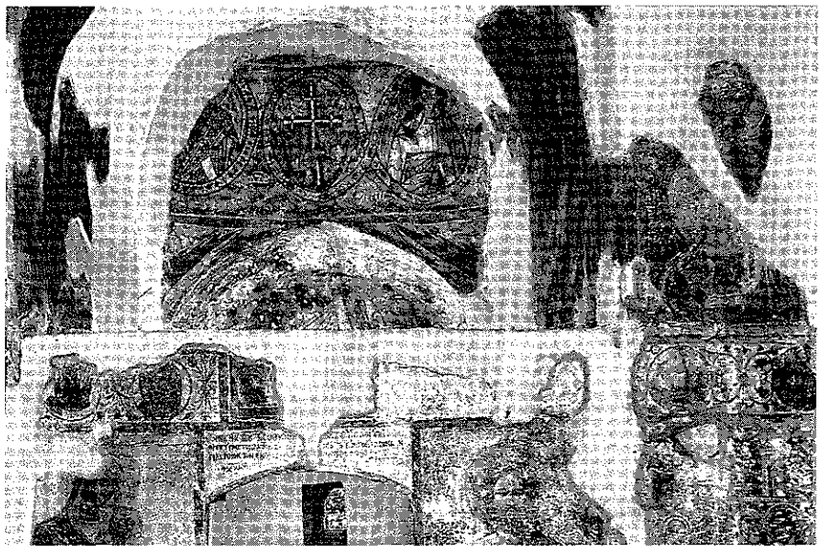

Fig. 4. Agios Andreas, Livadi (Kythera), bema area.
Photo after Chatzidakis / Bitha, *Corpus*, 58, fig.1.

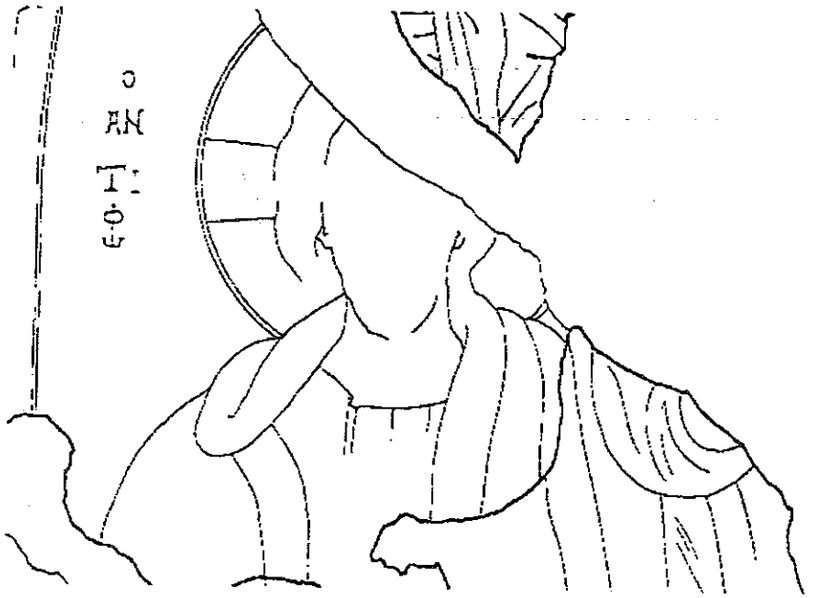

Fig. 5. Agios Andreas, Livadi (Kythera), Christos Antiphonetes. Tracing after Chatzidakis / Bitha, *Corpus*, 72, fig. 27, modified.

Ascension are preserved, including a tetramorph on the northern pendentive. These paintings are of a high quality and were obviously executed by one hand. Plasticity, subtle colouring, lively faces and movements, the elaborate rendering of the tetramorph's dark purplish wings with white and black shades and highlights on the plumage all betray the hand of a skilful artist of early Palaeologan date. These paintings are likely to be contemporary with the two bema pier icons described above. The Antiphonetes at Agios Andreas represents the only conventional type to have survived on Cerigo. Location and context are precisely the same as at Lagoudhera, Mani, and Nicaea.[51]

G. KOCH (ed.), *Byzantinische Malerei. Symposium Marburg 1997*, Wiesbaden, 2000, pp. 165-183; M. MÉLADINI-GEORGOPOULOU, *Le décor apsidal des églises byzantines de Kythéra (Cythère) (c. 1100-1275 a.C.)*, in *Actes du XVe congrès international d'études byzantines. Athènes, septembre 1976*, II, Athens, 1981, pp. 449-469.

[51] Examples in Lakonia, where the icon of Christ is placed on the south side of the templon epistyle include Ag. Ioannes Prodromos (Kato Kastania), Epidauros Limera, dated to the late 13th century, as well as the later paintings at Taxiarches and Agia Paraskeve, both also at Epidauros Limera; Πρακτικά της εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας (1982), pp. 419, 421, 427; S. GERSTEL, *Alternate Views of the Late Byzantine Sanctuary*

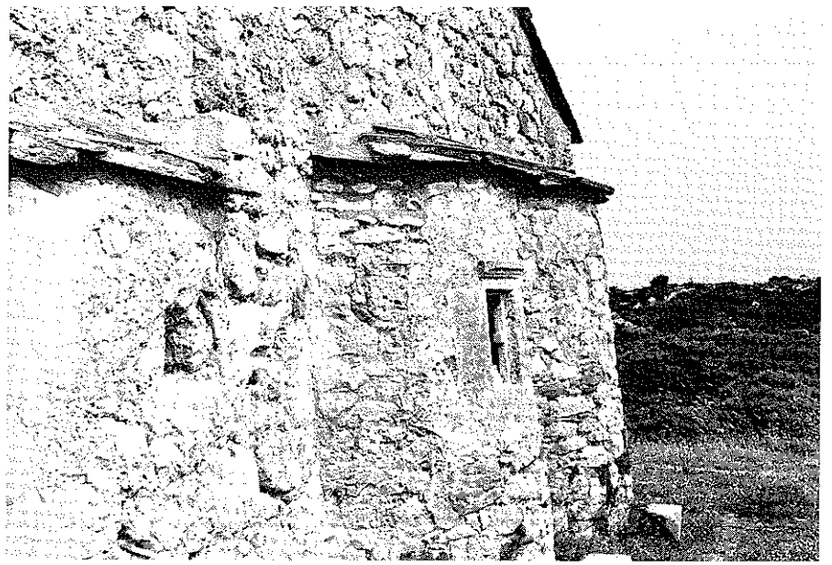

Fig. 6. Agios Blasios kai Panagia, Phrilingianika (Kythera), twin apses. Photo author.

The double church of Agios Blasios kai Panagia is located on a spur of the central rock plateau of Kythera, overlooking the north-eastern valley towards Palaiochora. Though in theory not far from the village of Phrilingianika, the building stands today in the middle of a wilderness. The two vaulted, aisleless chapels each have twin apses (fig. 6) and a narthex, the last mentioned a later addition. The southern chapel is slightly more narrow. The twin apses of the northern chapel dedicated to St Blasios contain in the left conch an image of the eponymous saint with his hands raised in prayer, in the right conch a fragmentary image of St Niketas. The tympanum above the twin apses contains a Deesis with a giant bust of Christ Pantocrator in the centre and lateral images of the Panagia and the Prodromos.[52] The paintings appear to have been executed before 1300, all by a single hand. This is a graphic, linear style that hardly shows any attempt at plasticity and bodily volume.[53]

Screen, in EADEM (ed.), *Thresholds of the Sacred*, Washington, D.C., 2006, catalogue nos. 159-161.

[52] LAZARIDES, Βυζαντινα Μνημεια Κυθηρων, pp. 195-196; CHATZIDAKIS, BITHA, *Corpus*, p. 115, pl. 5; VOCOTOPOULOS, *Art on Kythera*, p. 53.

[53] The dated inscription of the painting at another Kytheriote church, Agios Georgios (Dourianika) giving the year 1275, provides good evidence for the dating of the paintings in Agios Blasios. The eyes of the standing hierarchs at Agios Georgios with the overemphasized upper and lower lids, and the pronounced linear shadows, are closely related to those of St Niketas and other faces in the Blasios chapel; cf. CHATZIDAKIS, BITHA, *Corpus*, p. 116, figs. 6-7; 138, fig. 10; 139, fig. 11.

The contrast to the adjacent (southern) chapel of the Panagia could hardly be more striking. Only the left conch still retains its painted decoration, a representation of the Panagia Blachernitissa (fig. 7) in markedly refined style with subtle shading in green, altogether more elegant than the paintings in the Blasios chapel.[54] The tympanum above the twin apses is occupied by a colossal bust of the Antiphonetes, rendered with very subtle modelling (fig. 8). Flesh-tones are in different shades of green and purple in the shadows as well as pale highlights, and there are reddish brush strokes in the beard. The style strongly recalls a Middle Byzantine tradition. In particular the lower part of the face with the beard parted in the middle and the marked but conventionalized plasticity of the throat is reminiscent of Hosios Loukas.[55] Arms and hands have been omitted altogether. An unusually large inscription in white IC XC O ANTHΦΩNIT... is placed on either side of the head. The inscription is the original one, and the lettering seems to be contemporary with the painting, although its left part O ANTH obviously has been retraced in a chalky white in rather recent times. Chatzidakis and Bitha dated both the first stratum of the Antiphonetes mural and the second of the Blachernitissa within the last decades of the thirteenth century.[56] This means that the decoration was roughly contemporary with the paintings in the Blasios chapel, but obviously designed and executed by a different artist. A second image of the Panagia is placed on the left hand pier of the tympanum arch (fig. 8, left). The middle pier is occupied by St John Chrysostom while the decoration on the right hand pier is lost; it probably once contained an image of the Prodromos. Since the paintings of the tympanum and the pillars all belong to the same, first layer of painting in the chapel, they represent together a Deesis of the extended Trimorphos type, as encountered, for instance, on the western wall in the cave chapel of Agia Sophia near Mylopotamos on Kythera.[57]

[54] The Christ Child shows the facial type of the Emmanuel, as it is also encountered in the apse painting of the Platytera at Ag. Georgios, Dourianika; CHATZIDAKIS, BITHA, *Corpus*, p. 137, fig. 7. In the right conch, Chatzidakis and Bitha made out traces of an enthroned figure of Christ, the letters IC are preserved; *Corpus*, p. 124.

[55] In the Greek provinces the wall-paintings of the 13th century more often than not still followed 12th-century models; O. DEMUS, *Die Entstehung des Paläologenstils in der Malerei*, in *Berichte des 11. Internationalen Byzantinistenkongresses München 1958*, Mainz, 1960, pp. 1-63, esp. 48-49.

[56] CHATZIDAKIS, BITHA, *Corpus*, p. 129.

[57] The tympanum of the Panagia chapel represents essentially a raised templon decoration. On the Deesis as part of the iconographic program of the templon epistyle, see S. KALOPISSI-VERTI, *The Proskynetaria of the Templon and Narthex: Form, Imagery, Spatial Connections,*

Fig. 7. Agios Blasios kai Panagia, Phrilingianika (Kythera), Virgin Blachernitissa. Photo after Chatzidakis / Bitha, *Corpus*, 120, fig. 12.

Fig. 8. Agios Blasios kai Panagia, Phrilingianika (Kythera), Christos Antiphonetes. Photo after Chatzidakis / Bitha, *Corpus*, 121, fig. 13.

There have been various attempts to explain the occurrence of double-naved churches and twin apses in the Lebanon, Palestine and Greece. Panayotis Vocotopoulos suggests the use of twin apses in later churches of the Venetian islands for the celebration of different rites, Orthodox and Catholic.[58] While a use of double-naved chapels for the celebration of the

and Reception, in *Thresholds of the Sacred*, p. 122. For the cave chapel of Agia Sophia, see CHATZIDAKIS, BITHA, *Corpus*, p. 294, fig. 4.

[58] P. VOCOTOPOULOS, *Fresques du XIe siècle à Corfou*, *CA*, 21 (1971), p. 152. Georgios Dimitrokallis explains the fact that this architectural type seems to be confined to islands and coastal areas with voyagers of different beliefs and differing funerary practices, but also points to a 16th-century church on Paros where the celebration according to both rites, Latin and Greek is documented; G. DIMITROKALLIS, *Les Églises chrétiennes biconques*, Athens, 1976, pp. 124-128, see summary pp. 478f.; see most recently E. CRUIKSHANK DODD, *Medieval Painting in the Lebanon*, Wiesbaden, 2004, pp. 23-28. Robin Cormack, in his review of Dodd's book, *Speculum*, 81 (2006), p. 838 points to the double-apsed churches on Kythera as a parallel supplementing Dodd's discussion of this type of building and seems inclined to see the two apses pre-eminently in terms of a device developed in order to serve for the veneration of two different saints in a single church. Cathérine Jolivet-Lévy, in her review of Dodd's book, *BZ*, 98 (2005), p. 578, stresses the frequent occurrence of two-aisled churches in the Lebanon during the Crusader period and refers to Dodd's explanation as a space for communities of different languages, or practising different rites while using the same church. Admitting this possibility, Jolivet-Lévy considers other, especially funerary functions. Already much earlier, the double apse at Agios Merkourios, Corfu (1074/5) resulted from a twin dedication to the eponymous saint and the prophet Elijah; see VOCOTOPOULOS, *Fresques à Corfou*, p. 151, figs. 4, 5.

Latin and Greek rites might be expected on later Venetian Cerigo, it is nowhere evident. For the early Palaeologan period, this seems quite out of the question. Throughout the thirteenth century, the entire population would have remained Orthodox, and the Venier had not yet physically established themselves on their island possession. Far more likely is the assumption that the two naves with their respective twin apses served a multiplicity of functions: the Eucharist service, and perhaps baptismal rites, would have taken place in the Panagia chapel, while the Blasios / Niketas apses of the second nave would have been reserved for the cult of martyrs.[59]

The Antiphonetes bust in the chapel of the Panagia seems a novelty. The location, scale and form of the image and its inscription differ considerably from all other extant examples of the type. This monumental bust appears to be a local variant which was directly modelled after the probably only slightly earlier Pantocrator tympanum in the Blasios chapel. Obviously, for the sake of formal coherence the much more gifted painter of the Panagia chapel adapted the famous Constantinoplitan icon to what was required in the chapel of a local landowner. The striking difference in iconographic development and artistic skills between the two chapels requires some explanation.[60] In the Blasios chapel, an archaic image of the saint with his hands raised in an Orans gesture is executed in a provincial, linear style.[61] In contrast, in the Panagia chapel the same kind of setting was used for a decoration of a refined style and decidedly metropolitan iconography. The Constantinopolitan element of the chapel's decoration is probably best explained with the donor's origin who might have come as refugee after the fall of Monemvasia to the Franks in 1248. Apparently, the patron who commissioned the murals in the Panagia chapel was not identical with the founder of the adjoining church.[62] The Panagia chapel was decorated not later than the last quarter of the thirteenth century, a time when the island

[59] R. KRAUTHEIMER, *The Twin Cathedral at Pavia*, in IDEM, *Studies in Early Christian, Medieval and Renaissance Art*, New York and London, 1969, pp. 161-180.

[60] While the hand of the conservative artist of the Blasios chapel can be traced at least in one other instance on Kythera (Agios Nikon, Potamos), his more gifted colleague seems to have fulfilled just a single commission. Perhaps, he was only passing through the island.

[61] The painting of the patron saint in the apse goes back to ancient martyria and was long maintained in Mani, Kythera, Crete, and the Ionian Islands; see VOCOTOPOULOS, *Fresques à Corfou*, p. 157.

[62] Chatzidakis, who originally dated the paintings earlier, around 1200, associated in particular the Blachernitissa of the north conch in the south chapel with aristocratic monuments; see M. CHATZIDAKIS, Βυζαντινόν καί Χριστιανικόν Μουσεῖον, Ἀρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον, 21 (1966), Χρονικά, Athens 1968, p. 25. The surviving inscription referring to the donor Georgios Lepezatos in the Panagia chapel (eastern strainer arch) is inconclusive since it belongs to a later stratum than the paintings considered here; CHATZIDAKIS, BITHA, *Corpus*, p. 129, fig. 28.

was already run by the three archontes elected by the emperor Michael VIII, but continued to be under the influence of the Monemvasiot Eudaimonoiannis family.

The vaulted aisleless chapel of Agios Ioannes Prodromos just north of Potamos in northern Kythera is severely damaged and currently supported by scaffolding. The late thirteenth-century wall-paintings have been detached and transferred to the Byzantine Museum in Kato Livadi. In this early Palaeologan chapel, Christos Antiphonetes appeared prominently, but in a different context which again seems to be a local variant of Cerigo. The Antiphonetes was painted as part of a row of figures on the southern wall of the naos and is identified by a fragmentary inscription ...ΦΩ... He is distinguished by a jewelled cross-halo and is the westernmost figure of a frieze displaying St Mamas, St Stephen, the Theotokos, and the Antiphonetes. The lower three quarters of the mural are not preserved; all four figures would originally have been almost half figures, like the better preserved figure of St Mamas. It is remarkable that the character of the separate icon has been completely abandoned here: the setting is entirely different from Nicaea, Lagoudhera, Mani, or Agios Andreas in Livadi. As at Agios Blasios, the Antiphonetes was made integral part of a larger composition. Consequently, the composition at the Prodromos chapel would not necessarily have reminded the observer of the famous Constantinopolitan icon. Again, an inscription of the name was vital, as there was no iconographic key to the image.[63] The style of the paintings is flat and linear and points to the later thirteenth century. The tendency, however, to incorporate the Chalkoprateia icon into a larger composition as already encountered at Agios Blasios, appears to be a peculiarity of Palaeologan Cerigo. This could well have been the result of wishes expressed by patrons originating from Monemvasia who had to accomodate local practices and requirements. The early Palaeologan chapels of Cerigo are of very modest dimensions and might often have required the abbreviation, condensation, or fusion of originally separate pictorial entities.

The chapel of Agios Demetrios in the vicinity of the village Kambianika is located on the ridge of a projecting but low hill separating two valleys in southern Kythera and commanding spectacular views towards the east coast. Though now an isolated spot, nearby are remains of other medieval buildings, which may have belonged to a monastery, or perhaps to the mansion of the lord of the estate. Agios Demetrios is built on a square plan surmounted, without proper transition zone, by a remarkably tall drum and a shallow

[63] CHATZIDAKIS, BITHA, *Corpus*, pp. 193-197; Ἀρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον, 42 (1987), B'1 (Χρονικά), pls. 59α, β.

dome (fig. 9). There is no narthex, but a single, uncommonly spacious apse.[64] The wall-paintings at Agios Demetrios, in several layers, are of comparably high quality throughout. The lavish use of expensive blue pigment for backgrounds reflects the prosperity and social rank of the patron.

The apse conch is occupied by a monumental bust of the eponymous saint (fig. 10). The facial style is very conspicuous: the large eyes show a mask-like emphasis on the upper and lower lids, and although the contours are stressed throughout, the face is not without plasticity. The schematic but intricate, almost sculptural drawing of the curly hair together with the rather gloomy tones of yellow and brown give the face a bronze-like quality. In particular the rendering of the eyes and hair recalls the style of Hosios Loukas. The inscription is well preserved Ο ΑΓΙΟC (Δ)ΗΜΗΤΡΙΟC. Immediately beneath the saint in the apse cylinder appear the minute figures of patron and patroness. On the left, the patron is shown in half profile, his face is striking with hollow cheeks, dark reddish brush strokes in the beard and huge almond-shaped, protruding eyes casting deep shadows below. The expressivity of the face is the same which is encountered in the saint's portrait just above. The patron wears a dark purplish dress and a tight white cap, his hands are outstretched in supplication towards the saint.[65] The patroness, to the right, is again displayed in half profile. She wears a crown-like white headdress, a white fringed scarf and a dark red garment patterned with squares enclosing cruciform designs, the hem is yellow. This pattern is a mere colour variant of the one which adorns the saint's blue and gold garment, and would seem to stress the social rank of the couple. The apse cylinder below is occupied by a row of seven standing saints with St John Chrysostom in the centre. The current templon severely interferes with the decoration of the curved sanctuary walls and is obviously a much later insertion. The position of the original templon is unclear as a transition from naos to sanctuary is difficult to localize. The Annunciation unfolds on the spandrels of the apse arch, showing Gabriel on the left and the Virgin on the right. To the left of Gabriel, St Onouphrios is half cut off by the modern templon. On the southern bema wall, to the right of the Theotokos, survive substantial fragments of two standing figures, St Andrew and Christ. The lower portion of Andrew

[64] LAZARIDES, Βυζαντινα Μνημεια Κυθηρων, p. 188, pl. 178 β; CHATZIDAKIS, BITHA, *Corpus*, pp. 24-26. The dome has been consolidated after having been hit by lightning; see E. GHINI-TSOFOPOULOU, *The Contribution of the Archaeological Service to the Conservation of the Byzantine and Post-Byzantine Monuments of Kythera*, in CHATZIDAKIS, BITHA, *Corpus*, p. 316.

[65] A similar cap is worn by the patron in a 13th-century wall-painting at Ag. Polycarpos, Phoinikies on Kythera; CHATZIDAKIS, BITHA, *Corpus*, p. 291, fig. 11. Virtually the same white cap is seen on donor portraits in Cappadocia; cf. M. RESTLE, *Die byzantinische Wandmalerei in Kleinasien*, II, Recklinghausen, 1967, fig. 301 (Kılıçlar Kuşluk, Göreme).

Fig. 9. Agios Demetrios, Kambianika (Kythera). Photo author.

Fig. 10. Agios Demetrios, Kambianika (Kythera), wallpainting in apse. Photo after Chatzidakis / Bitha, *Corpus*, 147, fig. 6.

Fig. 11. Agios Demetrios, Kambianika (Kythera), St Andrew. Photo author.

is again cut off by the templon screen (fig. 11), while the figure of Christ is already outside the sanctuary as it is now defined by the modern iconostasis. Of the Christ figure (fig. 12) only the upper part of the face is preserved, with large staring eyes, the halo and the letters IC̄ inscribed in white on a blue ground. The paintings of the apse, sanctuary and bema walls all belong to the same, first layer in the church, and would appear to have been executed by the same hand. The style is exceptionally vigorous and still bears the imprint of a Middle Byzantine school, not in the selective and somewhat retrospective fashion seen at Agios Blasios, but as a living force. I would rather be inclined to assign the wall-paintings to the late twelfth or early thirteenth century, at any rate prior to the early Palaeologan flourishing of wall-painting on Cerigo.

The concentric decoration of the dome and drum would appear to be considerably later in date. The central, much damaged medallion containing the bust of the Pantocrator is framed by an ornamented band and encircled by busts of prophets alternating with angels and a tetramorph (fig. 13). The next, outer circle is occupied by standing figures of prophets displaying unfolded inscribed scrolls, with St John Prodromos and Isaiah in the centre just above apse and sanctuary. As these paintings belong to the second phase of the decoration, it is possible that the program took the already existing sanctuary murals into account. For instance, Isaiah with his prophecy of the Incarnation is placed directly above the Annunciation, a connection regularly illustrated in Middle Byzantine programs.[66] In general, the paintings of the second phase in the dome and drum are more linear and flat than those of the first in the sanctuary. But the well-drawn figures, elaborate layout and

[66] The lowest and widest circle of the drum painting is occupied by medallions of apostles and belongs to a yet different, third phase, that was added in the 14th century; to this stratum also belongs the donor's inscription at the base of the dome, which hence does not supply any information concerning the foundation of the building; CHATZIDAKIS, BITHA, *Corpus*, pp. 152-153.

Fig. 12. Agios Demetrios, Kambianika (Kythera), head of Christ. Photo author.

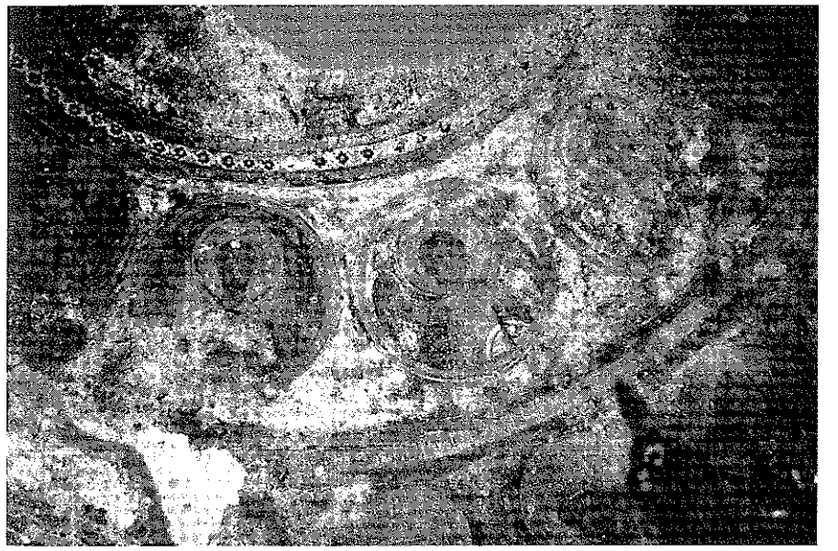

Fig. 13. Agios Demetrios, Kambianika (Kythera), view of dome. Photo author.

extensive use of luminous blue pigment testify to the ability of the artist as well as to the prosperity of his patron, who would have been a successor of the couple depicted in the apse. A date towards the end of the thirteenth century perhaps suits best this second stratum which thus once again falls exactly within the era of the three archontes on Cerigo.

Orthodoxy on Venetian Cerigo

The ruined chapel of Agios Demetrios at Mesa Vourgo, a small, aisleless vaulted structure, is situated on the northern flank of the steep hill crowned by the Venetian fortifications of Kapsali (Chora), the capital of later medieval Cerigo which occupies the windswept southernmost promontory of the island. In the area of Mesa Vourgo, just outside and below the fortification walls, the more well-to-do *cittadini* of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries built their private chapels. The painted decoration of these churches often shows the Venetian influence typical of the Ionian Islands.[67] The apse of Agios Demetrios is still standing (fig. 14) as well as the south wall which is articulated by two large blind arcades. The vault as well as the entire north wall have long ago collapsed and fallen down the almost vertically rising flank of the mountain. There are no traces of a narthex. All surviving paintings are in a deplorable condition, but the apse conch in particular preserves in places much of its original colour. This may be due to the fact that the sun hardly ever reaches into the conch which is screened off practically all day by the mountain. In the rather tall apse a decorative program in three registers is still discernable (fig. 14). The conch contained a painting of the Ascension, of which still survive the wing of an angel and the head of an apostle in dark green, brown, and reddish tones (fig. 15). The centre of the composition is very worn and can only barely be made out. In the apse cylinder, the upper zone is the better preserved. It shows the Communion of the Apostles. The left (north) half is in parts still astonishingly well preserved, in particular the figures of Peter, Christ, and another apostle as well as the altar with the Eucharist (figs. 16-17). Again, the greenish flesh tones with dull brown shading, and the beards rendered with light brown or grey brush strokes result in a somewhat gloomy coloristic scheme, despite the purplish red of the garments and the luminous blue of the background. The

[67] The most conspicuous example is the apse painting of the archangel Michael in the chapel of St George built by the Kaloutzis family in the 15th century, which betrays in its style a strong influence of Italian Renaissance painting; Chatzidakis, Bitha, *Corpus*, p. 130, fig. 1. See also the late 15th-century paintings including a donor portrait in western dress on the templon at Ag. Antonios, Palaiochora; *ibidem*, p. 88 fig. 1, p. 92 fig. 14.

right (south) half of the composition has largely flaked off. In the lower zone of the apse cylinder, faint remains of a representation of the Melismos can be made out. The elaborately rendered plumage of the wings, parts of the head and body of an angel-deacon can still be seen on the left, along with traces of the altar and the feet of another angel-deacon to the right of the altar.[68] Otherwise, the painting is obliterated. There are fragments of other scenes in the two lunettes of the south wall and in a remaining section of the vault just above. The decoration of this chapel confronts the viewer with more than one paradox, above all the incongruity of a late style and seemingly anachronistic iconography. The style of the faces, which can easily be studied in the three well preserved heads in the Communion of the Apostles, is soft and completely lacks the linearity and emphasis on contours so typical of early Palaeologan painting on Cerigo. The shadows in green and brown, the well developed plasticity, the somewhat heavy heads and bodies, the rounded small eyes are already far removed from the style still lingering in Cerigo's thirteenth-century wall-paintings. This dominance of soft, rounded contours and bodily volume is best attributed to western influence which would have reached the island from the early fourteenth century onwards via Crete, or directly from Venice.[69] The wall-paintings can hardly be dated prior to about 1400, while those at Agios Antonios and Archangelos Michael (?), Palaiochora, datable to the fifteenth century, display a much more mature western influence, a more subtle plasticity and different coloristic scheme.[70] The paintings of the Vourgo chapel seem in fact transitional both in drawing and colour, half way between an already retrospective Middle Byzantine style and a more 'modern' concept perhaps mediated by

[68] Cf. C. Walter, *The Christ Child on the Altar in Byzantine Apse Decoration*, in *Actes du XVe congrès international d'études byzantines, Athènes 1976*, Athens, 1981, pp. 909-913; see also C. L. Striker, Y. Doğan Kuban, *Work at Kalenderhane Camii in Istanbul: Second Preliminary Report*, *DOP*, 22 (1968), pp. 185-193.

[69] An exchange of artists between Italy and the Ionian Islands was already practised in the 13th century. A letter Georgios Bardanes, the metropolitan of Corfu, wrote to Nectarius, abbot of Casole (1220-35) concerns a Corfiote painter who is recommended to work at Casole; published by Mustoxidi, *Delle cose corciresi*, Corfu, 1846, p. 43, quoted after M. Lascaris, *Un centre de culture byzantine en Italie méridionale*, *Byz.*, 21 (1951), p. 256.

[70] Chatzidakis, Bitha, *Corpus*, p. 88, fig. 1; p. 105, figs 7, 8. There has been some confusion about the date of the murals in the Mesa Vourgo chapel. Lazarides, Βυζαντινα Μνημεια Κυθηρων, p. 185 would even place them as late as the 17th century. While this would not be unfeasible in rural areas of mainland Greece, on Venetian Cerigo western influence had already become so predominant in the course of the 15th century, that the transitional style and anachronistic program of the chapel would have been completely out of place. Besides, the general layout of the chapel is still middle Byzantine, while chapels of the 17th century in the Ionian Islands had long before adopted Venetian architectural forms. Chatzidakis' and Bitha's tentative attribution to the period around 1400 seems appropriate; Chatzidakis, Bitha, *Corpus*, p. 157.

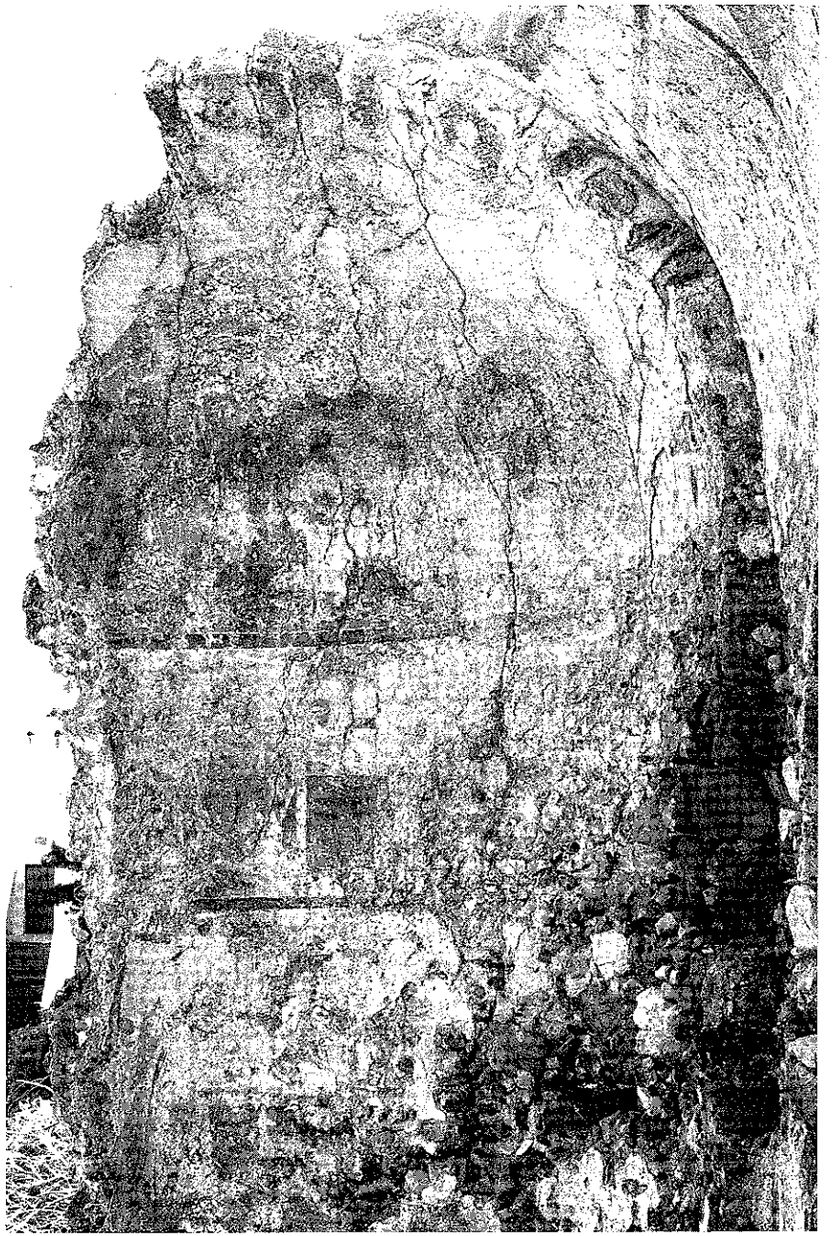

Fig. 14. Agios Demetrios, Mesa Vourgo (Kythera), view of apse.
Photo author.

Fig. 15. Agios Demetrios, Mesa Vourgo (Kythera), Ascension (fragment).
Photo author.

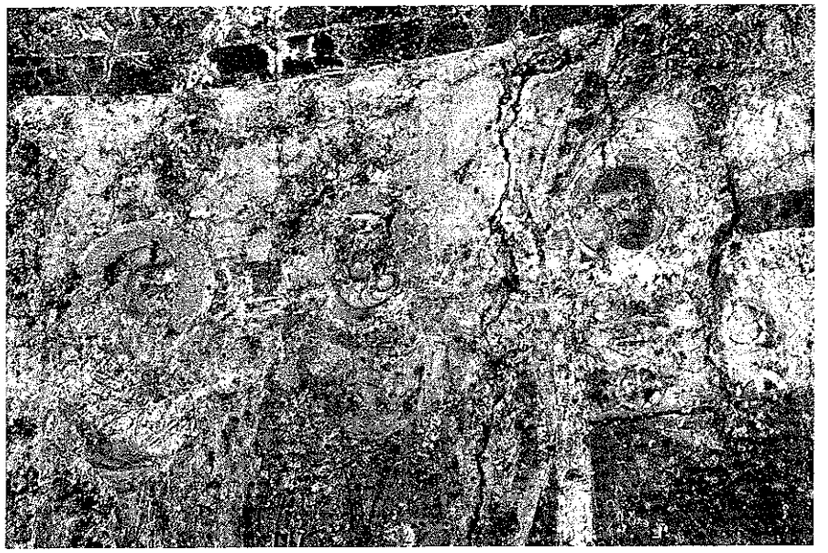

Fig. 16. Agios Demetrios, Mesa Vourgo (Kythera), Communion of the Apostles. Photo author.

Fig. 17. Agios Demetrios, Mesa Vourgo (Kythera), Communion of the Apostles, detail: Christ. Photo author.

icons from Zante or Crete. But the painting remains essentially Byzantine and shows nothing of the strong Venetian flavour not much later encountered in other Mesa Vourgo chapels. This ambiguity extends to the iconographic program. To place the Analepsis theme in the apse conch is an archaism and elsewhere encountered in much earlier churches.[71] A combination of the Communion of the Apostles and the Melismos in two superimposed zones essentially means that the same liturgical theme is repeated twice – and a third time on the actual altar just below, when the Holy Eucharist is being celebrated. What was intended seems to be a hierarchy of symbolic enactments in image and reality. Christ himself administers the Eucharist to his disciples: the archetype of the actual celebration performed by the priest on the altar in front of the image. Directly behind the altar and below the historic prototype, is seen the heavenly enactment of the same rite, now performed by angel-deacons with the bread on the paten transformed into Christos Amnos. The depiction of Christ himself performing the rite is set between his Ascension and the angels in heaven with the body of the Christ-Lamb symbolically replacing the eucharistic bread. Thus a four-fold program was created: a symbolic representation of the Eucharist in time and eternity, juxtaposed to its actual enactment and combined with the Ascension which points to the Second Coming.[72] Related programs can be seen at Mystra, in particular at the Peribleptos, datable to the second half of the fourteenth century.[73] While the apse conch there is occupied by the Virgin enthroned, the upper register of the apse cylinder contains the Melismos, and the Communion of the Apostles is painted on the side walls. The Ascension is in the presbytery vault. The style at the Peribleptos is more Byzantine: this is most evident in the elongated bodies of St John Chrysostom and the officiating angel-deacons in the Melismos as well as the apostles and Christ in the Communion fresco. Despite the resemblance of the two programs, there is a difference in what is stressed as the focus of the decoration. Since at the Peribleptos the Virgin is shown in the conch, the Melismos is placed below, and the Communion of the Apostles has been shifted to the flanking walls, the hierarchy of actual and celestial celebration of the Eucharist in the altar

[71] The Ascension is first encountered as an apse motif at S. Venanzio in Laterano in the 7th century.

[72] The only decoration of the south wall to survive in substantial parts is a large figure of the enthroned Christ occupying the south eastern blind arcade, next to the apse. The head and the entire upper section of the painting is lost, but the seated figure is still discernable.

[73] S. DUFRENNE, *Les programmes iconographiques des églises byzantines de Mistra* (*Bibliothèque des CA*, 4), Paris, 1970, pp. 13-18, pl. 29, fig. 60. At Mystra, related and roughly contemporary apse programs are found for instance at Agia Sophia (Majestas Domini in the conch and Melismos in the cylinder) and Evangelistria (Virgin enthroned in the conch and Communion of the Apostles in the cylinder).

area is not as accentuated as at Agios Demetrios.[74] The program at the Mesa Vourgo chapel looks at the same time condensed and focused on the real enactment of the eucharistic rite and its celestial counterpart, rigidly superimposed in horizontal zones: the Melismos which occupies the upper register at Peribleptos, was moved to the lower zone at Agios Demetrios in order to accommodate the Communion of the Apostles above. While at Mystra, and frequently on Cerigo, the Virgin is seen in the conch signifying the Incarnation and closely connected with the rite of the Eucharist, Christ's Ascension in the apse conch at the Mesa Vourgo chapel alludes to his Second Coming. Seemingly, what was achieved here is a fusion of ancient (Ascension in the conch) and recent currents (triple evocation of Divine Liturgy) in apse decoration. But the location of the Ascension may simply have been, as so often in Cerigotan chapels, the result of the restricted space and the necessity to condense programs created for more ample settings when adapted to single-aisled, domeless chapels. While at Mystra the Ascension is found in the presbytery vault, it was shifted in the narrow Cerigotan chapel to the apse conch. But the parallel at Mystra shows that the decoration of this modest chapel is – despite its already moderately western style – in fact less retrospective than up to date. It attests to the awareness of painters and patrons in a Venetian province of what was practised in Palaeologan Mystra. But it should be stressed that the paintings cannot be attributed to a travelling workshop from Mystra: despite the painter's obvious acquaintance with art of a major Byzantine centre, the style at Agios Demetrios has distinctly moved on towards an integration of western modes of representing body and space. This would soon become a dominant feature in painting on Cerigo and the Ionian Islands, setting this current apart from the mainland.[75]

A reflection of the apse program of the Peribleptos in a small chapel erected by a wealthy *cittadino* of Venetian Cerigo is somewhat unexpected, but matched by the employment of the conspicuous ogival arches at Agios Antonios, Palaiochora and in the church at Bithoulas, mentioned above, most likely modelled on the window frames in the palace of the Despot at Mystra. All this testifies to continuing contacts to Lakonia while once again Monemvasia and travelling (or settling) Monemvasiots are the most likely mediators of this more metropolitan art. If the churches of Mystra represent

[74] The Melismos is already seen in the apse cylinder of Ag. Georgios, Dourianika, of 1275, with the Platytera occupying the conch; see CHATZIDAKIS, BITHA, *Corpus*, p. 134, fig. 1.

[75] Cf. the wall paintings at Ag. Ioannes Prodromos and Metamorphosis-Soteras at Mylopotamos (Kastro), Metamorphosis-Soteras at Metata; CHATZIDAKIS, BITHA, *Corpus*, pp. 202-209, 224-233.

a condensation of late Byzantine iconography, the chapel at Mesa Vourgo constitutes a further abbreviated version of the same currents. As at Peribleptos, the apse area is above all a reflection of liturgical thought. I was not able to trace a similar program elsewhere on Kythera and it cannot be excluded that the design entirely evolved from the expressed wishes of the patron. It seems as if a statement of Orthodox continuity, of undisturbed Byzantine identity is being made.[76] Perhaps, on Venetian Cerigo which since almost a century had ceased to form part of the empire, the idea of perpetuating Byzantium had already a more factual and pressing significance. At Mystra, the concept of 'Byzantium after Byzantium' would become historically relevant only half a century later.[77]

CONCLUSION

Who was responsible for the iconographic programs and the choice of subjects that were to be depicted in the numerous early Palaeologan chapels? While the dates proposed by Chatzidakis and Bitha may be shifted within the later thirteenth century, very few paintings could reasonably be assigned to the twelfth, in particular none of the more complex programs. As it appears, this is not indigenous art, but reflects the former environment of those who had migrated or were exiled to Cerigo. Given the already existing strong ties of Cerigotan society to Monemvasia, a substantial percentage of those seeking refuge on the island should have come from Monemvasia in 1248 and later, probably encouraged by the long presence and consolidated position of the Eudaimonoiannis clan on Cerigo.[78] But who would personally

[76] Even much later, Francesco Foscarini observes in a letter dated 4 September 1585: '... li stati suoi di Levante habitati da popoli Greci, che discordando da rito nostro Latino, osservano li dogmi e ceremonie, diversamente notabile dalla Catholica religione, e che tanto sono li animi et pensieri loro fissi nella osservanza di quel culto, che hanno in certo modo per execrabile la prattica de Latini; Onde, se per caso in una delle loro chiese vien celebrato li divini officii in altra maniera di quello è osservato da loro, non officiano quella chiesa, se prima non è purificata e di nuovo consacrata.' SATHAS, *Documents inédits* V, pp. 69-72.

[77] N. JORGA, *Byzance après Byzance*, Bucarest, 1935.

[78] The northern chapel (Agios Nikolaos) of the church of Agios Demetrios at Pourko records in the founder's inscription the name of Demetrios, the painter, archdeacon of Monemvasia. The date is now lost, but Chatzidakis and Bitha concluded that it should be dated 1287 or 1302, because of a reference to the 15th indiction and the fact that Cerigo was subject to the jurisdiction of the see of Monemvasia from 1275 to 1307. The above mentioned inscription at Agios Georgios, Dourianika, records the foundation of the chapel in 1275 by a certain Ioannikios, when Gregorios was Metropolitan of Monemvasia (1262-1285); see CHATZIDAKIS, BITHA, *Corpus*, pp. 181, 140-41. But a main influx of immigrants from Byzantine centres after the fall of the empire to the Latins perhaps took place already earlier in the century, as Cerigo was certainly known to have remained unoccupied by the Latins after 1204.

have commissioned the wall-paintings? Not the emperor, but rather the three archontes and above all the local landowners on whose estates the chapels were erected. Since the first two phases of painted decoration in the twin chapel of Agios Blasios kai Panagia, including the Antiphonetes, cannot be far removed from each other in time, the entire complex must be dated within the period of the three archontes. The same is true of the Antiphonetes layers at Agios Andreas (Livadi), and at the Prodromos chapel (Potamos). However, at Agios Demetrios, Kambianika, the situation is slightly different. The first layer comprising the entire apse and bema decoration has little in common with the murals referred to above. These paintings, including the two donor portraits, must have been executed within the first half of the thirteenth century, at the latest. But the second stratum, covering the dome and drum, once again is best placed within the era of the three archontes. The programs at Agios Demetrios, Kambianika and Agios Blasios kai Panagia are likely to be wholesale imports, whose artists had to travel to the island. The diversity of styles and levels of craftsmanship which shortly after 1261 all of a sudden became available on Cerigo is quite striking and could hardly have evolved locally, as the island could never have sustained so many workshops simultaneously. Presumably, this development largely depended on the presence of prosperous immigrants from Byzantine centres, wishing to recreate part of their former environment on a rural, sparsely populated and remote island which had remained free of Latin occupation. There can be little doubt that the Constantinopolitan element on Cerigo was due to the dominant Monemvasiot Eudaimonoiannis family, who remained in power throughout the 13th century.[79] Branches of this family not only had founded the city of Agios Demetrios (Palaiochora) before 1200 which allegedly once contained three hundred private chapels.[80] Their influence must have increased considerably after the fall of Monemvasia to the Franks in 1248, when still more members of the Eudaimonoiannis clan, and other Monemvasiots following their example, moved to Cerigo.

[79] '... essendo con la venuta di questo Eudemonoiani stato per all'hora levato il carico et il governo al predetto Pacchi, al quale vi romasse solamente in possessione particolare, (ove ancho hebbe doppo a finire i giorni), la Mittutta, locco così chiamato, sopra tutto il resto dell'isola detto Eudemonoiani sendo rimasto assoluta padrone e Signore.' *Memorie*, pp. 301-302.

[80] On the many chapels attached to houses in Agios Demetrios (Palaiochora), see G. E. INCE, TH. KOUKOULIS, D. SMYTH, *Paliochora: Survey of a Byzantine City on the Island of Kythera. Preliminary Report*, in *Annual of the British School at Athens*, 82 (1987), pp. 95-107; INCE ET AL., *Paliochora. Second Report*, pp. 407-416; D. K. ZAGLANIKIS, Παληόχωρα. Φρουριακή Ἀρχιτεκτονική, Zakynthos, 1962; P. VOCOTOPOULOS, Ἡ Βυζαντινή Τέχνη στά Ἑπτάνησα, in Κερκυραϊκα Χρονικα, 15 (1970), pp. 148-180; O. RIEMANN, *Recherches archéologiques sur les Îles Ioniennes* IV (*Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome* 8), Paris, 1879, p. 19.

When in 1261 the recapture of Constantinople and the recovery of Monemvasia by the Byzantines established Palaeologan rule, the axis Cerigo-Monemvasia-Constantinople was naturally strengthened. From this time also dates the church founded by the people of Cerigo at Monemvasia, the Παναγία Μυρτιδιώτισσα.[81] The Eudaimonoiannides still continued to hold key positions in the Palaeologan administration of the Morea after 1300: *they* constituted the class of educated Byzantines who had brought Constantinopolitan themes and habits to Cerigo already for as long as a century then.

In considering possible reasons for the Antiphonetes' comparably frequent appearance on thirteenth-century Cerigo, the legend must have played a decisive role. Because of the long famous Constantinopolitan shrine, knowledge of the history of its main cult image may be presumed at least for those who came from Monemvasia: the responsive faculty of the icon was particularly suited to the personal devotion practised in rural chapels.[82] Furthermore, at Agios Blasios it also appears as if the Antiphonetes had taken the position of the Mandylion in the context of the enthroned Virgin. There, the Antiphonetes would have assumed an additional theological quality: a symbol of the Incarnation, a sign of the historicity of Christ. This may have its reason in the strikingly 'human' reaction of the original icon changing the colour of its complexion, i.e. its 'flesh'. Conceptually, the Antiphonetes icon indeed seems to have been conceived of in similar terms as the acheiropoieta. The legend of the Antiphonetes was singled out to be incorporated into the liturgy of the Feast of Orthodoxy commemorating the refutation of iconoclasm at Nicaea in 787. While according to the iconophile argument the acheiropoieta were important as images not made by man, the Antiphonetes icon was significant in this context because of its human behaviour:

[81] In 1262 Monemvasia was ceded to Michael VIII and became the seat of an imperial governor (κεφαλή). Michael granted the citizens of Monemvasia fiscal exemptions, which were confirmed by Andronikos II, who also founded the church of Agia Sophia at Monemvasia. Under Andronikos II, Monemvasia's prosperity increased. In the chrysobull issued by Andronikos in 1293, the metropolitan of Monemvasia bears the title 'Exarch of all the Peloponnese', the diocese was raised to the 10th rank in the empire; see W. MILLER, *Essays on the Latin Orient*, Cambridge, 1921, pp. 233-235, pl. 3, fig. 1.

[82] The location of responsive icons on either side of the sanctuary opening and their function during liturgy and private prayer was recently studied by Sophia Kalopissi-Verti, who stressed that the pose assumed by these most sacred figures, usually Christ and the Mother of God, was one of response manifested in gestures, epithets, and inscriptions: icons were engaged in a visual dialogue with one another as well as with the supplicant. Antiphonetes and Eleousa at Nicaea are among the earliest examples of this type of intercessory image which may be associated with the Trisagion hymn; see KALOPISSI-VERTI, *The Proskynetaria*, pp. 118, 123 with note 78. On devotional practices regarding the large-scale, highly personal images in closest proximity to the sacred, see also GERSTEL, *Late Byzantine Sanctuary Screen*, p. 157.

as 'guarantor' and 'responder' the image becomes specifically active, and by changing its colour it assumes almost bodily presence.[83] In this way it comes close to the acheiropoieta: having received the imprint of Christ's face, the Mandylion and Keramion were regarded as proof of the Incarnation, the human body of Christ. In Mani, in the church at Episkopi near Stavri, the Antiphonetes is displayed, accordingly, side by side with the acheiropoieta on the pillars of the bema.

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SUMMARY

This paper investigates a number of rural chapels on the island of Kythera which may reasonably be placed within a largely unexplained period of transition between Palaeologan and Venetian rule (1261-1363). By placing the murals within a wider context of painting in the periphery of Byzantium as well as reinterpreting the Venetian sources, an attempt is being made to shed light on the local preconditions that led to an extraordinary abundance of newly erected and decorated chapels during the late thirteenth century.

[83] In the context of Byzantine Neoplatonism, Pentcheva singled out the Antiphonetes icon as an example of an 'inspirited' image; PENTCHEVA, *Icons and Power*, pp. 150-152.

'AT THE RESURRECTION WE WILL NOT RECOGNISE ONE ANOTHER': RADICAL DEVALUATION OF SOCIAL RELATIONS IN THE LOST MODEL OF ANASTASIUS' AND PSEUDO-ATHANASIUS' *QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS*

For most contemporary scholars the Byzantine vision of the afterlife is encapsulated in depictions of the Last Judgement on church walls and in illuminated manuscripts. There we find the resurrected arrayed in neat groups below the enthroned Christ. These groups are identified through labels and through specific characteristics as kings, bishops, and male and female martyrs and ascetics. Moreover, it is sometimes possible to make out individual saints because they are depicted in the same fashion as on their icons. However, this does not mean that all Byzantines conceived of the afterlife in this manner. In the three centuries between 550 and 850 there existed a group of dissenters who asserted that all resurrected would look like Christ in his thirtieth year and who made the further claim that without distinguishing characteristics it would be impossible for the resurrected to recognise people whom they had known during their earthly lives. In this article I will reconstruct the debate surrounding this theory and I will identify the factors that led to its emergence.

The seventh and eighth centuries, the Byzantine 'Dark Age', saw the rise of a new literary genre, the so-called *Questions and Answers*, which deal with a variety of topics that contemporaries found puzzling.[1] Two main collections are extant. One was written by the monk Anastasius of Sinai around the year 700 whereas the other, attributed in the manuscripts to the fourth-century theologian Athanasius of Alexandria, has been dated to the

[1] Earlier collections of *Questions and Answers* exist but they tend to focus on Scripture, cf. A. VOLGERS and C. ZAMAGNI (ed.), *Erotapokriseis: Early Christian Question-and-Answer Literature in Context. Proceedings of the Utrecht Colloquium, 13-14 October 2003*, Leuven, 2004. The collections from the seventh and eighth centuries deal with problems that the faithful encountered in their daily lives. Cf. A. CAMERON, *Disputations, polemical literature and the formation of opinion in the early Byzantine period*, in G. J. REININK and H. L. J. VANSTIPHOUT (eds.), *Dispute Poems and Dialogues in the Ancient and Medieval Near East*, Leuven, 1991, pp. 91-108. For discussions of specific topics, cf. e.g. G. DAGRON, *Le saint, le savant, l'astrologue: étude de thèmes hagiographiques à travers quelques recueils de 'Questions et réponses' des Ve-VIIe siècles*, in *Hagiographie, cultures et sociétés (IVe-VIIe siècles)*, Paris, 1981, pp. 143-155; and J. A. MUNITIZ, *Anastasios of Sinai's teaching on body and soul*, in L. JAMES (ed.), *Desire and Denial in Byzantium: Papers from the Thirty-First Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, University of Sussex, Brighton, March 1997*, Aldershot, 1999, pp. 49-56.

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early eighth century.[2] Scholars have repeatedly observed that Anastasius and Ps-Athanasius address many of the same issues and that they do so in strikingly similar fashion.[3] Three explanations can be envisaged: either one of the texts is dependent on the other, or both texts are adaptations of the same now lost model.[4] To arrive at a definite conclusion it would be necessary to make detailed comparisons of the entire texts because we cannot assume *a priori* that the situation is the same for every topic. Here I will only discuss one passage, which deals with the question whether we will be able to recognise our families and our friends and acquaintances after we have departed from this life. Both Anastasius and Ps-Athanasius discuss this topic in two steps, considering first the time between death and resurrection when the souls are deprived of bodies, and then the Last Judgement and the Kingdom of Heaven when they will again be united with them.[5] Moreover, they take the same stance, claiming that disembodied souls have no distinguishing characteristics and that the resurrected bodies will also look alike, which will make it impossible for one individual to identify another. The similarities even extend to the individual arguments. For example, both authors regard Adam's body before the fall as the template for the resurrection body,[6] and they illustrate the fall and restitution of the human race with Christ's parable of the seed that drops from the ear to the ground, dies and then grows again, eventually producing another ear.[7] Despite these similarities, however,

[2] Anastasius of Sinai, *Quaestiones et Responsiones*, ed. J. A. MUNITIZ and M. RICHARD, *Anastasii Sinaitae Questiones et Responsiones*, *CCSG*, 59, Turnhout, 2006; Pseudo-Athanasius, *Quaestiones ad Antiochum ducem* 26, *PG*, 28, 597-700. For the respective dates cf. K.-H. UTHEMANN, *Anastasii Sinaitae Viae Dux*, *CCSG*, 12, Turnhout – Leuven, 1981, p. ccviii, no. 72; and G. THÜMMEL, *Die Frühgeschichte der östlichen Bilderlehre: Texte und Untersuchungen zur Zeit vor dem Bilderstreit*, Berlin, 1992, pp. 246-252.

[3] Apart from the articles mentioned in footnote 1 cf. above all the fundamental study by J. HALDON. *The Works of Anastasius of Sinai: A Key Source for the History of Seventh-Century East Mediterranean Society and Belief*, in A. CAMERON and L. CONRAD (ed.), *The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East, Volume I: Problems in the Literary Source Material*, Princeton, 1992, pp. 107-147, esp. pp. 120-123, with juxtaposition of corresponding passages.

[4] Direct dependence of Ps-Athanasius on Anastasius was claimed by M. RICHARD, *Les véritables "Questions et Réponses" d'Anastase le Sinaïte*, in *Bulletin de l'Institut de Recherche d'Histoire des Textes*, 15 (1969), pp. 39-56; and J. HALDON and L. BRUBAKER, *Byzantium in hte Iconoclast Era: The Sources. An Annotated Survey*, Aldershot, 2001, p. 269. The alternative explanations are mentioned by HALDON, *The Works of Anstasius of Sinai*, p. 122.

[5] Cf. Anastasius, *Quaestiones* 19.10-11, ed. MUNITIZ-RICHARD, pp. 34-35, ll. 89-107, and Ps-Athanasius, *Quaestiones* 22-24, *PG*, 28, 609D2-613A4.

[6] Cf. Anastasius, *Quaestiones* 19.11, ed. MUNITIZ-RICHARD, p. 35, ll. 98-99, and Ps-Athanasius, *Quaestiones* 24, *PG*, 28, 612B10-12.

[7] Cf. Anastasius, *Quaestiones* 19.11, ed. MUNITIZ-RICHARD, p. 35, ll. 99-102: ὥσπερ οἱ ἀπὸ στάχυος παραπεσόντες καὶ εἰς γῆν ταφέντες σμικρότατοι κόκκοι οὐ μικροὶ ἀνίστανται, ἀλλὰ πεπληρωμένοι στάχυες γίνονται, οἷοι ὑπῆρχον πρὸ τῆς ἐκπτώσεως; and Ps-Athanasius, *Quaestiones* 24, *PG*, 28, 612D1-613A1: ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ σίτου στάχυν ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ στάχυος γέγονεν ὁ κόκκος, καὶ πάλιν σπειρόμενος ἀναβλαστάνει στάχυς.

the two versions are not as closely related as one might expect. Ps-Athanasius discusses the topic in considerably more detail than Anastasius. For example, his likening of disembodied souls to insects is not found in the other text.[8] One might be tempted to explain this discrepancy as a secondary elaboration. However, comparison of another passage cautions again concluding that Ps-Athanasius was dependent on Anastasius. As I have already mentioned both authors refer to Christ's parable of the seed corn. However, only Ps-Athanasius offers us an interpretation of this parable, which explains why it is relevant to the question.[9] This suggests that in this case Ps-Athanasius reflects a fuller original version that was then abbreviated by Anastasius. Both similarities and differences are most easily explained when we assume that both Ps-Athanasius and Anastasius adapted the same source, an earlier collection of *Questions and Answers* that is now lost.

Analysis of a further argument that appears in both texts provides further corroboration of this hypothesis and at the same time gives us an insight into the nature of the lost source. It is the claim that at the Last Judgement God will give some people a special grace, which will allow them to recognise one another despite the absence of all distinguishing marks. In the two texts the reference to divine intervention appears in different contexts. Ps-Athanasius inserts it into the section about the disembodied souls:

> Καὶ γὰρ φοβερὸς ὁ λόγος καὶ ξένος, ὅτι οὐκ ἐπιγινώσκομεν ἀλλήλους ἐκεῖ, ἀλλὰ ἀγνώριστοι ἀδελφοὶ ἀδελφοῖς, καὶ πατέρες υἱοῖς, καὶ φίλοι φίλοις καθεστήκαμεν. Ἀπόκ. Ὁ ἐπιγνωρισμὸς ἐκ σωματικῶν σημείων γίνεσθαι πέφυκε. Αἱ δὲ ἀσώματοι ψυχαὶ ὅμοιαι ἀλλήλαις κατὰ πάντα τρόπον ὑπάρχουσιν, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ πλήθους τινῶν ἀσπίλων καὶ ὁμοίων περιστερῶν ἢ μελισσῶν, οὐ διαφερουσῶν μία τῆς μιᾶς, οὔτε σεμνότητι, οὔτε μεγαλειότητι, ἀλλὰ κατὰ πάντα ἐν ἰσότητι ἀλλήλαις οὔσαις. **Τοῦτο δὲ λέγω ἐπὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ ᾅδῃ καταδικασθεισῶν ψυχῶν τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν, ὅτι ἑαυτὰς οὐκ ἐπιγινώσκουσι. Ταῖς γὰρ τῶν δικαίων ψυχαῖς καὶ τοῦτο ὁ Θεὸς τὸ ἀγαθὸν, λέγω δὴ τὸν ἐπιγνωρισμὸν, ἐδωρήσατο.**[10]
>
> There exists a frightful and strange theory that we will not recognise each other there, but that we will be unrecognised as brothers by our brothers, as fathers by our sons, and as friends by our friends. Answer: Recognition naturally happens through bodily signs. But the disembodied souls are like each other in all respects, just like a swarm of wasps and identical doves or bees, which do not differ from one another through smallness and bigness, but are in all respects identical with each other. **This I say about the souls of the**

[8] Ps-Athanasius, *Quaestiones* 22, *PG*, 28, 612A3-5.

[9] Only Ps-Athanasius mentions that the grown corn will be incorruptible, just as the resurrected body will be without the distinguishing signs that are the result of corruption.

[10] Ps-Athanasius, *Quaestiones* 22, *PG*, 28, 609D2-612A11.

sinners who are condemned in Hell that they do not recognise each other. For on the souls of the righteous God has bestowed this good gift, too, namely recognition.

The last two sentences have no counterpart in Anastasius' section about the disembodied souls where no exception is envisaged.[11] However, when we turn to the following section about the resurrected we find the opposite scenario because now it is Anastasius who adds a qualification that limits the validity of the general framework:

Ἀλλ' οὐδὲ μετὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν ἀλλήλους ἐπιγνωσόμεθα **φυσικῷ ἐπιγνωρισμῷ**· οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν, οὐκ ἔστιν ἐκεῖ σμικρότης καὶ μεγαλειότης σωμάτων, οὐ λευκότης καὶ μελανότης, οὐ νηπιότης καὶ γηραλαιότης, ἀλλ' οἷος γέγονεν ὁ Ἀδάμ, τοιοῦτοι πάντες οἱ ἀπ' αἰῶνος κεκοιμημένοι ἀνιστάμεθα... **Τῷ μὲν οὖν φυσικῷ λόγῳ οὐδεὶς τὸν ἕτερον ἐπιγινώσκει, θεϊκῇ δὲ ἐπιτροπῇ πολλοὶ πολλοὺς ἐπιγνώσονται· καὶ γὰρ καὶ περὶ Ἰουδαίων εἴρηται, ὅτι Ὄψονται εἰς ὃν ἐξεκέντησαν.**[12]

But even after the resurrection we will not recognise one another **through natural recognition.** For there is definitely no smallness and bigness of bodies, no whiteness and blackness, no infancy and old age, but as Adam was, so will all of us rise who have died from the beginning of time... **Through natural law, then, nobody recognises the other, but through a divine order many will see many others because it is also said about the Jews, that 'they will see whom they have pierced'.**

Ps-Athanasius speaks in this section only about the impossibility of natural recognition.[13] However, this does not necessarily mean that he rules out a divine intervention because he has limited the significance of his statement right from the start:

Δεδόσθω τοίνυν κατὰ τὸν σὸν λόγον, αἱ ψυχαὶ ἀλλήλας οὐκ ἐπιγινώσκουσι νῦν· εἶτα ἆρα οὔτε ἐν τῇ ἀναστάσει ἐπιγνώσονται ἀλλήλους **οἱ ἁμαρτωλοί**, λέγω δὲ οἱ ἐκ μιᾶς χώρας καὶ οἴκου καὶ γένους ὑπάρχοντες; Ἀπόκ. Οὔτε ἐν τῇ ἀναστάσει.[14]

Granted, then, that the souls do not recognise each other now according to your theory. Do **the sinners** then afterwards also not recognise each other at the resurrection, I mean those who are from one place and house and family? Answer: Not at the resurrection either!

[11] Anastasius, *Quaestiones* 19.10, ed. MUNITIZ-RICHARD, p. 34, ll. 89-94: Πῶς δὲ ὅλως ἐκεῖ ἀλλήλας ἀναγνωρίζουσιν αἱ ψυχαί, αἱ μηδέποτε γυμνὰς ἐν τῷ βίῳ τούτῳ ἀλλήλας θεασάμεναι; Ὁ γὰρ ἐπιγνωρισμὸς ἐκ τῆς διαφορᾶς καὶ τῶν συσσήμων τῶν παρηλλαγμένων γίνεται· ψυχὴ δὲ νῦν ἐκεῖ παραλλαγὴν εἴδους ἢ μορφῆς παρὰ τὴν ἑτέραν οὐ κέκτηται, ἀλλὰ πᾶσα οὐσιώδης ὁμοιότης καὶ ἰσότης παρ' αὐταῖς.

[12] Anastasius, *Quaestiones* 19.11, ed. MUNITIZ-RICHARD, p. 34, ll. 95-107.

[13] Ps-Athanasius, *Quaestiones* 24, *PG*, 28, 612D3-613A4. The text will be quoted in full and discussed further down.

[14] Ps-Athanasius, *Quaestiones* 23, *PG*, 28, 612A12-B2.

Accordingly all following statements refer exclusively to sinners and have no bearing on the righteous.

From the analysis of the texts it is apparent that the references to supernatural recognition are rather clumsily integrated into the texts. Anastasius does not state that disembodied souls can be recipients of a divine grace. Accordingly, the reader gets the impression that they cannot recognise each other although there can be little doubt that this was not Anastasius' real opinion. Similarly, Ps-Athanasius' interlocutor 'forgets' at the beginning of the section about the resurrection that the significance of the previous statement has been limited to the souls of sinners and again refers to disembodied souls in general. Moreover, Ps-Athanasius then speaks in his answer only about resurrected sinners and makes no mention of the fate of the righteous at all. Accordingly the reader is left to wonder whether the previous statement about God's special grace for the righteous soul also applies to the time after the resurrection. These inconsistencies suggest strongly that both Anastasius and Ps-Athanasius introduced their appeals to divine intervention independently from one another into a common model. The author of the original text would then have taken an uncompromising stance, ruling out the possibility of mutual recognition in the afterlife for everybody. Accordingly one can hypothesise that Anastasius and Ps-Athanasius regarded this position as too extreme and that they changed the meaning of the original text by making exceptions for particular groups or by claiming that the original argument only applied to sinners.

Fortunately for us we have at our disposal several texts that permit us to substantiate this hypothesis. The first of these texts is a sermon for the Orthodox feast of All Souls that goes under the name of John of Damascus but is clearly the work of another author who lived in the first half of the ninth century.[15] This author who has been tentatively identified with the Iconophile confessor Michael the Synkellos (+ 846) did not write a homily in the normal sense of the word but rather a treatise in defence of the belief that the living could alleviate the torments of the dead through prayers and almsgiving.[16] However, in the last part of the text he abandons this topic and instead offers a critique of an erroneous notion about the Last Judgement:

[15] Ps-Damascene, *De his qui in fide dormierunt*, *PG*, 95, 247-277, for the manuscript tradition, cf. J. M. HOECK, *Stand und Aufgaben der Damaskenos-Forschung*, in *OCP*, 17 (1951), pp. 5-60, esp. p. 39, and note 3.

[16] The identification was proposed by Hoeck, cf. previous footnote. However, cf. D. STIERNON, *Michel le Syncelle (saint), hagiographe byzantin, + 846*, in *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité*, 10 (1980), pp. 1193-1197.

> Μὴ γὰρ οἰέσθω τις, ὅτι οὐκ ἀναγνωρισμὸς ἑκάστου πρὸς ἕκαστον ἐπὶ τῆς φοβερᾶς ἐκείνης συναγωγῆς γενήσεται. Ναὶ, ὄντως ἕκαστος ἀναγνωριεῖ τὸν πλησίον αὐτοῦ, **οὐ τῷ τοῦ σώματος σχήματι, ἀλλὰ τῷ διορατικῷ τῆς ψυχῆς ὄμματι.**[17]
>
> For nobody shall think that there will be no mutual recognition at that terrifying gathering. Yea, each one will indeed recognise his neighbour, **not through the shape of the body, but through the clairvoyant eye of the soul.**

It is evident that Ps-Damascene was confronted with the theory that nobody will recognise anybody else at the resurrection and that he sought to rebut this theory through recourse to a supernatural mode of recognition. This shows not only that such a more extreme view existed but also strengthens our case that Anastasius and Ps-Athanasius, too, modified this view by appealing to a divine intervention. Analysis of the following argument suggests that the relation between Ps-Damascene and the two extant collections of *Questions and Answers* is even closer. In order to substantiate his claim that mutual recognition will indeed be possible Ps-Damascene adduces a Biblical text, the parable of Lazarus and Dives, which states explicitly that Dives recognised both Lazarus and Abraham.[18] However, he is aware that this argument might not pass muster because he adds the following comment:

> Καὶ μή τις εἴποι, διὰ τὸ παραβολὴν εἶναι τὸ πρᾶγμα, τὸν σκοπὸν ὑπάρχειν ἀναπόδεικτον. Αἱ γὰρ τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν θεῖαι παραβολαὶ, πραγμάτων εἰσὶν ἑστώτων, ἐνδεχομένων, καὶ ἀποδεδειγμένων.[19]
>
> And nobody shall say that this does not prove anything because it is a parable. For the divine parables of our Saviour are of things that exist, are possible and are proven.

Significantly, a similar objection is voiced by Ps-Athanasius. Before he speaks about disembodied souls in general he deals with the suggestion of his interlocutor that Dives could identify Abraham and that recognition should therefore be possible in the afterlife. In order to undermine the validity of this argument he explains:

> Ὁ Κύριος παραβολικῶς ὅλα τὰ κατὰ τὸν Λάζαρον καὶ τὸν πλούσιον εἴρηκεν, ὥσπερ καὶ περὶ τῶν δέκα παρθένων, καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν παραβολῶν. Οὐ γὰρ ἐν πράγματι γέγονεν ἡ τοῦ Λαζάρου παραβολή.[20]

[17] Ps-Damascene, *De his qui in fide dormierunt* 29, *PG*, 95, 276A5-9.
[18] Ps-Damascene, *De his qui in fide dormierunt* 29, *PG*, 95, 276A10-15.
[19] *Ibidem*, 276A15-B4.
[20] Ps-Athanasius, *Quaestiones* 21, *PG*, 28, 609C9-12.

> The Lord told the whole story about Lazarus and Dives as a parable, just like that about the Ten Virgins and the other parables. For the parable of Lazarus has not really happened.

This argument is also found in Anastasius' text, albeit in a different context.[21] This suggests strongly that it goes back to the common source of the two collections of *Questions and Answers*. I would therefore suggest that Ps-Damascene had before him this source and that he responded directly to it. In this case Ps-Damascene's recourse to a supernatural mode of recognition would constitute a direct parallel to the modifications that the authors of the *Questions and Answers* introduced into their model.

This argument can be further strengthened when we turn to a *Catechesis* of Theodore of Stoudios (+ 825), which dates to the late eighth or early ninth century.[22] This text, which is addressed to the monks of Stoudios, deals with several erroneous beliefs that had found entry into the community. Having criticised the view that one can infer the condition of the soul of a deceased person from the condition of the corpse Theodore moves on to the next theme:

> Πρὸς δὲ τούτοις καὶ ἕτερον λογομαχοῦσί τινες ἐπὶ καταστροφῇ τῶν ἀκουόντων, ὅτι οὐ γνωριοῦμεν ἑαυτοὺς οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἐν τῇ παλιγγενεσίᾳ, ὅταν ἔλθῃ ὁ Υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ κρῖναι τὰ σύμπαντα. Φασὶ γάρ· Πῶς φθαρτοὶ ὄντες ὀπηνίκα ἄφθαρτοι καὶ ἀθάνατοι γενώμεθα, ὅτε οὐκ ἔνι Ἕλλην καὶ Ἰουδαῖος, βάρβαρος, Σκύθης, δοῦλος, ἐλεύθερος, ἄρσεν καὶ θῆλυ, ἀλλὰ πάντες ἀγγελοειδεῖς, δυνατὸν εἶναι γνωρίσαι ἀλλήλους;'[23]
>
> Moreover, some make a further contention to the detriment of the listeners, that we human beings will not recognise each other at the rebirth, when the Son of God comes to judge all things. For they say: 'How is it possible that we who are corruptible will recognise each other when we become incorruptible and immortal, when there is no Greek and Jew, barbarian, Scythian, slave, freeman, male and female, but all will look like angels?'

In the following Theodore then concedes that we will be given an incorruptible body instead of our earthly body but he insists that this change will not impede mutual recognition.[24] In the concluding paragraph he sets out his own position:

> Ὅθεν πιστευτέον ὅτι γνωρίσει ἀδελφὸς ἀδελφόν, καὶ πατὴρ τέκνον, καὶ γυνὴ τὸν σύνευνον, καὶ φίλος τὸν φίλον· προσθείην δ' ἂν, καὶ ἀσκητὴς τὸν ἀσκητήν, καὶ ὁμολογητὴς τὸν ὁμολογητήν, μάρτυς τε τὸν

[21] Anastasius, *Quaestiones* 21.1, ed. MUNITIZ-RICHARD, p. 38, ll. 1-7.
[22] Theodore of Stoudios, *Parva catechesis* 22, ed. E. AUVRAY, *Sancti patris nostri et confessoris Theodori Studitis praepositi parva catechesis*, Paris, 1891, pp. 79-84.
[23] Theodore of Stoudios, *Parva catechesis* 22, ed. AUVRAY, p. 81, ll. 25-30.
[24] *Ibidem*, p. 82-83, 57-64.

> σύναθλον καὶ ἀπόστολος τὸν συναπόστολον, οἱ πάντες τοὺς πάντας, ἵνα ᾖ πάντων εὐφραινομένων ἡ κατοικία ἐν τῷ Θεῷ τῷ μετὰ πάντων τῶν ἀγαθῶν δωρουμένῳ καὶ τὸ γνωρίζειν ἀλλήλους.[25]
>
> Therefore one must believe that a brother will recognise his brother, and a father his child, and a wife her husband and a friend his friend, and I might add, also an ascetic another ascetic, and a confessor another confessor, a martyr a fellow-fighter, and an apostle a fellow-apostle, all people all other people, in order that there be an abode of all who rejoice in God who has given also mutual recognition together with all the other good gifts.

It is evident that like Ps-Damascene, Theodore was confronted with a text that denied mutual recognition to all human beings and that he proposed the same solution: he accepted that natural recognition was not possible but argued that God would endow human beings with a special grace. However, his more detailed discussion permits us to determine more clearly the relationship between the text, which he had in his hands, and the versions found in the extant *Questions and Answers*. The three arguments that he attributes to his adversaries have exact counterparts in the text of Ps-Athanasius: there, too, it is argued that individual differences will disappear with corruptibility, that there will be no differences in gender and that the resurrected will be like angels.[26] Even more striking is the series ἀδελφὸς ἀδελφόν, καὶ πατὴρ τέκνον, καὶ γυνὴ τὸν σύνευνον, καὶ φίλος τὸν φίλον, which matches Ps-Athanasius' ἀδελφοὶ ἀδελφοῖς, καὶ πατέρες υἱοῖς, καὶ φίλοι φίλοις almost exactly. This leaves no doubt that the text against which Theodore polemicized was indeed the source of Ps-Athanasius. In this case, Theodore's statement οὐ γνωριοῦμεν ἑαυτοὺς οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἐν τῇ παλιγγενεσίᾳ gains particular significance. It clearly corresponds to Ps-Athanasius' οὔτε ἐν τῇ ἀναστάσει ἐπιγνώσονται ἀλλήλους οἱ ἁμαρτωλοὶ and thus supports our hypothesis that Ps-Athanasius' reference to sinners is a secondary change and that his argument originally referred to all human beings.

Further analysis confirms that Theodore did indeed have in front of him a substantial text that dealt with other questions as well. In his first counter-argument he states that nothing is impossible for God and that one should therefore not subject the resurrection itself to rational analysis:

> Πῶς γὰρ τὸ διαρρυὲν σῶμα καὶ ὑπὸ θηρὸς τυχὸν βρωθὲν ἢ πετεινοῦ ἢ ἰχθύος, καὶ τοῦτο πολυτρόπως καὶ ἀλληλούχως, δυνατὸν ἐν τῇ ἐσχάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ εἰς ταυτὸν συναχθῆναι.[27]

[25] *Ibidem*, p. 83, l. 64-70.
[26] A detailed analysis will be offered further down.
[27] Theodore of Stoudios, *Parva catechesis* 22, ed. AUVRAY, p. 81, ll. 33-36.

> For how is it possible that a body, which has decomposed and which has perhaps been eaten by a beast or by a bird or by a fish and this in many ways and consecutively, will at the last day be gathered in one place?

This is a curious argument because it has no direct relevance to the issue of mutual recognition. Theodore only manages to return to the main theme at the very end when he claims that the soul recognises its own body and that it will therefore also recognise the bodies of others. This raises the question: why would he have introduced this digression? An answer suggests itself when we compare Theodore's words with Anastasius' discussion of the resurrection for there the initial question reads as follows:

> Πῶς τὸ σῶμα τὸ ὑπὸ μυρίων θηρίων καὶ πετεινῶν καταβρωθέν, ἢ θαλάττῃ καταποντισθέν, καὶ ὑπὸ ἀμετρήτων ἰχθύων ἀναλωθέν, καὶ ἐν τῷ βυθῷ ἀφοδευθέν, καὶ διαλυθέν, πῶς συνάγεται καὶ εἰς ἀνάστασιν ἔρχεται;[28]
>
> How is gathered and led to the resurrection the body, which has been eaten by countless beasts and birds or has been sunk in the sea and has been consumed by uncountable fish, and has been excreted in the depth and has dissolved?

The similarity between the two passages is so striking that it cannot be coincidental. However, this does not necessarily mean that Theodore adapted this passage from Anastasius' *Questions and Answers*. It seems more likely that he borrowed it from the same text that had so disturbed his monks. In order to support this hypothesis we need to consider the thrust of the original argument. Anastasius responds that the doctrine of the resurrection contradicts our knowledge of natural processes but that it is nevertheless true because God can do all things, and it seems highly likely that his source already made the same point.[29] I would therefore suggest that Theodore appealed to this argument in order to subvert the theory that the resurrected will not be able to recognise each other. Since his adversary accepted in principle that God can intervene into the created order he could point out that there was therefore no reason why God should not also have bestowed on the resurrected a supernatural mode of recognition.

The evidence presented so far leaves no doubt that Anastasius and Pseudo-Athanasius made use of an earlier text, another collection of *Questions and Answers*, which had a very similar content but took a much more uncompromising stance. Indeed, it seems likely that mutual recognition in the afterlife was not the only topic where the two authors toned down the extreme stance

[28] Anastasius, *Quaestiones* 22.1, ed. MUNITIZ-RICHARD, p. 42, ll. 3-6. Cf. Ps-Athanasius, *Quaestiones* 114, *PG*, 28, 668D7-669A2.
[29] Anastasius, *Quaestiones* 22.3, ed. MUNTIZ-RICHARD, p. 43, ll. 31-35.

of their model. A parallel case is the 'sleep of the soul'. Both Anastasius and Ps-Athanasius claim that souls need their bodies in order to be functional and that they are therefore comatose after death.[30] Moreover, they insist that when the faithful see the saints in dreams and visions it is not the saints themselves that appear to them but rather angels who have taken on the outward appearance of the saints.[31] The same arguments are already attested in the late sixth century when the Constantinopolitan presbyter Eustratius sought to disprove them in his treatise on the state of the souls after death.[32] However, there is one significant difference. Whereas Eustratius' adversaries claimed that all souls were inactive after death, Anastasius and Ps-Athanasius made an exception for the saints.[33] As a consequence the original argument loses much of its force because if the souls of the saints are active the main reason for their inability to appear in dreams and visions has disappeared. Thus one can argue that the common source of Anastasius and Ps-Athanasius took the more extreme position of Eustratius' adversaries that all souls are comatose and that the two later authors then made an exception for the saints in order to make this position more palatable to their readers.[34]

Unfortunately, the exact date of Anastasius' and Ps-Athanasius' source is not known. However, the fact that the denial of mutual recognition after death is not mentioned in earlier texts suggests that this source was not much older than its two adaptations. This argument is further strengthened when we consider that in Greek Patristic literature the analogous theory of the inactivity of saints is for the first time attested in Eustratius' treatise.[35]

[30] Anastasius, *Quaestiones* 19.6, ed. MUNITIZ-RICHARD, p. 32, ll. 51-57; Ps-Athanasius, *Quaestiones* 33, *PG*, 28, 647A3-10.

[31] Anastasius, *Quaestiones* 19.8, ed. MUNITIZ-RICHARD, p. 33, ll. 64-75. Ps-Athanasius, Quaestiones 26, *PG*, 28, 643B1-C1. Cf. G. DAGRON, *L'ombre d'un doute: L'hagiographie en question, VIe – XIe siècle*, in *Homo Byzantinus. Papers in Honor of Alexander Kazhdan*, *DOP*, 46 (1992), pp. 59-68.

[32] Eustratius, *De statu animarum*, ed. P. VAN DEUN, *Eustratii Presbyteri Constantinopolitani De statu animarum post mortem (CPG 7522)*, *CCSG*, *60*, Turnhout, 2006, esp. pp. 25-85. On Eustratius and his work, cf. N. CONSTAS, *An apology for the cult of saints in late antiquity. Eustratius presbyter of Constantinople 'On the state of the souls after death' (CPG 7522)*, *Journal of Early Christian Studies*, 10 (2002), pp. 267-285.

[33] Eustratius, *De statu animarum*, ed. VAN DEUN, p. 5, ll. 52-55. Anastasius, *Quaestiones* 19.7, ed. MUNITIZ-RICHARD, p. 33, ll. 58-63. Ps-Athanasius, *Quaestiones* 33, *PG*, 28, 647A11-13.

[34] Cf. D. KRAUSMÜLLER, *God or angels as impersonators of saints. A belief and its contexts in the Refutation of Eustratius of Constantinople and in the writings of Anastasius of Sinai*, in *Gouden Hoorn*, 6.2 (1998-1999), pp. 5-16.

[35] The theory of a 'sleep of the soul' first appears in Greek texts in the late sixth century. Cf. J. GOUILLARD, *Léthargie des âmes et culte des saints: un plaidoyer inédit de Jean diacre et maïstor*, in *TM*, 8 (1981), pp. 171-186, esp. p. 180-181, and N. CONSTAS, *'To Sleep Perchance to Dream': The Middle State of Souls in Patristic and Byzantine Literature*, in *DOP*, 55 (2001), pp. 91-124, esp. pp. 110-112. It is, of course, long before attested in Syriac literature.

Thus one can argue that the original text was written between the middle of the sixth and the middle of the seventh century.[36]

There can be no doubt that the impact of this text was considerable. As we have seen it elicited numerous responses. Anastasius and Ps-Athanasius reacted by tacitly modifying the position of its author. They accepted the basic premise that all resurrected will look alike and that natural recognition will therefore not be possible but limited its significance to specific groups. Ps-Athanasius speaks of all sinners whereas Anastasius' position is less clear-cut. He deduces from a Scriptural passage that the Jews who crucified Christ will see him in the afterlife, which implies that only some sinners will not be able to recognise others in the life to come.[37] Significantly, Anastasius and Ps-Athanasius were not the only authors who reacted in this manner. A strikingly similar view is expressed in further *pseudepigraphon* of the Alexandrian patriarch:

> Εἶτα ὁ ἐν βίῳ καὶ λόγῳ περίβλεπτος, καὶ τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ Ἐκκλησίας θεμέλιος Ἀθανάσιος, τάδε φησὶ περὶ τῶν ἐν Κυρίῳ νεκρῶν· ὅτιπερ Καὶ τοῦτο ὁ Θεὸς τοῖς σωζομένοις κεχάρισται, τὸ μέχρι τῆς κοινῆς ἀναστάσεως ἀλλήλοις ψυχικῶς συνεῖναι καὶ συνευφραίνεσθαι, ἀπεκδοχὴν ἔχοντας τῶν μελλόντων αὐτοῖς ἀποκληροῦσθαι θείων δωρεῶν· οἱ δ' ἁμαρτωλοί, καὶ ταύτης τῆς παραμυθίας ἐστέρηνται. Οὐ γὰρ ἔχουσι τὸ διαγνωστικὸν ἐν ἀλλήλοις. Ἐν ἐκείνῳ δὲ τῷ πανδήμῳ θεάτρῳ, καθὼς αἱ πράξεις ἀνακεκαλυμμέναι πάντων, οὕτω καὶ τὰ πρόσωπα γνώριμα παρὰ πάντων, ἕως οὗ ὁ πάντων ἔσχατος γένηται χωρισμός· καὶ ἀποπεμφθήσεται πᾶς τις, εἰς ὃν ἡτοίμασε τόπον ἑαυτῷ· οἱ μὲν δίκαιοι μετὰ Θεοῦ, καὶ ἀλλήλων· οἱ δ' ἁμαρτωλοί, ἐν τοῖς ἐκτόποις, ἢ καὶ μετ' ἀλλήλων· ἀλλ' ὅμως ἀγνώστως. Ἀπεστέρηνται γὰρ, καθὰ προείρηται, καὶ τῆς τοιαύτης παραμυθίας.'[38]

> Then Athanasius, who is famous in life and word and the foundation of the church of God, says this about the dead in the Lord: 'This, too, God has given those who are saved, that they will be together and rejoice together in their souls until the common resurrection, looking forward to the gifts that have been set aside for them. However, the sinners are deprived of this comfort, too, because they do not have the capacity to recognise each other. But in that

However, there an exception is usually made for the saints, cf. P. KRÜGER, *Le sommeil des âmes dans l'oeuvre de Narsaï*, in *L'Orient Syrien*, 4 (1959), pp. 193-210, and P. KRÜGER, *Traduction et commentaire de l'homélie de Narsaï sur les martyrs. Contribution à l'étude du culte des martyrs dans le nestorianisme primitif*, in *L'Orient Syrien* 3 (1958), pp. 299-316. See now also M. DAL SANTO, *Debating the Saint's Cult in the Age of Gregory the Great*, Oxford 2012, pp. 237-320.

[36] An early date is suggested by the fact that the mutual recognition in the afterlife is one of the topics discussed in Gregory the Great's *Dialogi*, cf. DAL SANTO, *Debating the Saint's Cult*, pp. 126-129.

[37] Anastasius, *Quaestiones* 19.11, ed. MUNITIZ-RICHARD, p. 35, ll. 106-107, cf. Luke 23:43.

[38] Ps-Damascene, *De his qui in fide dormierunt* 31, *PG*, 95, 276D9-277B1.

> universal theatre, as the deeds of all will be uncovered, so also will the faces be known by all, until the last separation of all takes place, and each one will be sent to the place that he has prepared for himself, the righteous with God and each other, and the sinners in the outer places or also with each other but even so without knowing each other, for as has been said before they are deprived of such a comfort, too.'

Here, too, we find a distinction between the disembodied souls before the resurrection and the embodied souls after the resurrection. Moreover, the author accepts that mutual recognition will not be possible by natural means but claims that the righteous are given a special grace that allows them to know each other both during the waiting period and in the Kingdom of Heaven. Only in one point does the text differ from the *Questions and Answers*: its author insists that at the Day of Judgement the privilege will be extended to the damned as well. The text must have been composed before the middle of the ninth century because it is quoted in Ps-Damascene's sermon about the dead. Thus it is possible that its author was a near contemporary of Anastasius and Ps-Athanasius who shared their views.

Significantly, Ps-Damascene did not confine himself to reproducing this text when he attempted to rebut the lost source. Instead he integrated it into a *florilegium* of genuine passages by John Chrysostom, Basil of Caesarea and Gregory of Nazianzus, which make the point that all resurrected will recognise those whom they had known in this world and even Old Testament figures and Christian saints whom they had never seen before.[39] This suggests that even in the ninth century authors made new contributions to the debate. The same impression is given by Theodore's catechesis. As we have seen he claims that the soul can recognise its own body when it is reunited with it and will therefore also be able to recognise the bodies of others, an argument that is not found in the earlier texts.[40] Moreover, he supports his position with a series of Scriptural arguments. Firstly, he quotes Christ's promise that the Apostles will judge the twelve tribes of Israel and then contends that this promise could not come true if the Apostles were not capable of recognising individuals;[41] and secondly, he avers that Job would not be able to receive the sons and daughters in the Kingdom of Heaven, which God had promised to give him instead of the ones he had lost because of the machinations of the devil.[42]

[39] Ps-Damascene, *De his qui in fide dormierunt* 30-31, *PG*, 95, 276B5-D9, with passages from Chrysostom, Basil, Ephraem and Gregory Nazianzen.
[40] Theodore of Stoudios, *Parva catechesis* 22, ed. AUVRAY, p. 81, ll. 36-38.
[41] *Ibidem*, p. 82, ll. 46-49.
[42] *Ibidem*, p. 82, ll. 49-52.

From the discussion so far it is evident that the author of the lost source had a considerable impact in seventh- to ninth-century Byzantium. What we have not yet asked is why he developed a new theory that set him at odds with such universally recognised authorities as Basil and Chrysostom and that raised so much opposition from contemporaries. In order to understand his motives we need to situate his arguments within the contemporary religious discourse. For this reason I will first examine in greater depth the author's views as far as they can be recovered from the later adaptations, and then in a second step seek counterparts for these views in other writings of the time. Two texts represent the author's arguments without modifications. The first of these texts is the brief summary by Theodore of Stoudios:

> Φασὶ γάρ· 'Πῶς φθαρτοὶ ὄντες ὀπηνίκα ἄφθαρτοι καὶ ἀθάνατοι γενώμεθα, ὅτε οὐκ ἔνι Ἕλλην καὶ Ἰουδαῖος, Βάρβαρος, Σκύθης, δοῦλος, ἐλεύθερος, ἄρσεν καὶ θῆλυ, ἀλλὰ πάντες ἀγγελοειδεῖς, δυνατὸν εἶναι γνωρίσαι ἀλλήλους;'[43]
>
> For they say: 'How is it possible that we who are corruptible will recognise each other when we become incorruptible and immortal, when there is no Greek and Jew, barbarian, Scythian, slave, freeman, male and female, but all will look like angels?'

The second text is the section about the resurrection in Ps-Athanasius' *Questions and Answers*. As I have argued before Ps-Athanasius preserves in this case the original argument and merely limits its significance to the sinners. In order to facilitate the comparison I will at first focus exclusively on those passages that have counterparts in Theodore's summary:

> Ὅτιπερ ἅπαντα τὰ ἐκ φθορᾶς καὶ σπορᾶς ἐπισυμβάντα τοῖς ἡμετέροις σώμασι σχήματα καὶ σημεῖα, καὶ παθήματα, δι' ὧν ἀλλήλους ἐπιγινώσκομεν ὧδε, ἐν τῇ ἀναστάσει τῶν νεκρῶν σὺν τῇ σπορᾷ καὶ φθορᾷ καταργοῦνται. ... Διὸ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν τῇ ἀναστάσει ἄρσεν καὶ θῆλυ, οὐδὲ μικρὸς καὶ μέγας, οὐδὲ μέλας καὶ λευκὸς, οὐδὲ ξανθότης καὶ πυῤῥότης, ἢ σιμότης ἢ γρυπότης, οὐδὲ διάφορα σχήματα, καὶ πρόσωπα, καὶ χρώματα, καὶ παθήματα, καὶ σκηνώματα. Ταῦτα γὰρ πάντα ἀπὸ σπορᾶς καὶ φθορᾶς γινόμενα σὺν τῇ φθορᾷ καταργοῦνται. ... Εἰ δὲ δύσπιστά σοι ταῦτα φαίνονται, ἄκουσον τοῦ Κυρίου πρὸς τοὺς Σαδδουκαίους λέγοντος, ὅτι ''Εν τῇ ἀναστάσει τῶν νεκρῶν οὔτε γαμοῦσιν, οὔτε γαμίζονται· ἀλλ' ἔσονται ὡς ἄγγελοι.' Οὐκοῦν ὥσπερ οἱ ἄγγελοι μιᾶς ἰδέας καὶ σχήματος ὑπάρχουσιν· οὕτω πιστεύομεν καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας φύσεως ἐν τῇ ἀναστάσει διὰ τῆς ἀφθαρσίας λοιπὸν γίνεσθαι.[44]
>
> That all the shapes and signs and sufferings that have accrued to our bodies out of corruption and conception, through which we recognise each other here,

[43] *Ibidem*, p. 81, ll. 27-30.
[44] Ps-Athanasius, *Quaestiones* 24, *PG*, 28, 612B3-D1.

> are abolished in the resurrection of the dead together with conception and corruption.... Therefore there is in the resurrection neither male nor female, neither small nor big, neither black nor white, neither blond nor red, or snub-nosed or hook-nosed, or different forms and faces and colours and sufferings and abodes. For all this, which has come to be out of conception and corruption, is abolished. ... But if this appears to you difficult to believe, hear what the Lord says to the Sadducees: 'In the resurrection of the dead they will neither marry nor give into marriage but will be like angels.' Therefore as the angels are of one form and shape, thus do we believe that it will also happen in our nature at the resurrection through incorruptibility.

Comparison of the two passages permits us to reconstruct the author's argument. He claimed that individual differences are a consequence of the fall when human nature became corruptible and that they have therefore no place in the resurrection bodies, which will again be incorruptible. In order to substantiate this hypothesis he adduced several Scriptural passages, Paul's claims that what is corruptible will disappear and that there will be no differences between men and women and between individuals belonging to different social classes and ethnic groups,[45] and Jesus' response to the question of the Sadducees what would happen in the afterlife if the same person was married more than once.[46]

Such speculation about the afterlife is not without precedent. Many Late Antique Christians had rejected the presence of sexual organs in the resurrected body, and the Origenists had claimed that the bodies of the resurrected would be globular, which excludes not only all resemblance with the earthly bodies but also individual differences.[47] This fundamental affinity did not escape the notice of Theodore who accused his adversaries of Origenist leanings.[48] However, further analysis reveals that in other respects the differences between the author of the lost source and the Origenists could not be greater:

[45] I Corinthians 15:52; Galatians 3:28, Colossians 3:11.

[46] Matthew 22:30; Luke 20:36.

[47] For ontological interpretations of Galatians 3:28 cf. Gregory of Nyssa, *De mortuis*, ed. G. HEIL and others, *Sermones, Pars I*, in *Gregorii Nysseni Opera*, 9, Leiden, 1967, pp. 63, ll. 8-17, and also Maximus Confessor, *Ambigua*, *PG*, 91, 1305C12-D3. Cf. also V. F. HARRISON, *Male and female in Cappadocian theology*, in *JThS*, N.S., 41 (1990), pp. 441-471, esp. pp. 465-471. On the particular notion of the globular body, cf. Emperor Justinian, *Edict*, ed. E. SCHWARTZ, *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum*, 3 (Berlin, 1940), p. 213, ll. 25-26. However, the notion of a sexless resurrection body can also be found outside Origenist circles, cf. e.g. *Apocryphum de Dormitione*, ed. A. WENGER, *L'assomption de la T. S. Vierge dans la tradition byzantine du VIe au Xe siècle. Études et Documents*, Paris, 1955, p. 232, ll. -6.

[48] Theodore of Stoudios, *Parva catechesis* 22, ed. AUVRAY, p. 82, ll. 54-56: Οὐκοῦν πάντοθεν συνῆκται ἄτοπον τὸ πρόβλημα, καὶ τῆς Ὠριγένους μυθολογίας ἴσον ἐστὶ κατὰ τὴν ἀσέβειαν.

> Καὶ ὥσπερ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ὁ Θεὸς ἕνα ἄνθρωπον ἐποίησεν, οὕτω καὶ ἐν τῇ παλιγγενεσίᾳ πάντες ὡς εἷς ἄνθρωπος ἐπανιστάμεθα· τουτέστι πᾶσα ἀνθρώπου εἰκὼν ὁμοία τῆς τοῦ Ἀδὰμ εἰκόνος καὶ πλάσεως, καὶ μεγέθους καὶ σχήματος. ... Καὶ πῶς λοιπὸν ἐπιγνώσεται, εἰπέ μοι, πατὴρ τὸ ἴδιον τέκνον νήπιον τελευτῆσαν, καὶ τριακονταετῆ τέλειον ἄνθρωπον ἀνιστάμενον, καθὼς καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς τριακονταετὴς ἐβαπτίσθη;[49]
>
> And as God made at the beginning one human being, thus we will also all rise again in the rebirth like one human being, that is, each image of a human being will be like Adam's image and form and size and shape. ... And how will then recognise, tell me, a father his own son who died as an infant and rises as a thirty-year-old perfect human being, just as Christ, too, was baptised in his thirtieth year?

From this passage we learn that individual differences will be removed not through a radical transformation of the earthly body but because of the fact that everybody will look like two particular individuals, namely Adam and Christ, who themselves will look completely alike. The reference to a particular age confirms that the incorruptible body will not be categorically different from the corruptible body that we presently have. In this case, too, the author's claims are based on Scriptural passages, in particular Paul's statements that there will be no differences because we will all be like Christ;[50] that we now bear the image of Adam but in the future will bear the image of Christ;[51] that we will be remade in Christ's image;[52] and that we will reach the stage of the perfect man.[53] It is evident that the author consistently interprets the Pauline statements in a 'corporeal' fashion. Such an interpretation is not without precedent but in earlier centuries it had not been considered acceptable within the Christian elite discourse. This is evident from Cyril of Alexandria's response:

> Ἀναμορφούμεθα γὰρ ὡς εἰς εἰκόνα τὴν θείαν εἰς Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν, οὐ σωματικὸν ὑπομένοντες τὸν ἀναπλασμόν – κομιδῇ γὰρ εὔηθες οἴεσθαι τουτί – διὰ δὲ τοῦ μεταλαχεῖν ἁγίου Πνεύματος, αὐτὸν ἐν ἑαυτοῖς πλουτοῦντες Χριστόν.[54]
>
> For we will be refashioned into the divine image, into Jesus Christ, not by experiencing a reshaping of the body – for who is so simple that he thinks such a thing – but by possessing Christ himself in ourselves through participation in the Holy Spirit.

[49] Ps-Athanasius, *Quaestiones* 24, *PG*, 28, 24, 612B7-C7.

[50] Galatians 3:28.

[51] I Corinthians 15:49.

[52] Romans 8:29.

[53] Ephesians 4:13.

[54] Cyril of Alexandria, *De recta fide ad Theodosium imperatorem*, 36, *PG*, 76, 1188B2-6.

By contrast, Anastasius and Ps-Athanasius and seemingly also Theodore and Ps-Damascene accept the author's exegesis without criticism. The most likely reason for this discrepancy is a shift in attitude, which sets the 'Dark Age' apart from Late Antiquity. Similar 'corporeal' interpretations of Biblical verses can be found in the *Life* of Euthymius of Sardes by Patriarch Methodius (+ 847), which dates to the second quarter of the ninth century.[55] In this text Methodius applies the Pauline verse about the perfect man to the saint's outward appearance.[56] Moreover, he then claims that in death the saint lowered his head onto his chest just as Christ had done on the cross, and he adds the explanation that this was the result of a special grace, which Paul had promised when he said that the saints will become 'of same shape as the image of the Son of God, which is his divine ... flesh' (σύμμορφοι τῆς εἰκόνος τοῦ Υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἥτις ἐστὶν ἡ θεία ... σὰρξ αὐτοῦ).[57] Such 'corporeal' interpretations of Biblical statements about the afterlife are probably a by-product of the anti-Origenist trend that gained force after the official condemnation of Origen and Evagrius in the middle of the sixth century.[58] Maximus, for example, complains in one of his letters that some of his contemporaries took their anti-Origenism so far as to claim that the resurrection body would be no different from the body that we have now.[59] Thus one can argue that the author of the lost source retained an Origenist notion, namely that there will be no individual differences in the afterlife, but that he transposed this notion into an anti-Origenist framework, which denied any radical transformation of the earthly body.

As I have said before the author's adversaries were all prepared to accept this framework. However, they then spoke of a divine intervention, which would make mutual recognition nevertheless possible. By contrast, the author himself does not even seem to have envisaged such a possibility. Here we are clearly in the presence of two diametrically opposite views about how

[55] Methodius of Constantinople, *Vita Euthymii Sardensis*, ed. J. GOUILLARD, *La vie d'Euthyme de Sardes († 831), une oeuvre du patriarche Méthode*, in *TM*, 10 (1987), pp. 1-101.

[56] Cf. Methodius, *Vita Euthymii Sardensis*, ed. GOUILLARD, 30, 65, 622: σῶμα πληθωρικὸν καὶ ἡλικίωσιν τελείαν ... προσκτώμενος; and Ephesians 4:13: εἰς ἄνδρα τέλειον εἰς μέτρον ἡλικίας τοῦ πληρώματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ. An even closer parallel to the *Questions and Answers* is found in the tenth-century *Life* of Nephon of Rhinocorura, 90, ed. A. V. RYSTENKO, *Materialy z istorii vizantijs'ko-slov'jans'koi literatury ta novy*, Odessa, 1928, p. 98, ll. 23-24.

[57] Methodius, *Vita Euthymii* 22, ed. GOUILLARD, p. 53, ll. 438-440.

[58] On the anti-Origenist current, cf. D. KRAUSMÜLLER, *Conflicting anthropologies in the Christological discourse at the end of Late Antiquity: the case of Leontius of Jerusalem's Nestorian adversary*, in *JThS*, N. S., 56 (2005), pp. 413-447.

[59] Maximus Confessor, *Epistula* 7, *PG*, 91, 433B8-12; cf. G. BENEVICH, *Maximus the Confessor's polemics against anti-Origenism. Epistulae 6 and 7 as a context for the Ambigua ad Iohannem*, in *RHE*, 104 (2009), pp. 5-15.

human beings perceive the world around them. Proponents of the two views clashed with each other in the final decades of Late Antiquity as is evident from a comparison of two sermons on the Transfiguration.[60] The first of these sermons was written by a priest called Timothy who in the manuscripts is identified as a resident of Antioch or of Jerusalem.[61] As was customary, Timothy spoke at some length about the figures of Moses and Elijah who appeared besides the transfigured Christ. In this context he makes the following remark:

> Καὶ πόθεν αὐτοῖς ἡ γνῶσις ὅτι Μωσῆς ἦν καὶ Ἠλίας; ἐκ τῶν τεκμηρίων· ὁ γὰρ Ἠλίας σὺν τῷ ἅρματι παρέστη καὶ ὁ Μωσῆς τὰς πλάκας βαστάζων.[62]
>
> And from where did they (sc. the Apostles) have the knowledge that it was Moses and Elijah? From the signs! For Elijah was there with the carriage and Moses carrying the tables.

Timothy was clearly puzzled by the fact that the Apostles could identify Moses and Elijah although Jesus had not told them who they were. Therefore he refers his audience to the distinguishing attributes of the two saints, the tables of the Decalogue that Moses received from God and the fiery carriage with which Elijah flew into heaven, arguing that they would have made identification possible.

This interpretation met with harsh criticism from Patriarch Anastasius I of Antioch (+ 599).[63] When Anastasius discusses the presence of Moses and Elijah on Mount Thabor he interrupts the flow of his argument and adds the following comment:

> Τὸ δὲ πυνθάνεσθαί τινας, πόθεν, ἢ πῶς, καὶ ἐκ τινῶν σημείων ἐπέγνωσαν οἱ μαθηταὶ τοὺς προφήτας οὔ μοι δοκεῖ κομψὸν ἐπερώτημα καὶ ζητήσεως ἄξιον εἶναι.[64]
>
> That some people ask from where and how and based on what signs the disciples recognised the prophets does not seem to me a subtle question nor one worth of being investigated.

Anastasius then explains that it was impossible for the Apostles not to have recognised Moses and Elijah because they had 'become more clairvoyant' (διορατικώτεροι γεγονότες) and were thus capable of intuiting their true

[60] For a detailed discussion cf. D. KRAUSMÜLLER, *Byzantine concepts of the resurrection: Timothy of Antioch*, in *Gouden Hoorn*, 5.2 (1997-1998), pp. 11-26.

[61] Timothy of Antioch, *In Crucem et in Transfigurationem*, *PG*, 86.1, 256-265.

[62] Timothy of Antioch, *In Crucem et in Transfigurationem*, *PG*, 86.1, 261B12-C1.

[63] Anastasius of Antioch, *In Transfigurationem*, *PG*, 89, 1361-1376.

[64] Anastasius of Antioch, *In Transfigurationem*, *PG*, 89, 1369B4-7.

identities 'especially since Jesus was there and illuminated the governing part of the soul and formed the intellect according to his own divine form' (μάλιστα παρόντος Ἰησοῦ καὶ φωτίζοντος τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν καὶ μορφοῦντος τὸν νοῦν πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ θείαν μορφήν).[65] Anastasius' claim that the Transfiguration on Mount Thabor was a foreshadowing of the Kingdom of Heaven shows clearly that he expected the resurrected to be able to recognise one another in the same manner because they would then participate in divine omniscience.[66]

Significantly, both authors also differ in the ways in which they conceptualise the resurrected body. Anastasius seems to expect a radical transformation for which Christ's transfiguration on Mt Thabor provides the model. By contrast, Timothy only allows for a slight qualitative improvement – he states that the faces of Moses and Elijah have become 'more florid than in their previous life' (ἀνθηροτέρους τῆς προτέρας ζωῆς) – and even goes so far as tacitly correcting the Biblical text because his claim that Christ appeared to the Apostles 'with his own face' (αὐτοπροσώπως) is clearly directed against Luke's statement that 'the form of his face became another one' (ἐγένετο τὸ εἶδος τοῦ προσώπου αὐτοῦ ἕτερον).[67] Indeed, there exists a close link between two themes. For Anastasius the translucent bodies of the resurrected, which permit an insight into their inner being, are the direct counterpart for their heightened powers of perception.[68] For Timothy, on the other hand, the resurrected bodies remain opaque just as the perception of the resurrected will not be materially changed.

It is evident that in this debate the author of the lost source sided with Timothy. Significantly Anastasius of Sinai and Ps-Athanasius, and possibly also Ps-Damascene and Theodore, also agree with Timothy at least insofar as the resurrection body is concerned. The probable reason for this discrepancy is the anti-Origenist current that I have mentioned before. Nevertheless, they share Anastasius of Antioch's belief that in the afterlife human beings will enjoy supernatural powers of perception. However, this does not mean that the author of the lost source and Timothy were isolated figures because in this field, too, we can perceive a trend towards greater restriction that sets apart the 'Dark Age' from earlier centuries. In Late Antiquity authors such as Athanasius of Alexandria had insisted that God alone is 'a knower of hearts' (καρδιογνώστης) whereas demons can only make inferences from

[65] *Ibidem*, 1368D12-1369A2; 1369B14-C1.

[66] *Ibidem*, 1369B7-11; 1365A5-8.

[67] Timothy of Antioch, *In Crucem et in Transfigurationem*, *PG*, 86, 261B3; 261A13; cf. Luke 9:29.

[68] Maximus uses the verbs διαφαίνεσθαι and διαβλέπειν in order to express the two corresponding notions, cf. Maximus Confessor, *Ambigua*, *PG*, 90, 1068A10-B4.

outward signs.[69] However, there is ample evidence that God-like powers were accorded to saintly human beings. Hagiographers tell us time and again that their heroes knew the identity and the problems of visitors even before these visitors had introduced themselves.[70] By contrast, authors writing between the seventh and the ninth century appear to have been more cautious. Ps-Athanasius argues that human souls are incomprehensible and Anastasius points out that we cannot see the souls themselves but only make inferences from the effects they have on the bodies.[71] Indeed, Ps-Athanasius goes so far as to claim that not only demons but even the angels themselves cannot look into the hearts of human beings because this is the prerogative of God alone.[72] These arguments are almost certainly adapted from the lost source. However, a similar passage is found in a sermon on the Annunciation, which most likely dates to the eighth century.[73] This leaves no doubt that the opinion expressed in the *Questions and Answers* had a wider currency. Indeed, it was still common in the early ninth century. In one of his sermons Theodore of Stoudios presents himself as an experienced spiritual father who can conjecture 'from the external movements what is stored up inside' (ἐκ τῶν ἔξωθεν κινημάτων καὶ τὰ ἔνδοθεν ἀποκείμενα).[74] In this case humility might have prevented Theodore from presenting himself as a clairvoyant. However, the same reticence is found in Theodore's hagiographical texts. In his *Encomium* of Plato he does not accord his saintly

[69] Athanasius of Alexandria, *Vita Antonii* 16-43, ed. G. J. M. Bartelink, *Athanase d'Alexandrie. Vie d'Antoine*, SC, 400, Paris, 1994, pp. 178-254.

[70] An exhaustive study of this phenomenon remains a desideraturm. However, cf. *Apophthegmata Patrum*, *Paul the Simple*, *PG*, 65, 381D2-5: εἶχε γὰρ καὶ ταύτην τὴν χάριν παρὰ κυρίου δοθεῖσαν αὐτῷ ὥστε ὁρᾶν ἕκαστον ὁποῖός ἐστι τῇ ψυχῇ ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς βλέπομεν ἀλλήλων τὰ πρόσωπα. Cf. also Palladius of Helenopolis, *Historia Lausiaca* 21, ed. C. Butler, *Palladius: Historia Lausiaca* 2, Cambridge, 1898, p. 63; *Life of Marcellus*, 23, ed. G. Dagron, *La Vie ancienne de saint Marcel l'Acémète*, in *AB*, 86 (1968), pp. 271-321, esp. p. 306, and Arcadius of Cyprus, *Life of Symeon the Younger* 93, ed. P. Van den Ven, *La vie ancienne de Syméon Stylite le Jeune*, I: *Introduction et texte grec*, *SH*, 32, Brussels, 1962, p. 73; c. 124, p. 194.

[71] Ps-Athanasius, *Quaestiones* 27, *PG*, 28, 613C3-7: ... ἃς οὐδεὶς οὐδαμῶς οὔτε εἶδεν οὔτε ἰδέσθαι ἐπὶ γῆς δύναται, ὡς εἰσί, λέγω δὴ Θεοῦ καὶ ἀγγέλων καὶ ψυχῶν; Anastasius, *Quaestiones* 19.3, ed. Munitiz-Richard, p. 35, ll. 20-23; 19.4, p. 35, ll. 35-37: ἡ ... ἀόρατος ἡμῶν ψυχὴ διὰ τοῦ ἰδίου αὐτῆς τοῦ ὁρωμένου σώματος ... τὰς οἰκείας ἐμφανίζει ἐνεργείας.

[72] Ps-Athanasius, *Quaestiones* 100, *PG*, 28, 660A11-B13: ... καρδιογνώστης μόνος ὁ Θεὸς ὑπάρχει· ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ αὐτοὶ οἱ ἄγγελοι τὰ ἐγκάρδια ... ἐπίστανται.

[73] Ps-Athanasius, *In Annuntiationem* 10, *PG*, 28, 932A4-B6: ἡμεῖς αὐτοὶ ψυχὴν ἐνσκηνοῦσαν ἐν τῇ σαρκὶ ἡμῶν ἔχοντες, οὐχ ὡς ἔστιν ἡ ψυχὴ ἰδεῖν αὐτὴν δυνάμεθα, ἀλλ' οἷον σκιὰς αὐτῆς καὶ τύπους ἀπὸ τῶν δυνάμεων αὐτῆς καὶ τῶν ἐνεργειῶν. For this text cf. D. Krausmüller, *The Flesh Cannot See the Word: "Nestorianising" Chalcedonians in the Seventh to Ninth Centuries AD*, forthcoming in *VigChr*.

[74] Theodore of Stoudios, *Magna Catechesis* 42, ed. J. Cozza-Luzi, *S. P. N. Theodori Studitae Magna Catechesis*, in *Nova Patrum Bibliotheca*, 9.2, Rome, 1888, p. 117, ll. 17-19.

uncle supernatural powers but rather characterises him as 'better at conjecturing' (στοχαστικώτερος) than anybody else.[75] This attitude is also reflected in the *Life* of Nicetas of Medikion from the first half of the ninth century.[76] When Nicetas is admitted into the community of Medikion the abbot Nicephorus recognises his qualities 'from the habit and the character' (ἔκ τε τῆς ἕξεως καὶ τοῦ ἤθους); [77] and when in due course Nicetas himself becomes abbot he shows himself to be an exceptional physician of his monks' souls 'because he recognised from the very movements and habits those who were dominated by thoughts or passions' (καὶ γὰρ ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν κινημάτων τε καὶ ἕξεων ἐπεγίνωσκεν τοὺς ὑπὸ λογισμῶν ἢ παθῶν τυραννουμένους).[78] Given this emphasis on the reading of outward symptoms it comes as no surprise that the saints are characterised as 'most discerning' (διακριτικώτατος) rather than 'most clairvoyant' (διορατικώτατος).[79] This is a far cry from Late Antique hagiographical texts whose authors made quite extraordinary claims about their heroes' abilities to read thoughts. The causes for this change lie most likely in a growing emphasis on the distance between God and the human soul. In one of his letters Maximus the Confessor complains that some of his contemporaries do not accept the teaching that the soul is a spiritual being out of fear that it might be confused with the divine.[80] A similar concern would then have impelled authors of the time to deny the soul omniscience, which was one of the main characteristics of God. In this debate the author of the lost text clearly took an extreme position. Whereas Theodore considered recognition by supernatural means to be possible in the afterlife he was not prepared to make a distinction between this life and the life to come.

So far we have established the context for the author's views that the resurrected will all look alike and that recognition of individuals is only possible on the basis of distinguishing signs. However, it is evident that he does not make these points for their own sake. Rather he uses them to build a scenario where mutual recognition becomes impossible. Thus we must ask: why would he have wished to deny the resurrected such abilities? In order to find an answer I will first look at the texts of his adversaries Anastasius, Ps-Athanasius, Ps-Damascene and Theodore. It is not difficult to see why these authors defended the possibility of mutual recognition after the resurrection.

[75] Theodore of Studios, *Laudatio Platonis*, *PG*, 99, 816B5.
[76] Theosterictus, *Vita S. Nicetae Confessoris*, in *Acta Sanctorum, Aprilis*, I, Paris and Rome, 1866, app. pp. xviii-xxvii.
[77] Theosterictus, *Vita Nicetae* 8, in *AASS Aprilis* I, p. xx.
[78] Theosterictus, *Vita Nicetae* 21, in *AASS Aprilis* I, p. xxii.
[79] Theosterictus, *Vita Nicetae* 8, in *AASS Aprilis* I, p. xx.
[80] Cf. BENEVICH, *Maximus the Confessor's polemics against anti-Origenism*, pp. 5-15.

They and their audiences clearly wished to be reunited with individuals whom they had known in this life. These individuals might be family members or, in the case of Theodore, members of a monastic community. Moreover, they hoped to encounter the saints about whom they had heard so much during services in church. However, one can also discern a further motive. When Chrysostom and Basil speak about the possibility of mutual recognition at the Last Judgement they are interested in the emotions that such recognition could spark, namely happiness in the case of the righteous and shame in the case of sinners. It is this last point that attracts the particular attention of the authors. Basil, for example, emphasises the shame that the usurers will feel when they are accused by all those whom they have harmed.[81] The reason for this focus on sinners is evident. Preachers tried to frighten them with the prospect of the Last Judgement in order to make them improve their behaviour. Ps-Damascene who quotes Basil makes this point explicit in the section that concludes the *florilegium*:

> Ποία δὲ καὶ ἄρα αἰσχύνη τοῖς κατῃσχυμμένοις γενήσεται, εἰ μὴ κατάδηλοι τοῖς πᾶσιν ὦσι; Τότε γὰρ χαλεπὴ καὶ μεγίστη αἰσχύνη, ὅταν καὶ γνωρίζῃ τις, καὶ γνωρίζηται πάλιν· πᾶς γὰρ αἰσχυνόμενος, τοὺς ἐγνωκότας αὐτὸν αἰσχύνεται· ἐπεὶ τῷ ἐν ἀγνώστοις ἀγνώστῳ, οὐδεμία μικροῦ δεῖν αἰσχύνη καταισχυνομένῳ γενήσεται. Ἀναμφίβολον οὖν τοῦτο καὶ ἀναντίῤῥητον, ὡς ἀριδήλως ἀλλήλους γνωριοῦμεν οἱ πάντες· καὶ τότε ὁ ἔλεγχος πάντων τῶν ἀπρεπῶς βιωσάντων κατ' ὀφθαλμοὺς ἑκάστῳ γενήσεται.[82]
>
> What shame will be experienced by those who have been shamed, if they are not obvious to all? For then it is a hard and great shame when one recognises and is again recognised, for everybody who is ashamed feels shame before those who know him, but for the unknown among unknown people, there is almost no shame in the one who is ashamed. Therefore this is indubitable and irrefutable that all of us will clearly recognise each other, and then the reproof of all who have lived indecently will be before the eyes of each one.

These two scenarios have in common that they are based on known modes of social interaction. Families and monastic communities are imagined to live together in the Kingdom of Heaven just as they did on earth and Christ's tribunal at the Last Judgement does not differ from ordinary law-courts where accused and accusers interacted with each other.

It is evident that neither Basil and Chrystostom nor their later followers Theodore and Ps-Damascene saw any problems in projecting everyday situations onto the afterlife. By contrast, the author of the lost source denies that the afterlife will be anything like this life. Thus it is hardly surprising that his theory is described as 'frightful … and strange' (φοβερός … καὶ ξένος)

[81] Ps-Damascene, *De his qui in fide dormierunt* 30, *PG*, 95, 276B5-12.
[82] Ps-Damascene, *De his qui in fide dormierunt* 33, *PG*, 95, 277B2-12.

by Ps-Athanasius' interlocutor and that it upset the members of Theodore's community. That the Byzantines would have regarded the author's vision of the afterlife as a nightmare scenario is confirmed by the monk Meletius. In his treatise *De natura hominis* Meletius claims that the distinction of human beings through individual characteristics is a work of God's providence and then underscores his point by sketching the alternative scenario:

> Σκόπει γὰρ, εἰ τὸν αὐτὸν ἅπαντες ἔσωζον ἀπαραλλάκτως χαρακτῆρα, πόση σύγχυσις τῶν πραγμάτων ἐγίνετο· πόση δὲ ἄγνοια καὶ σκότος κατεῖχε τὸν ἄνθρωπον· οὔτε τὸν ἀλλότριον, ἢ πολέμιον, ἢ χρηστὸν, ἢ φαῦλον διακρῖναι δυνάμενον· ... ἀλλ' οὐδὲ πατέρες καὶ παῖδες ἀλλήλους ἐγνώριζον· ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἄλλο τί συνέστη τῶν κατὰ βίον ἐν ἀνθρώποις χρηστόν· τυφλὸς γὰρ ἂν ἦν ἕνεκα τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὁ ἄνθρωπος.[83]
>
> For look, if we all had the same form without any differences, what confusion of things would happen! What ignorance and darkness would hold the human being who would not be able to distinguish the stranger or the enemy or the good person or the bad person; ... but nor would fathers and sons recognise each other, nor would there exist anything else of the things that are good among human beings in this life. For the human being would be blind as regards other human beings.

Thus we must ask: why did the author of the lost source propose a vision of the afterlife that ruled out interactions between individuals, especially since it went against the consensus of such eminent authorities as Basil, Gregory of Nazianzus and John Chrysostom? A possible answer presents itself when we turn to the *Chapters on Love* of Maximus the Confessor. There we find the following passage:

> Ὁ τέλειος ἐν ἀγάπῃ, καὶ εἰς ἄκρον ἀπαθείας ἐλθών, οὐκ ἐπίσταται διαφορὰν ἰδίου καὶ ἀλλοτρίου ἢ ἰδίας καὶ ἀλλοτρίας, ἢ πιστοῦ καὶ ἀπίστου, ἢ δούλου καὶ ἐλευθέρου, ἢ ὅλως ἄρσενος καὶ θηλείας· ἀλλ' ἀνώτερος τῆς τῶν παθῶν τυραννίδος γενόμενος, καὶ εἰς τὴν μίαν φύσιν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀποβλεπόμενος, πάντας ἐξ ἴσου θεωρεῖ, καὶ πρὸς πάντας ἴσως διάκειται. Οὐκ ἔστι γὰρ ἐν αὐτῷ Ἕλλην καὶ Ἰουδαῖος, οὐδὲ ἄρσεν καὶ θῆλυ, οὐδὲ δοῦλος καὶ ἐλεύθερος· ἀλλὰ τὰ πάντα καὶ ἐν πᾶσι Χριστός.[84]
>
> He who is perfect in love and has reached the summit of dispassion does not know the difference between a male familiar and a male stranger or a female familiar and a female stranger, or between a believer and an unbeliever, or between a slave and a freeman, or in general between a male and a female, but has transcended the tyranny of the passions and looks towards the one nature of human beings, sees all in the same way and behaves towards all in the same way. For in him is neither Greek and Jew, nor male and female nor slave and freeman but Christ is all things and in all things.

[83] Meletius the Monk, *De natura hominis*, ed. J. A. CRAMER, *Anecdota Graeca e codd. manuscriptis bibliothecarum Oxoniensium*, 3, Oxford, 1836, p. 138, l. 23–p. 139, l. 4. On Meletius, cf. S. R. HOLMAN, *On Phoenix and Eunuchs: Sources for Meletius the Monk's Anatomy of Gender*, in *Journal of Early Christian Studies*, 16 (2008), pp. 79-101, esp. pp. 79-80.

[84] Maximus Confessor, *Capita de Caritate*, II.30, ed. A. CERESA-GASTALDO, *Massimo Confessore, Capitoli sulla carità*, Rome, 1990, p. 230, ll. 1-6.

According to Maximus the perfect no longer distinguishes between different human beings but only sees Christ when he looks at them. The background for this theory is the belief that relationships built on individual differences, which make human beings prefer some individuals over others, are a consequence of the fall, which led to the fragmentation of the one human nature, and that such relationships will therefore have no place in a restored world.[85] Maximus' perfect Christian has already made true what will be the case in the afterlife when all such differences will indeed have disappeared. The similarities with the views of the author of the lost source are striking. As we have seen, he, too, argues that individual differences are a consequence of the fall and will therefore disappear, and he makes use of the same Scriptural proof texts. This suggests strongly that he, too, considered the relationships built on individual differences to be a consequence of the fall and that he for this reason denied that such relationships could again be formed in the afterlife. The eradication of all particularistic relationships was a hallmark of coenobitic monasticism and it seems not impossible that like Maximus, the author of the lost source was a monk.[86]

So far we have focused on the similarities between the two texts. However, this does not mean that they are in all respects alike. Maximus does allow a place for the recognition of individual differences provided that they are dispassionate. In other contexts he states that the perfect will admire the righteous and feel compassion for the sinners.[87] By contrast, our author is much more extreme. As we have seen he does away with all particularistic relationships. Even more significant is a further discrepancy. Maximus speaks about an inner transformation that permits the perfect completely to disregard individual differences and to see each person as a human being created in the image of God. By contrast, no such transformation is envisaged by the author of the lost text. Instead it is assumed that after the resurrection individuals would immediately look for their families and friends if they

[85] Cf. Maximus Confessor, *Ambigua*, *PG*, 90, 1308D11-1309B1.

[86] For the notion of 'particularistic' friendship, cf. D. KRAUSMÜLLER, *The monastic communities of Stoudios and St Mamas in the second half of the tenth century*, in M. MULLETT and A. KIRBY (ed.), *The Theotokos Evergetis and eleventh-century monasticism*, Belfast, 1994, pp. 67-85.

[87] Maximus Confessor, *Capita de Charitate*, II.9, ed. CERESA-GASTALDO, pp. 92-94, ll. 1-7; cf. I.24, p. 56, ll. 1-4. That this modification of the basic theory was not without problems is suggested by a passage in the *Life* of Constantine the ex-Jew, 79, ed. DELEHAYE, in *Acta Sanctorum Novembris IV*, Brussels, 1925, p. 652F.

were able to recognise them. In order to prevent this happening the author changes the outside world instead by making all individuals look alike. As a consequence the Kingdom of Heaven is not a community of the perfect but rather a place of nightmare where very much imperfect human beings are feeling lost and alienated. This suggests that our author had a much more pessimistic view of the human race than Maximus. He clearly did not put much stock in the ability of human beings to reach spiritual perfection and therefore created a scenario where they would simply be incapable of reproducing patterns of behaviour with which they were familiar from their time on earth. In order to achieve this aim he was even prepared to forego the opportunity to use mutual recognition at the Last Judgement as a threat in order to ensure better conduct in this life.

One must visualise the author's vision of the afterlife in order fully to grasp its radical nature. In depictions of the Last Judgement on the walls of Byzantine churches and in Byzantine illuminated manuscripts the resurrected are arranged in clearly labelled distinct groups. Moreover, differences in dress or body shape immediately make it possible to identify a person as a man, a woman, a bishop or a king. And lastly, some well-known saints are depicted in the same manner as they appear on icons, which permits onlookers to recognise them as individuals.[88] If one were to depict the author's vision one would have to paint instead a multitude of identical figures that would all look like Jesus who sits in the seat of the judge. Moreover, these figures would not be arranged hierarchically. As Theodore points out the author's model precludes any differentiation between martyrs, confessors and ascetics.[89] No such depiction has survived and it seems unlikely that there ever was one. This should caution us against relying overly much on visual evidence in our attempts to reconstruct the full spectrum of Byzantine beliefs.

From the evidence presented in this article it is clear that during the Byzantine 'Dark Age' this spectrum was very wide indeed. Some authors simply projected the conditions of this life onto the afterlife whereas others denied any resemblance between the two states. Significantly, this latter point of view seems to have become more wide-spread in the very years that saw the collapse of Late Antique civilisation. Since this collapse affected many of the institutions on which Late Antique society was built one can wonder whether the rejection of mutual recognition in the afterlife was not the consequence of a radical rejection of these institutions. Rather than serving as

[88] Cf. B. BRENK, *Die Anfänge der Byzantinischen Weltgerichtsdarstellung*, in *BZ* 57 (1964) 106-126, and now L. BRUBAKER, *Byzantine Visions of the End*, in P. CLARKE and T. CLAYDON (ed.), *The Church, the Afterlife and the Fate of the Soul*, Woodbridge, 2009, 97-119.

[89] Theodore of Stoudios, *Parva catechesis* 22, ed. AUVRAY, p. 83, l. 64-70.

a template for the afterlife they were now considered to bear the taint of the fall and therefore to be of a transient nature. Given that the communion of the saints in the Kingdom of Heaven represented the ideal Christian community one might even ask whether the author did not dream of an egalitarian Byzantine society in which all units of social organisation and all hierarchies had disappeared and in which human beings would therefore not be linked to each other through a web of horizontal or vertical relationships. In such a society the individual would be completely isolated and entirely dependent on the whim of the ruler, a scenario that reminds one strongly of Alexander Kazhdan's 'homo Byzantinus'.[90]

To conclude: In this article I have focused on the theory that mutual recognition is impossible after death, both for the disembodied souls that wait for the resurrection and for the resurrected themselves, because we will all look alike. This theory is set out in the two collections of *Questions and Answers* of Anastasius of Sinai and Ps-Athanasius, which date to the late seventh and eighth centuries. However, both authors then limit its significance by claiming that God will bestow on certain human beings a special grace, which will nevertheless allow them to identify others. Comparison of the two texts has revealed that they depend on a common source whose author made no such exception but instead claimed that all human beings would not be able to recognise each other in the afterlife. This source was still extant in the early ninth century when it was refuted in a sermon about the dead attributed to John of Damascus and in a catechesis of Theodore of Stoudios. Both later authors made the same modification that Ps-Athanasius and Anastasius had introduced, claiming that God would give mutual recognition as a special grace, but they extended this privilege to all the resurrected. Moreover, they adduced several further logical arguments and Patristic proof texts in order to support their position. The original text appears to have been written between the middle of the sixth and the middle of the seventh century. The fact that five different authors over the next two centuries felt the need to respond to it shows clearly that it had a considerable impact in 'Dark-Age' Byzantium. Study of further texts from this period permits us to reconstruct the wider context. The author's claim that there will be no individual differences in the resurrection body has antecedents in Origenist speculation. However, unlike the Origenists he insists that the resurrected body will not be materially different from the earthly body. Differences are removed by the simple expedient that everybody will look like Adam and

[90] Cf. A. P. KAZHDAN and G. CONSTABLE, *People and Power in Byzantium*, Washington, DC, 1982, pp. 19-36; pp. 76-95.

Christ. This modification is most likely a product of the contemporary anti-Origenist movement. The question whether or not human beings can obtain supernatural powers of recognition was also widely discussed at the time. This is evident from an exchange between Patriarch Anastasius of Antioch and the presbyter Timothy. The former author argued that God will transform our minds so that we will become more perspicacious whereas the latter did not even consider the possibility of such transformation and claimed that recognition can only come from outward signs. The rejection of the notion of clairvoyance was part of a broader trend during the 'Dark Age', which restricted the capacity of human beings to transcend their natural limitations. In this debate the author of the lost source takes an extreme position because he does not allow for mutual recognition even in the afterlife. There can be no doubt that he was fond of speculating about the unknown. However, this does not mean that he engaged in an academic debate. His insistence that there will be no distinguishing marks in the afterlife and that without such distinguishing marks recognition is impossible serves a particular purpose. It allows him to make the point that the resumption of earthly social relations is impossible in the afterlife. Comparison with Maximus the Confessor has helped us to understand this position. Maximus states that the perfect does not relate to other persons as individuals but rather sees them as indistinguishable human beings made in the image of God. In doing so he overcomes the consequences of the fall, which led to a fragmentation of humanity and to the establishment of particularistic relationships between individuals. The author of the lost source also held the view that particularistic relationships can have no place in the afterlife because they are a consequence of the fall. However, there is an important difference between the two authors. Whereas Maximus speaks of an inner transformation that makes the perfect disregard individual differences, our author gives the clear impression that the resurrected will not have changed inwardly and that they would engage in such relations if they were given the chance. In order to prevent this from happening he makes changes in the outside world, introducing the theory that all human beings will look alike. The result is a nightmare scenario that frightened many of his contemporaries and that unsurprisingly elicited a barrage of refutations. What sets our author apart from Late Antique authors and from many of his contemporaries was his refusal to project the conditions of this world onto the afterlife. This refusal may have been a response to the collapse of Late Antique civilisation, which radically called into question the validity of the existing social institutions.

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SUMMARY

The three centuries between 550 and 850 witnessed a debate about the state of human beings after the resurrection. The author of a now lost collection of *Questions and Answers* asserted that all resurrected would look like Christ in his thirtieth year and who made the further claim that without distinguishing characteristics it would be impossible for the resurrected to recognise people whom they had known during their earthly lives. This article reconstructs the debate surrounding this theory and identifies the factors that led to its emergence.

THE BYZANTINE WINEMAKING INDUSTRY

INTRODUCTION

This article probes the organization and functioning of the Byzantine winemaking industry. Particular emphasis is placed on agricultural, technical, economic, legal, and price-making aspects of the industry which remain largely unexplored. Topics that are analyzed in considerable depth include: the multi-faceted grape-growing activity; the art of winemaking at all stages of operation; the economics of wine-growing; the organization of the winemaking industry; the guild-organized tavern-inn-keepers in Constantinople; the incidence of the numerous land taxes, transaction assessments, and other levies on wine cargoes on their way to the market; the contractual obligations of the transacting parties and the special legal regime of the wine trade; the impact of the regional market structures and degree of competition on pricing strategies; the role of price mechanism in price determination; and the extent of state involvement in winemaking activities and price-setting.

VITICULTURE

Viticulture[1] played an important role in the Byzantine peasant economy. The vineyard (ἀμπελών, ἀμπελοτόπιον) was typical of the land cultivation pattern in Greece, Asia Minor and the islands favored by the prevailing climatic conditions. Viticulture was an activity easy to master, wine was produced in many varieties, and was a marketable, profitable, cash crop in great demand in urban centers, with the potential to provide a supplementary income and a means to pay taxes and buy necessities to many peasants even with small vineyards.[2] The grapevine

[1] The cultivation of grapes and winemaking were known in prehistoric Mesopotamia. They were introduced to Egypt by Osiris, to Greece by Dionysus, and to Hebrews by Noah. *Μεγάλη Ἑλληνική Ἐγκυκλοπαιδεία*, Athens, 1952-1964 (hereafter *MEE*), *s.v.* ἄμπελος, pp. 340-341; Ἐλευθερουδάκης, *Ἐγκυκλοπαιδικόν Λεξικόν* (hereafter Ἐλευθερουδάκης), Athens, 1927, *s.v.* οἶνος, pp. 23-24; *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Cambridge, 1910-1911, *s.v.* Wine, pp. 716-717; R. J. Forbes, *Studies in Ancient Technology*, Leiden, 1955, 3, pp. 70-73.

[2] M. F. Hendy, *Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy c. 300-1450*, Cambridge, 1985, pp. 49-53, 139-141; E. Malamut, *Les îles de l' empire byzantin VIIIe-XIIe siècles*,

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(ἄμπελος,[3] *vitis vinifera*) thrives in temperate climates as it requires a high summer temperature and takes a prolonged period for its fruit to ripen, while it profits from its dormant state during the winter. Nevertheless, vine cultivation raises consequential issues of adaptation to prevailing local climatic and soil conditions, as the *character* of a wine depends mainly on the nature of the soil, the type of climate, and the variety of the vine cultivated, while *quality* depends almost entirely on the weather conditions preceding and during the gathering of the grapes and the subsequent fermentation.[4] The plant requires moisture, but can easily be affected by excessive amounts at the wrong time; heat is necessary for ripening, but the fruit can easily be ruined by exposure to the drying action of the summer sun and winds: πολὺ γάρ τι καὶ ἡ τῶν ἀέρων ποιότης πρὸς καλλιοινίαν συμβάλλεται (atmospheric conditions contribute significantly to the quality of the wine).[5] Vines grow in a great variety of soils, but every vine does not produce the same wine in every soil (οὐ πᾶσα μὲν ἄμπελος ἐν παντὶ τόπῳ τὸν αὐτὸν οἶνον ποιεῖ).[6] Presence of gravel is associated with wines of the highest

Paris, 1988, pp. 389-390; A. PANOPOULOU and K. PAPAKOSMA, *Vinee et vinum: Αμπελοκαλλιέργεια και παραγωγή κρασιού στη δυτική Πελοπόννησο (1315-1500 αι.)*, in *Οἶνον ἱστορῶ*, ed. G. A.. PIKOULAS, Athens, 2001, pp. 109-124; J. L. TEALL, *The Grain Supply of the Byzantine Empire, 330-1025*, in *DOP*, 13 (1959), p. 131; J. LEFORT, *The Rural Economy, Seventh-Twelfth Centuries*, in *The Economic History of Byzantium*, ed. A. E. LAIOU *et al.*, Washington DC, 2002 (hereafter *EHB*), I, pp. 249-250, 254-256; A. E. LAIOU and C. MORRISSON, *The Byzantine Economy*, Cambridge, 2007, pp. 12, 31, 66, 109-110, 171; A. E. LAIOU-THOMADAKIS, *Peasant Society in the Late Byzantine Empire*, Princeton, 1977, pp. 32-34, 37, 67; A. E. LAIOU, *The Byzantine Village (5th-14th Century)*, in *Les villages dans l' Empire byzantin (IVe-XVe siècle)*, ed. J. LEFORT, C. MORRISSON, J.-P.SODINI, Paris, 2005, p. 45; EADEM, *Quelques observations sur l' économie et la société de Crète vénitienne (ca. 1270-ca.1305)*, in EADEM, *Gender, Society and Economic Life in Byzantium*, Aldershot, 1992, Variorum Reprints, Part X, pp. 179-180, 182-183, 185; A. HARVEY, *Economic expansion in the Byzantine empire 900-1200*, Cambridge, 1989, p. 148; D. JACOBY, *Mediterranean Food and Wine for Constantinople: The Long-Distance Trade, Eleventh to Mid-Fifteenth Century*, in E. KISLINGER *et al.* ed., *Handelsgueter und Verkehrswege. Aspekte der Warenversorgung im oestlichen Mittelmeerraum (4. bis 15. Jahrhundert)*, Vienna, 2011, pp. 134-137; K. RHEIDT, *The Urban Economy of Pergamon*, in *EHB* II, p. 628; M. KAPLAN, *Les hommes et la terre à Byzance du VIe au XIe siècle: Propriété et exploitation du sol*, Paris, 1992, pp. 33, 69-73; IDEM, *La viticulture byzantine (VIIe-XIe siècle)*, in *Olio e Vino nell' Alto Medioevo*, Spoleto, 2007, 1, pp. 163-170; H. AHRWEILER, *L' histoire et la géographie de la région de Smyrne entre deux occupations turques (1081-1317) particulièrement au XIIIe siécle*, in *TM*, 1 (1965), p. 18; D. KYRITSIS and K. SMYRLIS, *Les villages du littoral Égéen de l'Asie Mineure du Moyen Âge*, in *Les villages dans l' Empire byzantin*, p. 444.

[3] According to Greek mythology, the name derives from Ἄμπελος, one of the satyrs attending on Dionysus, himself the god of wine. *MEE*, *s.v.* ἄμπελος, p. 341.

[4] *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, *s.v.* Wine, pp. 717-718.

[5] *Geoponica*, probably compiled between 944 and 959, ed. H. BECKH, Leipzig, 1895, p. 140.

[6] *Geoponica*, p. 140.

quality, as is cultivation in fertile and dry slopes (ἐν ξηροῖς καὶ κεκλιμένοις τόποις).[7] Soils containing iron oxide enhance the color of the grapes and the wine, while argillaceous raise the grapes' content in tannin; calciferous soils elevate the grapes' sugar content.[8] More appropriate for vine cultivation is black soil, not compact or sticky, but moist (μελάγγειος ἡ μὴ λίαν πυκνὴ μηδὲ κολλώδης, ἱκμάδα δὲ ἔχουσα, ἐπιτηδειοτέρα πρὸς ἄμπελον).[9] Vines cultivated in lowlying places (κοῖλα χωρία) produce large quantities but of ordinary wine, while those situated in uplands (ἐπὶ ὕψους) wine of much better quality.[10] A well-drained soil is of primary consideration in vine growing whatever the regional differences in altitude, temperature, or aspect; but it requires excessive digging or plowing to maintain the right balance between heat and moisture. Aspect is also important for successful cultivation calling for intelligent assessment of the special features of each climatic region, as exposure is affected by temperature, prevailing winds, and latitude.[11]

Vines were planted, propagated, or replanted by layering,[12] by transplanting from a nursery near trees (climbing vine, ἀναδενδρὰς),[13] or by placing the young plants in holes, furrows, or trenched ground. Trenching was viewed as the best method of planting as it secured both uniform drainage and deep aeration of the entire planted area. Furrow and hole methods of planting were usually employed when labor was scarce or the financial returns could not justify the more expensive trenching. However, trenching was regarded as essential in heavy clay soils, albeit less so where the soil was naturally light and crumbling. Spacing varied according to the method of cultivation used: a distance of 2-3 feet was normal between plants, and from 4-10 feet between rows. Wider spacing was required when the soil was plowed and narrower when hoe cultivation was practiced. Regular rows and intervals facilitated the counting of vine stems and the assessment of the size of vineyards and taxes.[14] Vines were usually low-growing (χαμαίζηλοι, χαμάμπελα), lying on the ground (χαμαιπετεῖς), or trained to

[7] *Geoponica*, p. 126; *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, *s.v.* Vine, p. 93; Wine, p. 717.

[8] *MEE*, *s.v.* ἄμπελος, pp. 339-341; ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΟΥΔΑΚΗΣ, *s.v.* ἄμπελος, p. 923; K. D. WHITE, *Roman Farming*, Ithaca, New York, 1970, p. 229.

[9] *Geoponica*, p. 124.

[10] *Geoponica*, p. 188.

[11] *Geoponica*, pp. 140-142; WHITE, *Roman Farming*, pp. 230-231, 242-243.

[12] *Geoponica*, pp. 106-108; Ph. KOUKOULES, *Βυζαντινῶν Βίος καί Πολιτισμός*, Athens, 1952, V, p. 284.

[13] *Geoponica*, pp. 103-106; KOUKOULES, *Βυζαντινῶν Βίος*, p. 282.

[14] *Geoponica*, pp. 127-128; WHITE, *Roman Farming*, pp. 236-237; KOUKOULES, *Βυζαντινῶν Βίος*, p. 282; *Géométries du fisc byzantin*, ed. J. LEFORT *et al.*, Paris, 1991, para. 280; *Actes de Xéropotamou*, ed. J. BOMPAIRE, Paris, 1964, no. 16.

wrap themselves around trees where vineyards were not whole, i.e. did not form a single unit (ἀμπελοπερίβολα).[15] Training vines with props (χάρακες, πάσσαλοι) was probably the most common method in whole vineyards. Vinedressers (ἀμπελουργοὶ) used props ranging from forked sticks for raising the young vine-shoots clear of the ground to more elaborate to control and direct the growth of mature vines.[16] Depending on the method of planting, vines bear fruit within 4-5 years.[17] Vines were distinguished between newly planted (νεόφυτοι), flourishing (κεφαλικαὶ), and abandoned (ἐξάμπελα).[18]

Grapevine cultivation entailed demanding and arduous work and diligent exploitation of the local climatic conditions. The object of the vine-dresser after planting is to control the luxuriant habit of the plant so that it will produce a maximum of sound, fruit-bearing shoots at the appropriate height; to remove all dead, weak, or useless growth; and to train a suitable number of bearers to form the shape required by each particular system employed. This meant regular attention and adequate supply of labor at different seasons of the year before the vintage in autumn: pruning in autumn and spring according to climate, root-pruning and stock-cleaning in winter, molding, shaping and tying, trimming of the leaves, digging (three diggings of the soil around the vine were thought essential), manuring, plowing or hoeing, harrowing.[19] In addition, vines were affected by fungoid

[15] *Actes d' Iviron*, ed. J. LEFORT, Paris, 1985, III, no. 70. 74; *Actes de Xéropotamou*, no. 18. 37, 48, 64, 75, 80; *Les archives de Saint-Jean-Prodrome sur le mont Ménécée*, ed. A. GUILLOU, Paris, 1955, no. 35. 62; *MM*, V, p. 125; FORBES, *Studies*, p. 109.

[16] *Geoponica*, pp. 110, 126-127, 135; A. BRYER, *Byzantine Agricultural Implements*, in *The Annual of the British School at Athens*, 81 (1986), pp. 47, 48; *ODB s.v.* Vineyard; KOUKOULES, *Βυζαντινῶν Βίος*, p. 282; LEFORT, *The Rural Economy*, p. 255; K. D. WHITE, *Farm Equipment of the Roman World*, Cambridge, 1975, pp. 19-23; *IDEM*, *Roman Farming*, pp. 231-236.

[17] *Geoponica*, pp. 138-139; KOUKOULES, *Βυζαντινῶν Βίος*, p. 281.

[18] *Basilica* (Βασιλικὰ) (hereafter *B*), ed. I. D. ZEPOS, vols. 1-5, Athens, 1896-1900, *B*. 28. 10. 6; KOUKOULES, *Βυζαντινῶν Βίος*, p. 281; *MM*, V, p. 124; *Archives de Saint-Jean-Prodrome*, no. 35. 23. Dry, uncultivated, or laid waste vineyards (χερσάμπελα, ἐρημοάμπελα) were taxed at differential rates according to their productivity. *Actes d' Iviron*, III, no. 70. 51, 54, 64, 82, 85; *Actes de Lavra*, ed. P. LEMERLE, A. GUILLOU, N. SVORONOS, D. PAPACHRYSSANTHOU, Paris, 1979, I, nos. 1. 15; 40. 22, 24; *Actes de Xéropotamou*, nos. 9. 17; 18. 7, 13; *Actes de Xénophon*, ed. D. PAPACHRYSSANTHOU, Paris, 1986, no. 25. 99, 105; *MM*, V, pp. 124-125. Vineyards referred to as ὑπάμπελα, ὑποτελεῖ signified that they were liable to taxation. *Actes d' Iviron*, III, nos. 67. 101; 70. 155, 157, 302, 416. Small plots usually combining vines and gardens were referred to as ἀμπελοκήπια: *Βυζαντινά Ἔγγραφα τῆς Μονῆς Πάτμου*, II, ed. M. NYSTAZOPOULOU-PELEKIDOU, Athens, 1980, 2, no. 52, pp. 54, 56; *Actes d'Iviron*, I, 30. 26; those combining vines with fruit-bearing trees as ἀμπελοπερίβολα: *Actes de Xéropotamou*, no.18. 37, 48, 64, 75, 80; *Actes d' Iviron*, III, no. 70. 74.

[19] *Geoponica*, pp. 143-152; KOUKOULES, *Βυζαντινῶν Βίος*, pp. 283-285; M. PSELLOS, *Περὶ Γεωργικῶν*, in *Anecdota Graeca*, ed. J. Fr. BOISSONADE, Hildesheim, 1962, 1, pp. 243-245; LEFORT *et al.*, *Géométries*, para. 49; WHITE, *Roman Farming*, pp. 237-240; HARVEY, *Economic expansion*, pp. 143-144. On the right time for planting and vintage see *Geoponica*, pp. 129-130, 163; KOUKOULES, *Ibidem*, pp. 288-290.

and other diseases requiring close attention and treatment to prevent severe damage to the vintage: ergot or smut (ἐρυσίβη), exudation of fluid (δακρυροοῦσαι ἄμπελοι), grape shedding (ῥυάδες), grape rotting (σήπουσι τοὺς βότρυας), withering of the fruit (ξηραίνουσι τὰς ῥόγας), sun-scorching (ἀστρόπληγοι ἄμπελοι). The treatise of *Geoponica* provided practical measures to prevent and remedy such ailments, as well as treatment to protect vines from earth-worms, caterpillars, wasps, and other insects.[20] The array of these activities required skill, experience, and a good deal of care in order to ensure a successful crop and avoid irreparable damage to the vines.

As early as the 7th century, the *Farmer's Law* saw to it that private property rights on vineyards were safeguarded, and protective measures were adopted and expanded by subsequent Byzantine legislation. Thus, entry into someone's land without the owner's permission was forbidden, unless justified by a well-founded right.[21] One could enter into someone's vineyard only to eat grapes; but he was subject to corporal punishment if his intention was to gather stealthily fruits to trade, thereby enriching himself at the expense of the owner.[22] This differential treatment, in conjunction with other provisions of the *Farmer's Law* prohibiting trespassing, negates the notion that the uninvited self-indulgent visitor had a legitimate 'right' based on 'custom' to eat grapes as has been alleged.[23] An owner's kindly attitude did not mean to imply that he did not have the right to *prevent* trespassers from entering his vineyard to eat his grapes, the more so if encroachers scaled his fence. Indeed, the very reason for fencing one's property was to forestall entry by persons and animals. Significantly, subsequent laws unequivocally stipulate that entry to pick a fruit does not constitute an *easement* and hence a right (οὐ συνίσταται δουλεία... ἐπὶ τὸ

[20] *Geoponica*, pp. 113, 154-160, 165-167.

[21] The *Farmer's Law* (*JG* II, art. 1, 2, 6, 20, 38, 50, 51, 57-59, 61, 79, 80) sets out regulations aimed to protect the landed property titles and rights of the villagers, and to settle issues pertaining to damaged property and crops. The inhabitants of a village formed a community (κοινότης) where fields, vineyards, orchards and vegetable gardens were the personal property of free farmers and as a rule they were fenced. G. OSTROGORSKY, *Agrarian Conditions in the Byzantine Empire in the Middle Ages*, in *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe*, Cambridge, 1966, I, pp. 209-210; *IDEM*, *History of the Byzantine State*, Oxford, 1968, pp.135-136 and n. 3.

[22] *Farmer's Law*, art. 61; *Ecloga ad Prochiron Mutata*, in *JG*, VI, 18. 14; J. DE MALAFOSSE, *Les lois agraires à l' époque byzantine*, Toulouse, 1949, p. 57. In the *Basilica*, 60. 3. 27, the penalty became double the value of the stolen goods instead of corporal punishment.

[23] A. KAZHDAN, *State, Feudal, and Private Economy in Byzantium*, in *DOP*, 47 (1993), p. 88; *IDEM*, *Do we Need a New History of Byzantine Law?*, in *JÖB*, 39 (1989), pp. 16-17.

λαμβάνειν ὀπώρας).[24] In the same vein, anyone uprooting or cutting fruit-bearing vines had his hand cut off and had to make good for the loss he caused,[25] while the owner whose vines or fences were damaged by stray cattle or fire was entitled to restitution for the loss he suffered.[26] Easements, as developed in the Byzantine legislation, departed from the alleged notion of the unfettered right of individuals to trespass on anyone's land with impunity. The significance and extent of long-standing customary rights was changed fundamentally over time by the influence of socio-economic developments. Early on, it became apparent that encumbrances brought about by social conventions hampered the gainful exploitation of the servient land over which such rights were exercised, e.g., causing damage to crops and vineyards by flocks and cattle, or gave rise to endless disputes and litigations, which diminished the profitability and value of the land. Appreciation of these adverse consequences led to state intervention to protect private property rights: customary rights were restricted by law and easements were redefined and took on the form of contractual arrangements and statutory provisions.[27]

The Art of Winemaking

The grapes are harvested when they are fully ripe and preferably during the warmest hours of the day.[28] September was vintage month but the timing might differ depending on climate and local customs.[29] Although the vintage period could be staggered by planting early and late varieties, still speed was essential in order to ensure timely harvest and prevent damage to the fruit. This required many pickers all at once and in large vineyards the work could be put out to contract.[30] The vintagers (family members and/or

[24] *B.* 58. 1. 3, 16; *Synopsis Basilicorum*, in *JG*, V, Δ. 40. 1-3.

[25] *Farmer's Law*, art. 59, 80; *B.* 60. 16. 2, 3, 6, 8; *Prochron Auctum*, in JG, VII, 39. 156; Attaleiates, *Ponema*, in *JG*, VII, 35. 33.

[26] *Farmer's Law*, art. 38, 48, 58; *B.* 60. 2. 1; *B.* 60. 3. 39; *Synopsis Basilicorum*, Z. 1; *Ecloga ad Prochiron Mutata*, 20. 3; Attaleiates, *Ponema*, 35. 10; *Synopsis Minor*, in *JG*, VI, Z. 10; T. 12; K. Armenopoulos, *Ἐξάβιβλος* (hereafter *Hexabiblos*), ed. C. G. Pitsakis, Athens, 1971, *Hexabiblos*, 6. 1. 3.

[27] On the transition from traditional customary rights to statutory and contractual easements, see G. C. Maniatis, *Rural Easements and the Concept of Free Property Ownership in Byzantium*, in *Bsl* 65 (2007), pp. 135-142.

[28] *Geoponica*, pp. 163-164; *MEE*, *s.v.* οἶνος, p. 781.

[29] *B.* 7. 17. 4.

[30] White, *Roman Farming*, p. 240. Some wine-growers sold the crop on the vine. White, *Farm Equipment*, p. 116; Forbes, *Studies*, p. 120. Harvesters could not be brought to court during the harvest period. *B.* 7. 17. 1.

hired workers) removed the ripe clusters armed with a small hook to prevent stripping the grapes by hand, causing much of the fruit to fall to the ground and be scattered. They then placed the grapes in a small basket, removed leaves and rotten clusters of grapes, and emptied the contents into larger baskets which were carried by pack animals to the treading vat (ληνὸς, πατητήρι(ο)ν).[31]

The conversion of grapes into wine involved three distinct stages and processes: *treading* of the grapes in the vat, *squeezing* out the juice (must) in the press, and *fermentation* of the must in storage containers. The purpose of the preliminary treading of the grapes was to separate them from their stalks, to free most of the juice by a relatively gentle squeezing process, and to subject the resulting mush which still contained a great volume of juice to mechanical pressing. Indeed, the press was invented in order to perfect the expressing of the juice from the grapes, as treading is a less efficient way of obtaining the full yield of the grapes. The treading vats were usually located in the same area as the pressing room to avoid any waste of time between the two processes. The vat consisted of a rectangular tank made of stone with shallow sides, and was elevated at some height from the receiving vessels (ὑπολήνια) placed at either side and immediately beneath the outlets. The capacity of the treading vat was commensurate with the volume of the prospective harvest (through-put of grapes) to allow for quick deposit of the ripe grapes, and provide adequate space for the treaders (ληνοβάται, πατοῦντες) to work efficiently. Great care was taken to avoid contamination of the juice during the treading process: before the grapes were treaded the vat was aerated and fumigated; the treaders, who worked bare-footed, had to maintain high standards of cleanliness; and rodents and insects were prevented from creeping into the vat.[32] Less expensive wooden vats were also used, apparently in small vineyards.[33]

The first juice collected from the vat (γλεῦκος, μοῦστος, must) was the finest must and was especially valued.[34] The residue left at the bottom

[31] *Geoponica*, p. 180; *ODB s.v.* Wine Production; White, *Farm Equipment*, p. 112. *Ληναῖος Dionysus* was worshipped as god of the wine-press/winemaking, and is suggestive of the importance of winemaking to ancient Greeks.

[32] *Geoponica*, pp. 170-171, 179-181; Koukoules, *Βυζαντινῶν Βίος*, pp. 288-291, 293; White, *Farm Equipment*, pp. 112-113; *Idem*, *Greek and Roman Technology*, Ithaca, New York, 1984, p. 67; Forbes, *Studies*, p. 131.

[33] White, *Farm Equipment*, p. 132; C. Singer *et al.*, *A History of Technology*, Oxford, 1956, II, p. 132; J. W. Nesbitt, *Mechanisms of Agricultural Production on Estates of the Byzantine Praktika*, Ph.D. Thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1973, p. 43.

[34] The consistency of the must varies according to the quality and variety of the grapes, the local climatic conditions during the maturation of the grapes, the time of harvesting, and

consisting of stalks and skins (στέμφυλα, γίγαρτα) containing a significant quantity of juice was steeped in warm water to facilitate its decomposition under pressure, was placed in flexible baskets, and was put under the beam-press (καὶ θερμὰ τὰ γίγαρτα καὶ οὐ πάνυ ὑγρὰ ἀπεργασάμενοι, οὕτως ὑπὸ τὸ ξύλον ἐπιτιθέτωσαν).[35] Initially, the juice was expressed, i.e. squeezed out of the mass of preliminary pressed grapes under further pressure, by either of two devices: the *lever press* or the *direct-screw press*, which operated on the principle of the lever and kept improving technically and operationally over time. Apparently, both devices were used in Byzantium. The *simple lever press*, in its most primitive form, consisted of a horizontal press-beam which bent down at the free end by the weight of two heavy boulders. In an improved design, vertical columns were set up at either end anchoring them into the floor to take the thrust, while ropes, pulleys, and a capstan were substituted for the clumsy stone weights. Subsequently, a better method of raising and lowering the press-beam was devised by replacing the ropes and the capstan and using instead a screw fixed to the floor of the pressroom and passing through the free end of the lever – the *screw-and-lever press*. The screw was fixed to the floor in such a way that it could turn without giving way upwards. The lever could then be moved up or down by turning it by handles fixed on it below the lever. In a further improvement on the screw-and-lever device, the screw, instead of being attached to the floor, was secured to a weight of stone and made hang clear of the floor. In this way, the task of lowering the press-beam became much easier and also simplified the problem of raising the heavy beam after the pressing was complete. The ensuing innovation was to dispense with the lever altogether: to use the screw for direct pressure on the pulp – the *direct-screw press*. In this design by Heron of Alexandria, the screw was firmly anchored to withstand the severe reverse pressure as the squeezing process reached its maximum, thereby eliminating the long, clumsy, and space-filling lever. Heron's single screw press was portable and was contained within a rectangular frame. His heavier twin-screw press was housed, anchored into

the sugar content (σταφυλοσάκχαρον) usually 20%-35%. Delay in the ripening of the grapes increases the acidity of the must. When the grapes are ripe the sugar content has attained a maximum, the acidity is very much reduced, while the tannin has entirely disappeared. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, *s.v.* Wine, p. 718; *MEE*, *s.v.* γλεῦκος, p. 562; ΈΛΕΥΘΕΡΟΥΔΑΚΗΣ, *s.v.* γλεῦκος, p. 12.

[35] *Geoponica*, p. 180; WHITE, *Farm Equipment*, p. 113; *IDEM*, *Greek and Roman Technology*, p. 67; SINGER *et al.*, *Technology*, p. 132; R. FRANKEL, *Wine and Oil Production in Antiquity in Israel and Other Mediterranean Countries*, Sheffield, 1999, pp. 41-43. A small farmer with enough vines to meet his own daily supply of wine might not need even the simple lever-press. Wine is still made in some parts of Balkan states by treading without subsequent pressing. WHITE, *Farm Equipment*, p. 165.

the floor, and had a movable beam which came down as the screws were turned. Both presses had one indispensable feature in common – the provision of a female screw-thread in the beam itself. To express the juice, the pulp was built up in layers of bags separated by flat slabs of wood. By lowering the press-beam the moist formless mass was squeezed and the juice flowed from spouts into a vat. The pressure was applied gradually until no juice flowed out of the bags. The must was then placed in casks (πίθοι, βούτσια, κάδοι, βαγένια, βαρέλια) where it was exposed to the process of fermentation.[36] The dregs (τρύγες) soaked up with boiled water (*decocted*) were further pressed, producing a low quality of wine (οἶνος τρυγὸς) destined for the poorer people (οὐκ ἀηδὲς πόμα τοῖς ἀγροίκοις γίνεται), while the residue (τρυγία οἰνοιρὰ) was used as animal feed.[37]

The fermentation process (ζύμωσις) consists essentially in the conversion of the sugar of the must into alcohol and other subsidiary products by exposing it to the spontaneous action of microorganisms (*saccharomycetes*, *zymomycetes*) contained in it, especially enzymes contained in the wine yeast. The constitution of the must and the temperature of the fermentation are particularly conducive to the action of the wine yeast. The fermentation at first is relatively slow, but it increases rapidly in intensity and continues until practically all sugar is converted. The temperature for fermentation depends on the type of wine and varies between 25o and 30o Celsius. If the temperature rises above the required levels, the fermentation is liable to be

[36] WHITE, *Farm Equipment*, pp. 113, 229-231 and designs therein; *IDEM*, *Greek and Roman Technology*, pp. 67-70; FORBES, *Studies*, pp. 134-136; SINGER *et al.*, *Technology*, pp. 112-117; E. ANAGNOSTAKIS, *Βυζαντινά οινοβούτια, βουτσία και οι Βουτσαράδες του Αράκλοβου στην Φραγκοκρατούμενη Ηλεία*, in *Οἶνον ἱστορῶ*, ed. G. A. PIKOULAS, Athens, 2001, pp. 89-108. The existence of winemaking facilities in the empire is confirmed by recent archaeological excavations: C. S. LIGHTFOOT, *Stone Screwpress Weights*, in *IDEM*, *Amorium Reports II*, BAR International Series 1170, 2003, pp. 73-79; *IDEM*, *Trade and Industry in Byzantine Anatolia: The Evidence from Amorium*, in *DOP*, 61 (2007), pp. 272-274; *IDEM*, *Amorium 2006*, in *Anatolian Archaeology*, 12 (2006), p. 30; *IDEM*, *Die byzantinische Stadt Amorium: Grabungsergebnisse der Jahre 1988 bis 2008*, in *Byzanz – Das Roemerreich im Mittelalter*, ed. F. DAIM and J. DRAUSCHKE, Mainz, 2010, pp. 298-300; FRANKEL, *Wine and Oil Production*, pp. 51-56, 107-108, 122-137, 138-157; Y. HIRSCHFELD and R. BIRGER-CALDERON, *Early Roman and Byzantine Estates in Israel and Caesaria*, in *Israel Exploration Journal*, 41 (1991), pp. 95-97, 107-109; RHEIDT, *The Urban Economy of Pergamon*, p. 628; M. KAZANAKI-LAPPA, *Medieval Athens*, in *EHB* II, p. 644; G. D. R. SANDERS, *Corinth*, in *EHB* II, p. 652; I. ROLL and E. AYALON, *Two Large Wine Presses in the Red Soil Region of Israel*, in *Palestine Exploration Quarterly*, 113 (1981), pp. 111-125; Ph. BRUNEAU and Ph. FRAISSE, *Pressoirs Déliens*, in *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, 108 (1984), pp. 713-730; E. KOURKOUTIDOU-NIKOLAIDOU, *Αγροτικές εγκαταστάσεις παραγωγής κρασιού στήν περιοχή Φιλίππων (4ος-6ος αι. μ.Χ.)*, in *Structures rurales et sociétés antiques*, ed. P. N. DOUKELLIS and L. G. MENDONI, Paris, 1994, pp. 463-470.

[37] *Geoponica*, pp. 182-183; FORBES, *Studies*, pp. 75, 108. Theft of wine from treading vats or casks was severely punishable. *Farmer's Law*, art. 69.

rapid, too much alcohol is formed at a relatively early stage, and the fermentation ceases before the whole content of sugar has been transformed affecting the bouquet of the wine.[38] After the main fermentation is finished, which may last over a month depending on whether the grapes are red or white, the young wine is transferred to casks. The general method followed was not to fill the casks completely or too low, but to leave enough room for the fermentation of the must. During the sixth month secondary fermentation period, the must is constantly skimmed of the froth and other impurities. At that time, the wine gradually throws down a deposit known as lees, but by the end of this period the wine is more or less bright.[39] At this stage, the wine is separated from the lees (*racking*) and *decanted* into clean casks, the operation to be repeated three to four times. To achieve absolute bright conditions, *fining* is necessary attained by filtration or by gypsum. Great care is necessary to clean and sterilize the casks in which the wine is stored.[40]

The young wine immediately after the cessation of the fermentation is constituted very differently from the must it was derived. The sugar has disappeared, alcohol and other substances have been formed, and the acidity is markedly reduced. The alcohol content in naturally fermented wines may vary between 7% and 16%; the acidity between 0.3% and 1 %; and the tannin in red wines between 0.4 % and 0.5 %, while in white wines it is much less. As the wine matures, the most noticeable feature is the reduction in acidity and disappearance of tannin and coloring matter due to fining and the action of oxygen. The taste and bouquet of wines within the first four or five years of the vintage are almost entirely dependent upon the constituents derived from the must, either directly or as a result of the main fermentation. Wines kept for many years in casks become very dry, and the loss of alcohol and water by evaporation results in the production of acidity by oxidation.[41] Byzantine vintners had to cope with the instability of the wine, as it was practically impossible to stop the fermentation during storage. As a result wines had to be consumed within three to four years. Other problems included development of mold (εὐρώς, *mucor*) and acidity (ἐκτροπίας

[38] *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, *s.v.* Wine, pp. 718-719; Fermentation, pp. 275-277; *MEE*, *s.v.* ζύμωσις, p. 87; Ἐλευθερουδακης, *s.v.* ζύμωσις, pp. 241-242; οἶνος, pp. 24-25; Forbes, *Studies*, pp. 117-118.

[39] Empirically, the weight loss from the conversion of grapes to must amounts roughly to 30 %, while that from must to wine 10 %.

[40] *Geoponica*, pp. 171-175, 181-182, 190, 192, 200, 200-202, 214; *MEE*, *s.v.* οἶνος, p. 781; Ἐλευθερουδακης, *s.v.* οἶνος, p. 24; *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, *s.v.* Wine, pp. 718-719; Forbes, *Studies*, p. 112.

[41] *Geoponica*, pp. 181-182; Forbes, *Studies*, p. 112; *MEE*, *s.v.* οἶνος, p. 781; Ἐλευθερουδακης, *s.v.* οἶνος, p. 24; *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, *s.v.* Wine, p. 718; Singer *et al.*, *Technology*, p. 133.

οἶνος = wine turned sour), which they corrected by treating the wine with gypsum, resin or pitch.[42] Wines are distinguished by their color (red, black, white, yellow), their taste (dry, harsh, light, sweet), and treatment (e.g. by addition of resin) resulting in many local varieties throughout the empire.[43]

Wines are affected by diseases derived from the vine, abnormal constitution of the grape juice, high temperatures during fermentation, or subsequent infection, resulting in a change of the color, taste or scent of the wine. This can come about when the wine is made from grapes attacked by mildew; lack of alcohol or tannin in the wine, or acidity in the must; presence of excess albuminous matters; or infection caused by microorganisms (*mycoderma vini*). The treatment, depending on the cause, might be heating the wine, adding tannin into the wine, adding gypsum or clay to the fermenting must, or reducing the acidity of the must.[44]

The Economics of Wine-Growing

Vine-growing could yield high returns on the invested capital,[45] but only after careful planning and organization, *ceteris paribus*. From the marketing

[42] *Geoponica*, pp. 178, 195, 196-198, 200, 202; Forbes, *Studies*, p. 112.

[43] *Geoponica*, pp. 216-222; Koukoules, *Βυζαντινῶν Βίος*, pp. 122-129; *Poèmes prodromiques en grec vulgaire*, ed. D.-C. Hesseling and H. Pernot, Amsterdam, 1910, III, ll. 120, 285, 388-389; *MEE*, *s.v.* οἶνος, p. 781; Jacoby, *Food and Wine*, pp. 138-141; E. Mulamut, *Les îles de l' empire byzantin, VIIIe-XIIe siècle*, Paris, 1988, 2, pp. 389-390; Kaplan, *La viticulture byzantine*, pp. 166-170; G. Dagron, *The Urban Economy, Seventh-Twelfth Centuries*, in *EHB* II, p. 448; Forbes, *Studies*, p. 112; P. Topping, *Viticulture in Venetian Crete (XIII C.)*, in *Πεπραγμένα τοῦ Δ' Διεθνοῦς Κρητολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου*, Athens, 1981, 2, p. 509; *ODB s.v.* Wine. Wines subjected to special treatment were used for therapeutic purposes. *Geoponica*, pp. 216-222. Customarily, wine was offered as a gratuity, drink-money, *pourboire* to workmen in appreciation of a job well done (βιβερατικόν, *biberaticum*). M. McCormick, *Greek Hagiography and Popular Latin in Late Antiquity: The Case of *BIBERATICUM-βιβερατικόν*, in *American Journal of Philology*, 102 (1981), pp. 159-163.

Apparently, many Byzantines drank excessively (οἰνόφλυγες), forcing the Church to castigate intemperance and to stress the dire consequences of this vice: ἀμετρία οἴνου λογισμὸν κατασβέννυσι. S. P. N. Basilii, Homilia XIV: *in ebrisos*, *PG* 31, cols. 444-464, esp. 448B and 457B; Symeonis Metaphrastae, *De ingluvie et ebrietate*, *PG* 32, cols. 1320-1328; Y. Courtonne, *Saint Basile: Lettres*, Paris, 1961, 2, p. 163; *The Correspondence of Athanasius I Patriarch of Constantinople*, ed. A-M. Maffry Talbot, Washington DC, 1975, epist. nos. 42, 44; D. E. Jeanselme, *L' alcoolisme à Byzance*, in *Société française d' Histoire de la Médecine* 18 (1924), pp. 1-7. Still, panaceas to prevent intoxication and sober up drunkards have been prescribed. *Geoponica*, pp. 211-212; Koukoules, *Βυζαντινῶν Βίος*, p. 128; Symeonis Metaphrastae, *Ibidem*, col. 1325.

[44] *Geoponica*, pp. 185, 197, 199; *MEE*, *s.v.* οἶνος, pp. 781-782; Ἐλευθερουδακης, *s.v.* οἶνος, p. 24; *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, p. 720.

[45] Vineyards were considered αὐτούργια, i.e. a productive, profit-making (εὔπρόσοδον), relative 'capital intensive', fixed asset not requiring additional annual expenses after the

aspect, the grower must first decide whether to produce table grapes or wine grapes. For the former, the vineyard had to be close to a town so that he can dispose of his crop quickly and unspoiled.[46] For the latter, the choice of variety must be based both on considerations of high yield and durability of the stock, the implication being that if the aim is to go for yield alone, the required frequent replanting increases significantly the cost of production. Next, the grower must choose the proper location and type of soil. As soils vary greatly in the bouquet they impart to the grape, where the soil is known to give a fine flavor, the grower should choose a moderate prolific vine and produce for the discriminating buyer; otherwise, he should go for quantity and plant the most prolific vine. In general, vines planted in low-lying grounds give quantity whereas those planted in hill slopes produce wines of better quality. The reasons for unsatisfactory returns usually are: wine-growers do not pay due attention to the quality of the soil or aspect; they fail to make adequate advance preparations before they start operations; in order to get the maximum yield, they overburden their vines with too many shoots disregarding the durability of the asset.[47]

Returns on investments in vineyards are hard to come by as costs of production are virtually unknown and wine prices difficult to estimate. There is no information regarding the cost of planting, tools and auxiliary materials, construction of the treading vat, purchase and installation of the wine-press, or annual operation and maintenance expenses. The productivity of the vineyard depends on the age of the vine, the cultivated variety, care (ἐπιμέλεια), rainfall, prevailing weather conditions each year, and whether or not it has been affected by fungoid and other diseases or insects. Neglect or inadequate husbandry leads to lower yields, and so does protracted drought. Wine prices *ex vineyard* and their elasticity[48] vary depending on

initial outlay (land and labor). G. A. RHALLES and M. POTLES, *Syntagma*, 2, p. 593, ll. 19-20; p. 595, ll. 4-7; N. SVORONOS, *Les privilèges de l' Église à l' époque des Comnènes: Un rescrit inédit de Manuel Ier Comnène*, in *TM*, 1 (1965) p. 329 n. 22; N. OIKONOMIDÈS, *Fiscalité et exemption fiscale à Byzance*, Athens, 1996, pp. 185, 208. Apparently, the notion of *autourgion* did not include the yearly maintenance costs of the vineyard, nor potential replanting expenses.

[46] Transport was difficult due to poor road conditions. See pp. 241, 244 and ns. 49 and 65 below.

[47] WHITE, *Roman farming*, pp. 241-243.

[48] Price elasticity of *demand* reflects the degree of responsiveness or sensitivity of the demand for a good to a change in its price. If demand is elastic, a given fall in price causes a relatively larger increase in the amount bought and vice versa. If demand is inelastic, a given fall in price causes a relatively smaller increase in the amount bought and vice versa. Put differently, demand is elastic (inelastic) if total spending on a good changes in the opposite (same) direction as the change in price. It should be noted that the demand for a given good may have significantly different elasticities at different price levels. Elasticity of *supply* has the same meaning: elasticity (inelasticity) of supply signifies a relatively great (small)

provenance, variety, age, demand, size of the harvest (e.g., bumper crops or failures), carry-over stocks, substitutability between varieties, degree of competition, wholesale or retail transactions, cash or credit deals, depreciation of the currency, or destination to market, as hauling wine over long distances by slow-moving pack animals raised significantly transport costs because poorly maintained roads hampered wheeled transport.[49] Price expectations, influenced by political news, current and recent economic events, experience with past changes in prices, even by rumors, can have a strong impact on the players' marketing behavior, enhancing price sensitivity and fostering speculative tendencies,[50] albeit due consideration should be given to the impact of storage costs and the possible damage to the quality of the wine. Price was also affected by the incidence of numerous transaction taxes and other levies on cargoes on their way to the market.[51] In

response of producers of a good to changes in its price. For details, see A. MARSHALL, *Principles of Economics*, Philadelphia, 1982, pp. 86-95; A.W. STONIER and D. C. HAGUE, *A Textbook of Economic Theory*, London, 1957, pp. 19-31.

Fundamentally, the reasons for the elasticity or inelasticity of demand (degree of responsiveness) for wine is the presence or absence of substitutes (lower or superior quality of wine, type of wine), and the proportion of income spent on wine – the higher the proportion spent the greater the elasticity of demand tends to be. Because of the substitution effect, a rise in the price of wine will cause the prospective buyer to shift his purchase to substitutes, assuming local availability, thereby increasing the demand for them. The effect is measured by the cross-elasticity of demand = the relative (percentage) change in the quantity demanded of the substitute over the relative (percentage) change in the price of wine. The higher the cross-elasticity of demand, the closer the two commodities are as substitutes for each other. STONIER and HAGUE, *Textbook*, pp. 85-86, 208-209; D. S. WATSON, *Price Theory and its Uses*, New York, 1968, pp. 109-110, 270.

[49] *The Correspondence of Ignatios the Deacon*, transl. C. MANGO, Washington DC, 1997, Epist. no. 20; WHITE, *Greek and Roman Technology*, p. 128; J. HALDON, *Byzantium: A History*, Stroud, 2005, pp. 75-76.

[50] Expected price changes depend on the level of current prices and the projected trend. The dependence of future prices on current prices is estimated by the *elasticity of expectations*, defined as the ratio between the proportionate (percentage) change in expected future prices to the proportionate (percentage) change in current prices of a commodity. If current prices change and expected future prices change more (less) than in proportion, the elasticity of price expectations (Ee) is greater (lesser) than unity, reflecting greater (lesser) sensitivity to current price changes; if expectations do not respond at all to a change in current prices, Ee is zero; and if the expectation is that the current price rise will be followed by a decline in future prices, Ee is negative (less than zero). For details, see W. J. BAUMOL, *Economic Dynamics*, New York, 1959, pp. 85-87, 103-105; WATSON, *Price Theory*, pp. 115-116.

[51] A *sales* tax amounting to 10 % *ad valorem* (*kommerkion*) was levied on all goods sold wholesale/retail in the empire's consumption centers ostensibly without exemption (πάντες ὀφείλουσι κομμερκεύεσθαι). *B.* 2. 5. 18; *Synopsis Basilicorum*, K. 24; *Hexabiblos*, 2. 5. 18. Those concealing goods to avoid paying the tax forfeited their undeclared goods. *B.* 56. 4. 1. Also, all merchandise reaching Constantinople by sea had to pay a 10 % *kommerkion* at *customs* (for exemptions obtained by the Latins, see p. 246 and n. 76 below). The rate remained unchanged until the mid-14th century, when emperor John VI reduced it to 2 %. *ODB s.v.* Kommerkion, Customs; N. OIKONOMIDÈS, *Le kommerkion d' Abydos, Thessalonique et le*

view of the array and unquantifiability of these variables, it is impossible to establish meaningful representative prices for wine even in major export or consumption centers.[52]

The price of vineyards varied extensively and cited prices should be used with extreme caution. E.g., from the 11th to the 14th century, prices fluctuated between 5.5 to 15 *hyperpyra* per *modios*,[53] depending on regional location, *intra muros* or in the countryside,[54] security (area free of hostilities),[55] accuracy of surveys or quotations, productivity, cultivated variety, prevailing market prices, value of the currency, competition, transport costs to

commerce Bulgare au IXe siècle, in *Hommes et richesses dans l' Empire byzantin*, ed. V. KRAVARI, J. LEFORT, C. MORRISSON, Paris, 1991, II, pp. 241-246, esp. p. 243. H. ANTONIADIS-BIBICOU, *Recherches sur les douanes à Byzance*, Paris, 1963, p. 114, maintains that the *kommerkion* combined the customs duty and the sales tax. In addition to the *kommerkion*, a fee (*pratikion*) was levied on cartloads and shiploads of transacted commodities (ὁ ὑπὲρ πρασίμων φορτίων παρεχόμενος κανών) whose rate is unknown. ANTONIADIS-BIBICOU, *Ibidem*, pp.117-118, 135-136. Further charges burdening the circulation of goods included: a toll by pack animals passing roads (διαβατικὸν) or by pack animals and boats traversing rivers or straits (πoριατικόν); a fee (μεσιτικὸν) paid for the services rendered by an intermediary in a consummated deal; a charge (μετρητικὸν) paid for the measurement of a load; dues (γομαριατικόν) paid when goods were sold in packages; a levy (σαμαριατικὸν) paid on cargoes transported by carts or pack animals. ANTONIADIS-BIBICOU, *Ibidem*, pp.123, 136-138. Transport by sea involved charges which ultimately were passed wholly or partially on to the shipper resulting in higher transport costs: aside from the freight (ναῦλος) *per se*, the shipowner was obligated to carry free of charge government supplies and officials or pay an equivalent tax (ἀντίναυλος), as well as to pay several other fees, such as (καταρτιατικόν) to enter the port, (λιμενιατικὸν) to moor, (σκαλιατικὸν) to use the wharf, (σαβουρατικὸν) levied on the ballast. ANTONIADIS-BIBICOU, *Ibidem*, pp.134-135; H. AHRWEILER, *Les ports byzantins (VIIe-IXe siècles)*, in *La Navigazione Mediterranea nell' Alto Medioevo*, Spoleto, 1978, pp. 280-281.

[52] Discontinuous prices of wines during 12th-15th centuries are cited in C. MORRISSON and J.-C. CHEYNET, *Prices and Wages in the Byzantine World*, in *EHB*, II, pp. 834-835 Table 8; JACOBY, *Food and Wine*, pp. 143-144; J. DAY, *Prix agricole en Méditerranée*, in *Annales: Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations*, 16 (1961), pp. 638-641.

[53] J.-C. CHEYNET, E. MALAMUT, C. MORRISSON, *Prix et salaires à Byzance (Xe-XVe siècle)*, in *Hommes et richesses*, II, p. 348 Table 5; MORRISSON and CHEYNET, *Prices and Wages*, pp. 832-836 and Table 7; KAPLAN, *Les hommes et la terre*, pp. 477-479; IDEM, *Viticulture byzantine*, p. 171. It has been estimated ('roughly speaking'), taking the tax as a measure of the economic value of land, that the price of a vineyard was eight to twelve times that of the best quality arable land. The value of deserted vineyards was increased two to ten times when replanted. A. E. LAIOU, *The Agrarian Economy, Thirteenth-Fifteenth Centuries*, in *EHB*, I, p. 360. According to another similar estimate, the price of vineyards was ten times that of arable land. G. OSTROGORSKY, *Pour l'histoire de la féodalité byzantine*, Brussels, 1954, pp. 299-300; KAPLAN, *Viticulture byzantine*, pp. 171-172 and n. 34. Certainly, tax is an unreliable indicator of value.

[54] Residents and monasteries of Constantinople owned or leased vineyards in sparsely built-up areas within the walls or in the city's vicinity. KAPLAN, *Les homes et la terre*, pp. 71-72; IDEM, *Viticulture byzantine*, pp. 177-180; JACOBY, *Food and Wine*, p. 134.

[55] A. E. LAIOU, *War, Peace and Economic Development in the Medieval Balkans*, in ed. T. GUNEY-DOGU, *South East Europe in History: The Past, the Present and the Problems of Balkanology*, Ankara, 1999, pp. 71-72.

market, to name a few. The tax on vineyards ranged from 3 to 7 *nomismata* per *modios*, reflecting the high value of this asset. For comparison, a *modios* of first class land (irrigated fields) was assessed at one *nomisma*, a *modios* of a second class arable land at half a *nomisma*, and a *modios* of third class land (pasture) at one third of a *nomisma*, or according to local custom.[56]

ORGANIZATION OF THE WINEMAKING INDUSTRY

Vineyards were owned by big landlords, lay[57] and monastic;[58] by peasants, independent or *paroikoi*, with holdings ranging from ½ to 10 *modii* but mostly 2 *modii* per household;[59] and even by

[56] LEFORT *et al.*, *Géométries*, p. 63; KAPLAN, *Viticulture byzantine*, p. 171; N. OIKONOMIDES, *The Role of the Byzantine State in the Economy*, in *EHB*, III, pp. 995, 1034.

[57] *Actes de Kutlumus*, ed. P. LEMERLE, Paris, 1988, nos. 7, 8, 18; *Actes d' Iviron*, II, no. 59; *Actes de Docheiariou*, ed., N. OIKONOMIDÈS, Paris, 1984, no. 49; *Actes de Xénophon*, no. 9; *MM*, II, pp. 348-352, 557-558; LAIOU, *Agrarian Economy*, pp. 360-361.

[58] *Actes de Lavra*, I, nos. 1. 15;18. 29-33; 24. 9-15; 27. 19; 34. 10; 42. 26-27; 60. 29; II, nos. 75. 31-33; 89. 119, 148; 99. 33-35; 100. 24; 112. 24-25; III, nos. 118. 116, 150; 123. 166-167; *Actes d' Iviron*, I, nos. 4, 6, 7, 12, 20, 21, 29, 30; II, nos. 34, 35, 42, 43, 45, 50, 52, 53; III, nos. 67, 70, 71; *Actes de Kutlumus*, nos. 8. 12, 18-19, 23, 24; 18. 44; 38. 10; *Actes de Zographou*, ed. W. REGEL, E. KURTZ, B. KORABLEV, Amsterdam, 1969, nos. 28. 18; 39. 21-23; 53. 22; *Actes de Philothée*, ed. W. REGEL, E. KURTZ, B. KORABLEV, Amsterdam, 1975, no. 9 *passim*; *Actes de Docheiariou*, nos. 6. 28; 10. pp. 113-115 *passim*; 16. 1-5; 20. 4-5; 35. 36-37; 36. 14-16; *Actes de Chilandar*, ed. L. PETIT and B. KORABLEV, Amsterdam, 1975, nos. 62. 24-25; 69. 34-35; 92 *passim*; 93. 5-12; 94. 36-38; *Actes de Xénophon*, nos. 1, 5, 23, 25, 95; *Les archives de Saint-Jean-Prodrome*, nos. 4. 26; 9. 25-28; 10 *passim*; 35. 60-62; *Actes de Xéropotamou*, nos. 9, 16, 18, *passim*; *Actes de Pantokrator*, ed. V. KRAVARI, Paris, 1991, nos. 1, p. 67; 2, pp. 75-76; *Actes d' Esphigménou*, ed. J. LEFORT, Paris, 1973, no. 6 pp. 62-63; *Actes de Dionysiou*, ed., N. OIKONOMIDÈS, Paris, 1968, nos. 7, 9, 25; Βυζαντινά ἔγγραφα τῆς Μονῆς Πάτμου, ed. NYSTAZOPOULOU-PELEKIDOU, II, pp. 54, 56; M. GOUDAS, Βυζαντινά ἔγγραφα τῆς ἐν Ἄθῳ Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς τοῦ Βατοπεδίου, *EEBS*, 3 (1926), pp. 115-116; Novel 33 (1314-1315) of Michael IX Palaeologus, in *JG*, I, p. 675; Novel 23 (1301) of Andronicus II, in *JG*, I, p. 526; Novels 16 (s.d.), 28 (1259), 29 (1259), 30 (1272) of Michael VIII Palaeologus, in *JG*, I, pp. 512, 655, 657, 663, respectively; Novels 43 and 44 of Manuel Palaeologus, in *JG*, I, pp. 697, 700-701, respectively; H. DELEHAYE, *Deux Typica de l' époque des Paléologues*, in IDEM, *Synaxaires byzantins, ménologes, typica*, Variorum Reprints Part VI, London, 1977, pp. 130-134; *MM*, II, pp. 82, 384, 499; *MM*, IV, pp. 5, 9, 17, 20, 23-25, 30, 31, 45, 126, 131, 286, 398, 400, 403, 405, 408-409, 411, 414-415; *MM*, V, pp. 12, 40-43, 44-47, 50-51, 58, 61, 79, 164, 255; *MM*, VI, pp. 123-125, 164, 207, 247, 248, 252, 256, 257; P. GAUTIER, *Le Typikon du Sébaste Grégoire Pakourianos*, in *REB*, 42 (1984), pp. 37, 43, 117; IDEM, *Le Typikon du Christ Sauver Pantokrator*, in *REB*, 32 (1974), pp, 115, 119; K. SMYRLIS, *La fortune des grands monastères byzantins (fin du Xe-milieu du XIVe siècle)*, Paris, 2006, Table 11 (pp. 148-149).

[59] *Praktika* (inventories of properties and *paroikoi*) of monasteries: *Actes de Lavra*, II, *Praktika*, nos. 99 pp. 143-151 *passim*; 104 pp. 163-170 *passim*; *Actes de Xéropotamou*, no. 18 pp. 155-158 *passim*; *Actes de Xénophon*, no. 25 pp. 189-196 *passim*; *Actes d' Esphigménou*, no. 9 pp. 24-27 *passim*; *Actes de Zographou*, no. 53 pp. 119-120 *passim*; *Actes de Docheiariou*, no. 60 pp. 307-311 *passim; Actes d' Iviron*, III, no. 70 pp. 157-176 *passim;*

Jews.[60] Large vineyards were exploited for commercial purposes relying on hired labor (freemen) or *paroikoi*, while small ones mostly for self-consumption by self-cultivation.[61] The profitability of viticulture led to continuous expansion of vineyards in the empire as is evidenced by the purchase and planting of arable, devastated, or fallow land with vines by many landholders, particularly magnates and monasteries;[62] the rising production and export of wine by Athonite monasteries not only to Thessaloniki and its vicinity but as far as Constantinople with their own ships;[63] and the introduction of malvesia vine-stocks and the production of high quality wines in Crete from the 1330s onward in response to the growing demand.[64] At the same time, the use of ox skins (κολεοί), ceramic vessels (ἀμφορεῖς), and wooden barrels as containers facilitated the bulk transport of wine by sea and even land over quite some distance by increasing the safety of the cargo and reducing loss or damage due to breakage.[65] Nevertheless, surplus wine from very small vineyards outside coastal areas had a rather limited trading radius as transport costs weighed heavily and likely fetched lower prices, *ceteris paribus*. The cultivation of sizable vineyards was usually rented out,

P. LEMERLE, *Un Praktikon inédit des Archives de Karakala*, in Χαριστήριον εἰς Ἀναστάσιον Κ. Ὀρλάνδον, Athens, 1965, 2, pp. 281-285 *passim*; F. DOELGER, *Sechs byzantinische Praktika des 14. Jahrhunderts fuer das Athoskloster Iberon*, Munich, 1949, pp. 35-119 *passim*; OSTROGORSKY, *Féodalité*, pp. 296-302, 310-330; LAIOU-THOMADAKIS, *Peasant Society*, pp. 32-33, 67, 158-159, 165, 175, 189-195, 198, 200-202, 204-210.

[60] D. JACOBY, *The Jews in the Byzantine Economy (Seventh to Mid-Fifteenth Century)*, in R. BONFIL, O. IRSHAI, G. G. STROUMSA, R. TALGAM, eds., *Jews in Byzantium: Dialectics of Minority and Majority Cultures*, Leiden, 2012, pp. 222-223, 226-228, 246.

[61] OSTROGORSKY, *Féodalité*, pp. 330-347; KAPLAN, *Viticulture byzantine*, pp. 192-194.

[62] See n. 58 above; *Actes de Lavra*, I, nos. 24, 26; *Actes d' Iviron*, I, nos. 12 pp. 178-179, 13, pp. 181-182, 20 pp. 214; III, no. 67 p. 135; *Actes de Xénophon*, no 1; *Actes de Chilandar*, no. 2; KAPLAN, *Les hommes et la terre*, pp. 70, 72-73; *IDEM*, *Viticulture byzantine*, pp. 185-192, 195-201; *MM*, II, pp. 395-396, 499; *MM*, V, p. 30; HARVEY, *Economic expansion*, pp. 145-147, 241; *IDEM*, *The monastic economy and imperial patronage from the tenth to the twelfth century*, in *Mount Athos and Byzantine Monasticism*, ed. A. BRYER and M. CUNNINGHAM, London, Variorum, Part 8, p. 94; S. VRYONIS, Jr., *The Will of a Provincial Magnate, Eustathius Boilas (1059)*, in *DOP*, 11 (1957), pp. 266, 276. Indicative of the fervor to own vineyards is the frequent animosity between monasteries. '*Les contestations entre monastères athonites pour des vignes voisines sont légion.*', KAPLAN, *Viticulture byzantine*, pp. 188-190, 201.

[63] *Actes de Prôtaton*, ed. D. PAPACHRYSSANTHOU, Paris, 1975, nos. 7 and 8, pp. 212 and 226-227, respectively; HARVEY, *Economic expansion*, pp. 238-241; KAPLAN, *Viticulture Byzantine*, pp. 201-206.

[64] JACOBY, *The Jews in the Byzantine Economy*, p. 250; *IDEM*, *Food and Wine*, pp. 139-143.

[65] WHITE, *Farm Equipment*, pp. 114-115, 116, 124-125, 139-140, 201; *IDEM*, *Greek and Roman* Technology, pp. 128-133; KAPLAN, *Les hommes et la terre*, pp. 73-74; FORBES, *Studies*, p. 119; JACOBY, *Food and Wine*, p. 140. Maritime transport is far less expensive compared to land transport. Freights by sea, river/canal, and land bear an approximate relationship of 1: 5: 40. HENDY, *Studies*, p. 556.

with the owner and the renter (ἡμισειαστὴς) splitting equally the quantity of the produced wine (ἡμίσεια).[66] A tax was levied on wine transported by sea to Constantinople amounting to 10 % (δεκατεία τῶν οἰναρίων). Monasteries and magnates, by dint of imperial chrysobulls, were exempted from this tax, from the tax on vineyards, and the *kommerkion* due on all products exported to Constantinople.[67] Further exemptions were obtained from such secondary taxes as: transport of wine (καταβιβασμὸς οἴνου),[68] compulsory sale of wine to the state at a fixed price (ἐξώνησις οἴνου),[69] requisition of wine (ἐκδανεισμὸς οἴνου),[70] provision of wine (κατάθεσις ποσίμων εἰδῶν),[71] the duty on

[66] Πάκτον (*pactum*, contract) denotes the yearly share of the crop (one half), the owner or possessor of the vineyard is entitled to receive from the renter for the joint exploitation of that property, because the former for whatever reason is unable or unwilling to cultivate the land himself. *ODB s.v.* Pakton. The *pakton* spells out the specific tasks to be performed by the renter, the liability for expenses and risks (usually renter's), the duration of the contract, and the penalty for non-performance. K. N. SATHAS, *Mesaionike Bibliotheke*, Paris, 1977, VI, pp. 620-621; *Farmer's Law*, art. 12; KAPLAN, *Les hommes et la terre*, p. 259; TOPPING, *Viticulture in Venetian Crete*, pp. 510-520; *MM*, II, p. 499. A theoretical average rent may be calculated as 1 *hyperpyron* per *modius* of vineyard. Nevertheless, the attested rates of vineyard *pakta* are much lower, fluctuating at 1 *hyperpyron* per 3 and even 6-8 *modii* of vineyards. Hence it has been suggested that the ἀμπελόπακτον was not the base rental charge on vineyards but a state surcharge levied on vineyards cultivated by *xenoparoikoi*. N. SVORONOS, *Actes de Lavra*, IV, p. 162; N. OIKONOMIDÈS, *Terres du fisc et revenue de la terre aux Xe-XIe siècles*, in *Hommes et richesses*, II, pp. 329-330. However, *paroikoi* and *klerikoparoikoi* of monasteries were often exempted by imperial chrysobulls from the ἀμπελόπακτον. *Le monastère de Notre-Dame de Pitié en Macédoine*, in *Izvestija*, 6 (1900), p. 36; OIKONOMIDÈS, *Fiscalité*, p. 82; C. ASTRUC, *Un document inédit de 1163 sur l' éveché thessalien de Stagi*, in *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 83 (1959), pp. 214-215. In practice, rates of rent varied depending on the social status of the renter, local customs, and other economic and non-economic factors. LAIOU, *Peasant Society*, pp. 216-221; HARVEY, *Economic expansion*, p. 148; OIKONOMIDÈS, *Terres du fisc*, pp. 332-333; *ODB s.v.* Rent.

[67] *Actes de Lavra*, I, nos. 55, 67, 68; *Actes de Chilandar*, nos. 2, 5; *Actes d' Iviron*, I, no. 6; *ODB s.v.* Tithe; GAUTIER, *Typikon du Christ Sauveur*, pp. 119, 127; Βυζαντινά ἔγγραφα τῆς Μονῆς Πάτμου, I, ed. E. L. VRANOUSI, Athens, 1980, nos. 9 (p. 92), 11 (p. 106), 39 (pp. 300-301); II, ed. M. NYSTAZOPOULOY-PELEKIDOY, no. 59 (p. 122); ANTONIADIS-BIBICOU, *Douanes à Byzance*, pp. 103-104; P. LEMERLE, *Notes sur l' administration byzantine à la veille de IVe crusade d' après deux documents inédits des archives de Lavra*, in *REB*, 19 (1961), pp. 258-261, 269-273; Novels 28 (1259), 30 (1272) of Michael VIII Palaeologus, in *JG*, I, pp. 655, 663, respectively; Novel 17 (1284) of Andronicus II, in *JG*, I, p. 514; *MM*, VI, pp.120, 122, 128, 138, 140.

[68] P. GAUTIER, *La Diataxis de Michel Attaliate*, Paris, 1981, p. 107; *Actes de Lavra*, I, no. 55, p. 286; OIKONOMIDÈS, *Fiscalité*, p. 283.

[69] Novel 4 (1044) of Constantine XI, in *JG*, I, p. 617; *Actes de Lavra*, I, nos. 44, 48; III, no. 118; M. GOUDAS, Βυζαντινά ἔγγραφα τῆς Ἱερᾶς Μονῆς Πάτμου, in *EEBS*, 3 (1926), p. 123; *MM*, VI, pp. 20, 22, 27; OIKONOMIDÈS, *Fiscalité*, Table IV (p. 299).

[70] GOUDAS, *Ibidem*, p. 123; *Actes de Lavra*, I, no. 48; *MM*, VI, p. 47; Novel 30 (1088) of Alexius Comnenus, in *JG*, I, p. 318; Βυζαντινά ἔγγραφα τῆς Μονῆς Πάτμου, E. L. VRANOUSI, I, no. 6, p. 62.

[71] Novel 33 (1314-1315) of Mihael IX Palaeologus, in *JG*, I, p. 676; *Actes de Chilandar*, I, no. 5; *Actes de Lavra*, I, no. 38; II, no. 89; III, no. 118; *MM*, VI, p. 22.

wine (καπηλειατικὸν),[72] the excise tax known as *pratikion*,[73] and, since early in the 14th century, the assessment on vineyards (οἰνομέτριον) levied in proportion to the *telos*.[74]

The Legal Regime of Wine Trade

The export of wine was prohibited at least up to the 10th century to ensure adequate supply of a basic consumer staple.[75] Nevertheless, the law fell into desuetude following the increase in domestic production and improved mechanisms of distribution which lessened the potential risk of shortages, as is evidenced from the extensive privileges granted to Italian merchants in the 11th century and beyond, whereby no restrictions were placed on the commodities to be traded or the places within or without the empire in which trade could be carried out.[76] The tax concessions to the Venetians increased significantly their competitive edge over the native traders and enabled them to dominate the domestic market, as they could offer higher prices to wine producers and entice them to sell to them rather than to native merchants. Their position was further enhanced as they expanded their maritime transportation and supply network through cabotage and tramping. Wine transactions by Venetian merchants are very frequently mentioned in the sources, and large quantities of wine were exported from many production centers in the empire destined primarily to domestic consumption centers in short supply, Constantinople in particular.[77]

[72] *Actes de Kutlumus*, no. 38, pp. 143, 145; Novel 45 (1405) of Manuel Palaeologus, in *JG*, I, p. 702; Novel 28 (1317) of Andronicus II, in *JG*, I, pp. 538-541; *Actes du Prôtaton*, no. 8, p. 226; *MM*, VI, p. 166.

[73] See n. 51 above; *Actes de Lavra*, I, 38 (p. 286); *MM*, VI, pp. 166; Antoniadis-Bibicou, *Recherches*, pp. 117-118.

[74] *Actes d' Esphigménou*, no. 7, p. 65; *Grčke povelje srpskih vladara*, ed. A. Solovjev and V. A. Mošin, Belgrade, 1936, p. 40; *ODB s.v.* Oinometrion.

[75] *B.* 19. 1. 83; *Synopsis Basilicorum*, A. III. 16; *Epitome*, in *JG*, IV, 16. 49.

[76] On the numerous imperial chrysobulls granting commercial privileges and tax exemptions to the Latins, see D. Jacoby, *Italian Privileges and Trade in Byzantium Before the Fourth Crusade: A Reconsideration*, in *Idem*, *Trade, Commodities and Shipping in the Medieval Mediterranean*, Aldershot, Variorum Reprints, 1997, Part II, pp. 349-368; Novel 6 (1265) of Michael VIII, in *JG*, I, pp. 495-501; *MM*, III, pp. 90-91; J. Chrysostomides, *Venetian Commercial Privileges Under the Palaiologi*, in *Studi Veneziani*, 12 (1970), pp. 268-272, 298; Antoniadis-Bibicou, *Douanes à Byzance*, pp. 109-112.

[77] A. E. Laiou, *Monopoly and Privileged Free Trade in the Eastern Mediterranean (8th-14th Century)*, in *Chemins d' outre-mer*, ed. D. Coulon, C. Otten-Froux, P. Pagès, D. Varérian, Sorbonne, 2004, 2, pp. 512, 519-521; *Eadem*, *Exchange and Trade, Seventh-Twelfth Centuries*, in *EHB*, II, pp. 751-752; *The Correspondence of Leo, Metropolitan of Synada and Syncellus*, translation and commentary by M. Pollard Vinson, Washington DC, 1985, Epist. 43; Harvey, *Economic expansion*, pp. 217, 223-224; D. Jacoby, *Venetian commercial expansion in the eastern Mediterranean, 8th-11th centuries*, in *Byzantine Trade, 4th-12th Centuries*, ed. M. Mundell Mango, Farnham, 2009, pp. 378, 384; Laiou and Morrisson, *The Byzantine Economy*, pp. 114, 180; J. Koder, *Maritime trade and the food supply for Constantinople in the middle ages*, in *Travel in the Byzantine World*, ed. R. Makrides, Ashgate, Variorum Reprints, 2002, Part 7, pp. 110-118, *passim*.

To instill good faith and ensure fairness in business deals, statute law set norms of business behavior in contractual relations and standards for the orderly conduct of commercial transactions, affording the injured party the right to sue the culprit and inflicting severe penalties on the nonperforming party.[78] The general rules were: nobody buys or sells unwillingly.[79] Agreements properly and legally constituted are valid for an unlimited time and cannot be nullified because one of the parties reneged.[80] Buyers and sellers have the same rights before the law and are treated impartially by the legal system, regardless of social status, gender, or ethnicity.[81] The parties to an exchange are legally obligated to comply with the terms of their agreement.[82] Stipulations in private contracts cannot prevail over rules set by law.[83] Delivery of the thing promised or deposit of earnest money was evidence that the parties intended to enter into a purchase/sale contract.[84] If the use of the thing is conveyed but the agreed price is not paid, the transaction is valid.[85] Agreed penalties for breach of contract in commercial transactions were enforceable unless they were exorbitant.[86] Ambiguities in the terms of a contract encumber the seller.[87]

Specific provisions pertaining to business behavior included: a breach of contract by either party entailed liability for the loss of potential gain (διαφέρον) of the other party.[88] A seller who culpably failed to deliver on a deal was liable for the buyers' loss of potential gain even if the sustained

[78] *B.* 11. 1. 74, 75.

[79] *Epitome*, in *JG*, IV, 16. 44.

[80] Novel 17 (959-963) of Romanus II, in JG, I, 244-46; Novel 20 (1082) of Alexius I Comnenus, in *JG*, I, p. 297.

[81] *B.* 2. 1. 37; *B.* 2. 3. 19; *Synopsis Basilicorum*, K. 2. 4; N. 6. 2, 7; *Epanagoge*, in *JG*, II, 1. 4; *Epitome*, 1. 4, 11; *Hexabiblos*, 1. 14, 16, 36, 38.

[82] *B.* 19. 8. 11; *Prochiron Auctum*, Paratitlon. 11. 3, 6, 7.

[83] *B.* 2. 3. 27, 45; *Synopsis Basilicorum*, K. 2. 105, 110; *Synopsis Minor*, I. 23; *Hexabiblos*, 1. 9. 10, 14.

[84] *B.* 19. 1. 33; *Prochiron Auctum*, 15. 2; *Peira*, in *JG*, IV, 44. 1, 2, 4; *Hexabiblos*, 3. 3. 1.

[85] *Synopsis Basilicorum*, A. 7. 2; *Hexabiblos*, 3. 3. 31, 32.

[86] *B.* 10. 11. 1; *B.* 11. 1. 75; *Prochiron Auctum*, 17. 77; *Peira*, 45. 1, 2, 15; *Hexabiblos*, 1. 9. 6, 13, 17; Novel 17 (959-963) of Romanus II, in *JG*, I, pp. 244-246; Novel 66 (1166) of Manuel I Comnenus, in *JG*, I, p. 395; Novel 26 (1306) of Andronicus II, in *JG*, I, p. 536; *ODB s.v.* Prostimon. The statute of limitations on lawsuits pertaining to price ran out after thirty years. *Hexabiblos*, 1. 3. 51, 52; 3. 3. 48.

[87] *B.* 2. 3. 172; *B.* 19. 1. 20; *Synopsis Basilicorum*, A. 38. 1; K. 2. 27; *Synopsis Minor*, A. 115; *Hexabiblos*, 1. 9. 16; 1. 15. 15.

[88] *B.* 19. 10. 76.

loss exceeded the value of the promised thing, albeit not more than double; if his inability to deliver was not due to his fault, he was not liable for damages.[89] After the delivery of the sold article, the seller could not back out on grounds that he changed his mind.[90] Haggling and puffing were seen as taking place as a matter of course before a sales contract was consummated. Aggressive bargaining was an inseparable and essential part of trade negotiations as it fostered competition and fair prices. Exaggerated praise and affirmations without commitment were not binding; but if the vendor categorically pledged non-existing attributes he was liable for deception.[91] Vendors, having agreed on the price and received earnest money, were forbidden to raise the price of the good.[92] If a vendor, having agreed on the price and received earnest money, backed out of the deal, he had to pay the buyer double the earnest money; if the buyer reneged, he forfeited the earnest money.[93] The vendor had the right to keep the earnest money he received and refuse delivery if the buyer did not pay him within the agreed time, the rule being that the buyer ought to pay in a timely fashion and without express notification from the vendor.[94] Ordinarily, in a fixed-price sales contract, price changes will not relieve a party of his obligation because the intent clearly was to assign to the performing party the risk of problems encountered in performance after the contract was signed.[95] If a thing is sold at a fixed price and the buyer disputes the agreement, he is obligated either to return the thing intact or to pay the agreed price.[96] If part of the price had been paid and the balance was not paid within the agreed time, the sale was invalidated and the buyer forfeited the amount paid and the earnest money he deposited.[97] Buyers were not permitted to exact a reduction of the agreed upon price craftily, e.g., by claiming that the good was of substandard quality, overpriced, or obtainable elsewhere cheaper.[98] Within

[89] *B.* 19. 8. 1, 21; *B.* 9. 1. 87; *Synopsis Basilicorum*, A. 10. 1; *Epitome*, 16. 54; *Hexabiblos*, 3. 3. 52.

[90] *Ecloga Legum*, in *JG*, II, 9. 1; *Ecloga ad Prochiron Mutata*, in *JG*, VI, 11. 16; *Ecloga Privata Aucta*, in *JG*, VI, 10. 2; *Prochiron Auctum*, 15. 52.

[91] *B.* 10. 3. 37; *B.* 19. 10. 17; *Synopsis Basilicorum*, A. 3. 11, 20; *Peira*, 38. 30; *Synopsis Minor*, A. 92; *Hexabiblos*, 3. 3.19 and scholium, 3. 3. 66.

[92] *Book of the Eparch* (Ἐπαρχικὸν Βιβλίον) (hereafter *BE*) in J. KODER, *Das Eparchenbuch Leons des Weisen*, Vienna, 1991, *BE*, 6. 11; 9. 2; 10. 5; 11. 5; 18. 5.

[93] *B.* 22. 1. 76; *B.* 19. 1. 88; *Synopsis Basilicorum*, A. 3. 2b; A. 45; *Epanagoge*, 23. 2; *Epitome*, 16. 3; *Prochiros Nomos*, in *JG*, II, 14. 1; *Prochiron Auctum*, 15. 3; *Peira*, 44. 3; *Epanagoge Aucta*, in *JG*, VI, 21. 3; *Synopsis Minor*, A. 27; *Hexabiblos*, 3. 3. 3; *BE*, 6. 11; 9. 2; 10. 5; 11. 5.

[94] *B.* 19. 1. 88, 90, 91; *Peira*, 45. 17; *Hexabiblos*, 3. 3. 42, 43 and scholium.

[95] *Hexabiblos*, 3. 3. 8; R. A. POSNER, *Economic Analysis of Law*, New York, 1998, p. 118.

[96] *B.* 19. 9. 1; *Synopsis Basilicorum*, A. 11. 1.

[97] *Hexabiblos*, 3. 3. 42.

[98] *BE*, 18. 5; *Hexabiblos*, 6. 14. 12.

a mutually agreed time limit, the buyer could return the sold thing if he was displeased (ἀπαρέσκον αὐτῷ, *pactum displicentiae*); but if no time limit was set, the thing had to be returned within sixty days, a period of time that could be extended only for cause.[99] Had a vendor sold a good which he did not own and it was subsequently legally taken away from the buyer, he was liable to the purchaser for the price of the good as well as for the lost gain.[100] If the seller knowingly delivered substandard goods, he was liable for the buyer's loss of potential gain; if unknowingly, the price could be reduced to the level at which the buyer would have normally paid.[101] If a seller delivered goods in greater number, size, or value than it was agreed and the buyer took delivery, he could demand either the return of the excess or the proportional increase of the amount of the sale; if the buyer took delivery of goods in lesser number, size, or value, he could demand the proportional reduction of the amount of the sale or that the sale be made whole; but neither could seek the invalidation of the sale.[102] Subsequent to a completed sale, an agreement that either party's obligations could be modified was valid.[103] If both parties to a contract fail to fulfill their respective obligations, i.e. the seller did not deliver the thing and the buyer did not pay, they can agree to disown the contract.[104] If payment is overdue, the seller could demand the return of the thing sold, in which case the transaction was considered as having never been consummated.[105] If the buyer is overdue in his payment not because of his negligence but because of fraud on the part of the seller, the latter is liable for restitution; if both are overdue in the discharge of their respective obligations, it is the latest delay that weighs.[106] An agreement whereby the seller will receive payment at a later date (credit sale) was valid.[107] After the completion of a deal, it could be agreed that, if the buyer paid within a designated new date, he would pay a smaller amount; if he failed, he had to pay the original sum.[108] Having set a time limit for the consummation of a deal, the contracting parties could

[99] *B.* 19. 10. 28; *B.* 19. 1. 3; *Epitome*, 16. 26, 27; *Peira*, 38. 39; *Hexabiblos*, 3. 3. 60.

[100] *B.* 19. 11. 56; *Synopsis Basilicorum*, A. 13. 11, 13; *Epitome*, 16. 64; *Peira*, 38. 85; ATTALEIATES, *Ponema*, 11. 4; *Prochiron Auctum*, 15. 33; *Synopsis Minor*, Π. 20; *Hexabiblos*, 1. 9. 14 and scholium, 3. 3. 75, 77.

[101] *B.* 19. 1. 43; *B.* 19. 8. 13; *Synopsis Basilicorum*, A. 10. 6; *Prochiron Auctum*, 15. 30; Paratitlon, 22. 25.

[102] *B.* 19. 8. 4, 6, 32, 38.

[103] *B.* 11. 1. 43.

[104] *B.* 19. 1. 6.

[105] *B.* 11. 1. 57; *B.* 19. 1. 88, 90; *Hexabiblos*, 3. 3. 43.

[106] *B.* 19. 6. 11; *Synopsis Basilicorum*, A. 8. 3; *Synopsis Minor*, Y. 19; *Hexabiblos*, 3. 3. 15.

[107] *B.* 19. 1. 94; *B.* 19. 10. 71; *Epitome*, 16. 52, 60; *Peira*, 38. 53.

[108] *Synopsis Basilicorum*, Σ. 8. 14 (e).

agree that if within the intervening period someone else offered a higher price the sale could be invalidated.[109] Vendors were forbidden to sell their wares based on misleading information (e.g., misrepresentation of quality),[110] adulterate their wares,[111] or alter their measures.[112] Sales concluded by coercion, intimidation,[113] or fraud were invalid.[114] A buyer, believing the seller was the owner of the thing offered for sale, acquired ownership as *bona fides* purchaser, the seller being liable to the owner; but if he knew that the thing did not belong to the seller, as *mala fides* buyer he never becomes owner.[115] Vendors had to make the buyer aware of hidden defects; concealment of blemishes could result in cancellation of the deal, reduction of the price, or a fine.[116] The array of these legal provisions suggests that, for all practical purposes, sellers were served notice that they ought to act in good faith (*caveat venditor).*

Statutory risk-bearing provisions binding the parties to the exchange included the following. As a rule, the person who ultimately profits from the transaction also bears the risk if it is damaged.[117] After the consummation of the sale, any profit from and any damage to the thing sold pertain to the buyer, unless the seller was overdue in delivering the thing.[118] The risk (κίνδυνος, *periculum*) passed on to the buyer as soon as the contract was complete even if the thing was not delivered; provided there was no fraud, negligence, or delay in delivery on the part of the seller in the period

[109] *B.* 19. 2. 1, 2; *Synopsis Basilicorum*, A. 4. 1 (a); Y. 7.1. 2; *Hexabiblos*, 3. 3. 14, 95 and scholium, 96.

[110] Vendors knowingly misinforming buyers are liable not only for the price of the article but for any resulting damage as well. *B.* 19.10.1; *B.* 19. 8. 22; *Synopsis Basilicorum*, A. 10. 6, 9; *Epanagoge*, 39. 33; *Epitome*, 16. 11 n. 18; *Ecloga ad Prochiron Mutata*, 11. 14; *Prochiron Auctum*, 15. 45.

[111] *B.* 19. 8. 32.

[112] *B.* 60. 22. 6 scholium; *B.* 60. 51. 33; *Synopsis Basilicorum*, Π. 24. 3, 5; ATTALEIATES, *Ponema*, 35. 58; *Synopsis Minor*, Π. 52; Σ. 26.

[113] *B.* 10. 2. 1-3, 5, 9, 21, 27; *B.* 19. 10. 65; *Synopsis Basilicorum*, A. 12. 18; *Epanagoge*, 6. 5; *Epanagoge Aucta*, 5. 4; *Epitome*, 14. 30; 16. 29; *Peira*, 38. 51; *Prochiron Auctum*, 15. 21, 22, 24, 36; *Hexabiblos*, 1. 11. 1-3, 11, 12, 13; 1. 12. 56; 3. 3. 68.

[114] *B.* 19. 10. 68, 72, 73; *Synopsis Basilicorum*, A. 12. 1; *Epanagoge Aucta*, 49. 1; *Epitome*, 16. 29, 48; *Peira*, 38. 51.

[115] *B.* 19. 1. 25; *B.* 19. 6. 15; *B.* 19. 8. 37; *Synopsis Basilicorum*, A. 3. 6; A. 21. 5, 10; *Prochiron Aucutm*, Paratitlon, 22.5; *Hexabiblos*, 3. 3. 22, 40.

[116] *B.* 19. 10. 1-4, 17; *B.* 19. 8. 13; ATTALEIATES, *Ponema*, 11. 3; *Synopsis Basilicorum*, A. 12. 1, 2, 7; *Epitome*, 16. 14; *Peira*, 38. 17; *Prochiron Auctum*, 15. 32; *Ecloga ad Prochiron Mutata*, 24. 38; *Synopsis Minor*, Π. 19; *Hexabiblos*, 3. 3. 57-59, 61-64.

[117] *B.* 2. 3. 10; *Synopsis Basilicorum*, K. 2. 33; *Ecloga ad Prochiron Mutata*, 11. 8; *Hexabiblos*, Title B. 16.

[118] *B.* 19. 6. 1, 2, 14; *Prochiros Nomos*, 14. 3; *Epanagoge*, 23. 4; *Synopsis Basilicorum*, A. 8. 1, 6, 8; *Prochiron Auctum*, 15. 10; *Epanagoge Aucta*, 21. 6; *Ecloga ad prochiron Mutata*, 11. 7; *Hexabiblos*, 3. 3. 9, 11.

between contract and conveyance, he could claim the price from the buyer no matter what happened to the thing; conversely, the buyer had no claim if, without the seller's fault, the thing was destroyed or damaged before conveyance as the delay was due to his negligence.[119] In a sales contract where it is explicitly agreed that the buyer will not bear the risk of a casual loss or damage and the thing is lost or damaged, he is not liable and he is not required to pay the price even if he committed fraud.[120] If the sale is consummated, the seller bears the risk if the thing is stolen before delivery only if he failed to exercise due diligence; thereafter the buyer.[121] The seller is obliged to exercise due diligence after the thing is sold until delivery but he is not liable for fortuitous events or *force majeure*, unless he committed fraud or it is otherwise agreed; in the latter case, he could demand compensation from the buyer for the expenses he incurred for preserving the thing.[122] In a conditional sales contract, the seller bears the risk for the loss or damage of the thing sold before the happening of the event.[123] As a rule, those culpable for fraudulent acts are also liable for contingencies.[124]

The high-volume wine trade developed particular transactional and risk-bearing arrangements, as to when faulty performance and the risk for fortuitous events would be borne by the seller or by the buyer. They were instituted by law, agreement, or custom, and were provided to accommodate the unique features of the trade and the special needs of the contracting parties.[125] Wine merchants sell according to the terms of their agreement and nobody is compelled to sell if he is displeased with the measure or the price; but above all, transactions must comply with local customs.[126] If a delivery date has been set and the buyer neglects to fetch the wine, the seller can sell it provided he gives advance notice to the buyer. If he chooses not to sell, he is entitled to the prevailing rent on the casks containing the sold wine.[127] If a delivery date has not been set, delivery should be completed before the upcoming vintage. If the buyer fails to comply, the seller can sell the wine and the buyer is liable for any loss in the ensuing transaction. But if the

[119] *B.* 19. 6. 16; *Prochiros Nomos*, 14. 4; *Epanagoge*, 23. 3-5; *Epitome*, 16. 4-8; *Prochiron Auctum*, 15. 10, 13, 44; *Epanagoge Aucta*, 21. 5; *Ecloga Privata Aucta*, 10. 3; *Hexabiblos*, 3. 3. 8, 9, 11, 76.

[120] ATTALEIATES, *Ponema*, 7. 1; *Hexabiblos*, Title B. 55 scholium.

[121] *B.* 19. 6. 8; *Synopsis Basilicorum*, A. 8. 2; *Synopsis Minor*, A. 96.

[122] *B.* 19. 8. 36; *Synopsis Basilicorum*, A. 8. 8.

[123] *Epitome*, 16. 5.

[124] *B.* 13. 1. 5; *B.* 2. 2. 218; *Epanagoge*, 39. 33; *Hexabiblos*, Title B and scholium (p. 372).

[125] *B.* 53. 7. 1-11; *Synopsis Basilicorum*, A. 18. 1-6; *Epitome*, 16. 6; *Hexabiblos*, 3. 3. 101.

[126] *B.* 19. 1. 69; *B.* 53. 7. 1; *Synopsis Basilicorum*, A. 18. 1; *Hexabiblos*, 3. 3. 101.

[127] *B.* 53. 7. 3; *Synopsis Basilicorum*, A. 18. 2; *MM*, II, pp. 379, 499.

seller is a wine merchant, he is not required to wait until vintage time as he has to consider that he ties up his capital, the impact of potential price fluctuations, and the expenses likely to occur; so he can legally dispose of the wine sooner.[128] If the wine was sold untested (κόττῳ) and hence at the buyer's risk, the seller owes only due diligence; but the buyer bears the risk that the wine might turn sour or languid. If the wine is sold ἐπὶ γεύσει (*ad gustum*) and no date was set for the tasting, the buyer can taste the wine at his discretion and, until he tastes the wine and approves, the seller bears all the risks. But if the deal was consummated (the wine was tasted) and the wine turned sour or was otherwise damaged, the buyer bears the risk unless the seller assumed the risk for events happening after the sale.[129] If a date has been set for the tasting of the wine and the seller obstructs, the sale is valid unless otherwise agreed; however, the seller bears the risk if the wine is deteriorated or lost.[130] If the seller frustrates the delivery of the wine, he is liable for the buyer's loss of potential gain.[131] If the sale is conditioned on enumerating the wine-jars to be contracted, a decision which will define what is contained in the sales contract, the sale is not complete until the measurement takes place at the set date. Until that time, the seller is liable for the damage or loss of the wine, unless the buyer was culpably dilatory in making the measurement. On the other hand, a sale involving *all* the wine in the seller's warehouse is valid and, if the seller gave the keys to his warehouse to the buyer, the latter bears the risk for the loss or damage to the wine.[132] Jars or casks embedded in the ground, unless explicitly excluded in the sale, are considered as part of the sale.[133] Before the enumeration of the quantity transacted the seller bears the risk of damage or loss of the sold wine; if the buyer fails to enumerate by the date set, the seller is liable only for fraud.[134] If the sold wine disappears for whatever reason before the buyer accepts delivery and the seller has not guaranteed its quality, the buyer bears the risk as he has himself to blame for not tasting the wine or tasting it improperly and timely. If the seller knew that the wine was not to remain in his safekeeping until the designated time that it would be picked up and failed to notify the buyer, the seller is liable only for the buyer's loss of

[128] *B*. 53. 7. 4; *Synopsis Basilicorum*, A. 18. 3.
[129] *B*. 53. 7. 2, 10; *B*. 19. 6. 1 scholium; *Synopsis Basilicorum*, A. 18. 5. It is prudent that prospective buyers taste the wine before placing an order to avoid misunderstandings. *B*. 53. 7. 10; WHITE, *Farm Equipment*, p. 116.
[130] *B*. 53. 7. 8.
[131] *B*. 53. 7. 9.
[132] *B*. 53. 7. 11; *B*. 19. 1. 33 and scholium; *Epitome*, 16. 6.
[133] *B*. 19. 1. 74 and scholium.
[134] *B*. 53. 7. 11; *Synopsis basilicorum*, A. 18. 6.

potential gain.[135] Before the enumeration of the transacted quantity the seller is not liable for casual or *force majeure* loss or damage of the wine.[136] If the buyer delays payment, he owes only interest and not what the seller might have earned from the prosecution of the deal.[137] If both the seller and the buyer are culpable in the delivery of the wine, the delay burdens the buyer.[138] If the seller was ready to deliver the wine at any time and was not obstructed, still he failed to do so at the set date, the compensation of the buyer will be based either on the prevailing price at the time of the sale, or at the start of the trial, or at the place of the agreement, or where the dispute is litigated – at the buyers discretion (effectively where the price is higher). If the buyer is culpable for the delay, the amount of the seller's compensation is based on the place where the price is the lowest or at the start of the trial – at the buyer's option.[139] Those selling wine using truncated measures to gain unlawful profits commit a punishable offense.[140] Even if unknowingly one leases leaking jars/casks and the wine spills, he is liable for the lessee's loss of potential gain.[141] Sellers of casks based on misleading information regarding their condition are liable not only for the price but for any resulting damage to the wine as well.[142] Throwing ordure in someone's wine, spilling his wine, or causing his wine to turn sour deliberately was a punishable offense.[143] If a ship's cargo is wine and its tackle, sails, etc. are damaged during the course, and the captain of the ship sails towards a place where the wine merchant does not consent to and the ship sinks but the cargo is saved, the wine merchant is not liable for the loss of the ship. But if the wine merchant insisted that the ship should sail to a place which was not in the ship's course, and it so happens that the ship sinks but the cargo is saved, the wine merchant is liable for the lost ship. If they were in disagreement as to the course to be taken, they both share in the cost of the lost ship.[144]

MARKET STRUCTURE AND PRICING STRATEGIES

The morphology of the Byzantine wine industry and by extension market performance reflected the prevalent topography, physical geography,

[135] *B*. 19. 6. 9; *B*. 53. 7. 6.
[136] *Synopsis Basilicorum*, A.18. 3, 6; *B*. 19. 6. 1 scholium.
[137] *B*. 19. 6. 13; *B*. 53. 7. 11; *Hexabiblos*, 3. 3. 50.
[138] *B*. 19. 8. 51; *B*. 53. 7. 11.
[139] *B*. 19. 8. 3 and scholium; *B*. 53. 7. 11.
[140] *Farmer's Law*, art. 70.
[141] *B*. 20. 1. 19; *Prochiros Nomos*, 17. 14; *Hexabiblos*, 3. 8. 21.
[142] *Prochiron Auctum*, 15. 45; *Epitome*, 16. 11 n. 18.
[143] *B*. 60. 3. 27.
[144] *Rhodian Sea Law*, in *JG*, I, art. 39.

proliferation of vineyards, marketable varieties, geopolitical conditions (enemy raids, shifts in the empire's frontiers), trade arrangements, practices and local customs, the degree of competition, and the role of price mechanism. Key elements affecting the production, supply and price of wine included: a dualistic tenure system (a small number of very large and many very small vineyards) in most locations; the extent of self-consumption of small vineyard owners which determined the magnitude of their marketable quantities of wine; dependence on weather conditions leading to significant year-to-year variations in the size and quality of the vintage; fragmentation of regional markets resulting in asymmetric competitive positions of the transacting parties; distribution of market power among sellers and buyers; the level of effective demand as affected by disposable income levels, consumer preferences, and the availability of close substitutes; ability of large producers to time or stagger their sales since they faced no pressing need to sell early on and could afford to hold back in the expectation of obtaining a higher price in post-vintage periods;[145] intra-and inter-regional output imbalances, export possibilities to the capital and other urban centers, and the cost and risk of storage which impacted on the rate of disposal of each producer's supplies; the presence of middlemen, native but particularly Venetians, who played an important role in the wine trade because of their command of financial resources,[146] extensive network of maritime transportation, and a competitive edge over Byzantine merchants,[147] all of which afforded them greater access to wine producing regions and enabled them to exploit interspatial and intertemporal price differentials. Hence, for the most part, wine deals were likely to be consummated in producing regions and involve sojourning traders. This would suggest that in these localities the wine market structure was characterized by a small group of major producers-sellers (lay and monastic)[148] and a fringe of small, financially weak, and relatively unimportant producers-sellers (peasants), on the one hand; and a small group of local and/or sojourning foreign and native wine

[145] Easy marketability of a storable non-perishable commodity in constant demand reinforced this attitude. Small wine producers might also refrain from disposing of their surplus when they observed or anticipated an upward price movement. However, most were probably constrained to do so because they had to pay off previously incurred debts or meet other urgent obligations.

[146] Native wholesale wine merchants could augment their capital by forming business associations, such as a partnership (ἑταιρεία), a κοινοπραξία (*communio*), or a *colleganza*. On these business forms, see G. C. MANIATIS, *The Domain of Private Guilds in the Byzantine Economy, Tenth to Fifteenth Centuries*, in *DOP*, 55 (2001), pp. 347-349 and n. 35.

[147] See p. 246 above.

[148] To the extent that some monasteries did not ship their wine to the capital with their own ships. See p. 244 above.

merchants along with local innkeepers and tavern-keepers, on the other. The bulk of the wine likely was sold to visiting traders destined mostly for the capital as the major consumption and transit center. To be sure, large producers might opt to ship their wine directly to the capital or other destinations on consignment. However, a drawback of such shipments was the difficulty in verifying potential understatement of realized sales prices, the risk of seafaring (shipwrecks, piracy), and the likelihood of a drastic price decline on arrival at destination, because the market might be glutted by the unexpected arrival of other cargoes, the deliberate spread of false rumors, or the sudden (actual or opportunistic) curtailment of demand. As such transactions involved a significant risk, producers had a good reason to shy from embarking on an undertaking with many imponderables and to prefer to sell their wine locally.

In analyzing the structure of the wine industry and its functioning, differentiating between markets served by one or more sellers and buyers should provide useful insights and a deeper understanding: of the nature of seller-buyer interaction, including the dynamics of inter-seller and inter-buyer *modus operandi* as they affected the workings of these markets; of the degree of seller and buyer concentration which defined the nature of competition, determined the potency of the operative market forces, and influenced the behavior of the agents involved; and of the market conduct of sellers and buyers at the production and distribution centers in reference to their marketing and pricing strategies. *Disaggregation* of the broader wine market into definable submarkets and analysis of their constituent elements evinces the distinct and varying impact that different forms of market structure can have on the players' market conduct, the degree of competition, and price formation. Disaggregation will also make it possible to ascertain plausible patterns of response to rival conduct by sellers and buyers, likely pricing policy decisions, and the resultant performance outcomes in each submarket. Along these lines of thinking, we may distinguish the following submarkets: small household producers/wine traders; household producers/local and nearby taverns and inns; large producers/wholesale traders (local, sojourning natives and foreigners); monasteries/wholesale dealers in nearby towns and the capital; wholesale traders/town tavern-inn-keepers (κάπηλοι); tavern-inn-keepers/households, guests; and the special regime of the guild-organized tavern-inn-keepers in the capital.

In the *household producers/wine traders* submarket,[149] many small peasant producers would likely dispose of their limited surplus to one or few

[149] The case of *household producers/local taverns and inns* can be subsumed under the rubric of *household producers/wine traders* as the analysis pertaining to the parties' bargaining power and price-making decisions in both cases is similar.

local wholesale or retail wine merchants, depending on its size and local circumstances, in a market that could be described as *oligopsonistic*, and hence at a price effectively set by the buyers.[150] Often, they might have to sell the young wine hastily because they were already in debt having borrowed money or made purchases of consumer goods, seeds, agricultural implements, or building materials on credit, and having pledged repayment based on the sale of their wine after the new vintage, thus being eager to discharge these obligations to maintain their creditworthiness. Under these circumstances, small and usually not well-informed producers had limited, if any, bargaining power and hence were inclined to accept a price below the going market level. Selling small quantities to more distant urban centers was unlikely to be more profitable due to the high transport costs and many other levies on cargoes on their way to the market.[151] In short, limited market outlets, debt repayment obligations, immediate need for cash to pay for taxes or other pressing needs, and insufficient knowledge of prevailing market conditions rendered household producers vulnerable and enabled buying traders to dictate prices.

The *large producers/wholesale traders* submarket could take on various forms. By one variant, one large wine seller (lay or monastic) confronts one wine buyer (native or foreign) in which case a situation of *bilateral monopoly* arises.[152] In this approach, since both sides can exercise a varying degree of control over the price, the price mechanism is inoperative and the level of the price is *indeterminate* within a wide range. In the absence of impersonal market forces, the final outcome depends on bargaining strength, maneuvering skills, ability to wait, competitive price rivalry, or willingness to compromise. Producer dominance, trader dominance, or balanced power all are within the realm of possibilities. The price therefore may fall in either limit if one side has dominant market power, or may fall uncertainly between these extreme limits. Yet, a sojourning wine trader was at a disadvantage because he could not afford to wait as his stay was brief and time was of the essence. Cognizant of his predicament, the wine producer could stall for time and likely prevail.

[150] The case of a single local buyer (*monopsonist*) cannot be excluded, but the emerging price outcome will not be different from that under *oligopsonistic* conditions except that he has greater price-setting market power. For detail and a diagrammatic presentation, see J. S. BAIN, *Pricing, Distribution and Employment*, New York, 1953, pp. 379-388, 393-304; C. E. FERGUSON, *Microeconomic Theory*, Homewood Illinois, 1969, pp. 401-410.

[151] See p. 241 and n. 51 above.

[152] For an in depth analysis of the transaction parties' pricing strategy under *bilateral monopoly*, see BAIN, *Pricing*, pp. 394-396; E. SCHNEIDER, *Pricing and Equilibrium*, London, 1962, pp. 299-313.

By another variant, a few large wine producers (lay and monastic)[153] competing in a geographically bounded locality or in the capital[154] might sell their wine to a large group of competing local and sojourning wine traders, giving rise to an *oligopoly* situation. In this instance, each producer supplies a significant proportion of the total wine offered for sale so that price-output decisions become directly interdependent, while the remainder is supplied by a fringe of small peasants with limited disposable surpluses. Under these circumstances, price making-decisions would tend to be dominated by the large sellers whose pricing principles set the policy parameters for the group as a whole. Given the local character of the market which is least conducive to secrecy concerning production levels and ongoing business transactions, each oligopolist producer would usually be aware of the size of his competitors' crop, of contractual sales they might have made, and of the impact of their sales on price quotations in the marketplace. More importantly, the price effects of consummated deals would be immediately felt by all competing oligopolists. The dominant feature of the oligopolist's demand curve – the relation of his price to his sales volume – is that it is *uncertain* because, by commanding a large market share, his own price and sales adjustments will have significant repercussions on their rivals' prices and sales with unpredictable reactions. Even a moderate change in his price or sales will elicit changes in his rivals' prices and sales sufficient to affect his own sales. And since there is not necessarily a unique pattern of reaction because their responses are based on *conjectures* regarding further responses by all rivals, the seller's demand curve is *indeterminate*. The upshot is that inevitably, when a large wine producer markets his wine he has to consider the effect of his behavior as well as the likely response to his action of the other large producers on the market price. In effect, individual behavior is also group behavior as pricing decisions become directly interdependent (*mutually recognized interdependence*) and, in consequence, all rival prices, whatever the pattern of price reactions, will tend to become identical and fairly stable. As to the likely pricing behavior and the level of price, several patterns may emerge. There may be a typically monopolistic pattern where the oligopolists aim at joint profit maximization, possibly put in place by collusion on price[155]

[153] It is unlikely that sojourning monastic ships transporting wine to coastal towns or the capital would supply directly retailers (taverns, inns). The case therefore of *monasteries/wholesale* dealers can be subsumed under the topic of *large producers/wholesalers* as price-making decisions are analogous.

[154] It would be unrealistic to assume that monastic wine cargoes were the only ones reaching the capital affording the monasteries monopolistic market power.

[155] Collusion among large producers to control market prices would certainly pay off. But overt or covert collusive arrangements can easily break down due to mutual distrust and the difficulty in ensuring adherence to the terms of the agreement. Typically, some producers

or price leadership.[156] In this case the price is raised above marginal and average costs and excess profits (i.e. above normal level) are earned by the group. Alternatively, if the buyers through concerted action manage to speak with one voice attained by a tacit agreement or unspoken understanding, in effect forming a *monopsony*, a situation of *bilateral monopoly* arises with potential price outcomes as already discussed. Or, a competitive pattern may develop with the price gravitating close to marginal and average costs, allowing for small or no excess profits. The latter result is more likely to occur in case of imperfect collusion, low oligopolistic concentration, substantial competitive fringes, or considerable price rivalry, potent forces with the potential of driving the price toward the competitive level.[157]

When wine traders transported wine from exporting provinces to the capital or other towns in short supply, they likely sold to local wholesalers with the sale usually taking place right on the wharfs. Though the possibility that sojourning wine traders sold directly to local tavern-inn-keepers cannot be excluded, it is doubtful that during their brief stay they could bypass entirely the local wholesalers. The limited ability of retailers to buy wine in large quantities and the time pressure on traders to dispose of their cargo as quickly as possible would tend to reduce significantly the frequency and importance of such potential deals. Besides, retailers depended on local wholesalers because they ensured regularity of supplies in the face of unpredictable imports; by buying in small lots, they avoided the costs

may find that a different price structure is more profitable to them since market shares and cost structures vary among competitors. Besides, to be effective, such agreements presuppose enforceable schemes to maintain agreed prices and ability to discipline fractious members – not an easy task. In addition, monopolization of the market was illegal. *B.* 19. 8. 1; *Synopsis Basilicorum*, Π. 24. 1; *Synopsis Minor*, M. 4; ATTALEIATES, *Ponema*, 11. 7. Yet, aside from the inherent problems of detecting and proving collusive actions, especially when illicit agreements are informal, anti-monopoly legislation might be difficult to enforce in the provinces due to the political influence wielded by powerful large producers. Hence, if conspiratorial schemes can be put in place, concerted action to raise or maintain prices cannot be ruled out.

[156] The idea is that the seller who assumes the role of price leader will direct the price to the most advantageous level and that the market will be shared by all at a single price. Price leadership does not necessarily imply collusion, however. On the concept of *price leadership*, see BAIN, *Pricing*, pp. 73-74, 282, 293-295, 393-394.

[157] It should be noted that the analysis of *oligopoly* lacks the definitiveness of the more clear-cut cases of *atomistic competition* (many players unable to influence each other's decisions) and *monopoly/monopsony* (a single seller/buyer wielding substantial exercisable market power) because of the uncertainty of the players' behavior, emanating from the recognized interdependence of pricing decisions, indeterminate demand curves, and the fact that oligopoly covers a wide range of real market cases each with its own unique characteristics. For a deeper understanding of the multi-faceted behavior of oligopolists, see BAIN, *Pricing*, pp. 70-74, 332-339; WATSON, *Price Theory*, 1968, pp. 361-371; FERGUSON, *Microeconomic Theory*, pp. 302-333.

of stocking up; and, conceivably, they could make purchases on credit. Since the number of principal buyers (local wholesalers) and sellers (sojourning traders) involved in each transaction was probably rather small, situations encompassing all forms of imperfect competition already discussed could be envisaged, depending on the players' market power and the prevailing local demand/ supply conditions.

When higher quality varieties of wine to meet the preferences of higher income consumers were marketed, the oligopolists were competing in a market characterized by *product differentiation* – wine quality is not homogeneous, but neither are the wines remote substitutes or completely different. Competition in this instance was affected by the degree of substitutability of the various varieties – a rise in the price of one variety increases the demand for its substitutes. The degree of substitutability in inter-commodity relations is measured by the *cross-elasticity of demand*, and the closer substitutes the two varieties are for each other, the greater is the magnitude of the cross-elasticity of demand.[158] When product differentiation is introduced into an oligopolistic setting – when wine varieties become close but not perfect substitutes – much is changed in the oligopolists' pricing calculus. A price cut by one seller does not deprive the others of all their sales but only of part of them. With product differentiation, prices do not have to be equal but only not far apart. The syndrome of *mutually recognized interdependence* among oligopolists continues to influence their price-setting decisions as already discussed.[159]

In the *wholesale traders/retailers* submarket (*including the capital*), local wholesalers sold wine to local retailers. By virtue of their small number in each locality and the fact that they supplied a relatively large number of taverns and inns, the wholesalers apparently occupied an *oligopolistic* position which afforded them a degree of monopoly power. The fact that each supplied a significant share of the market and handled a fairly homogeneous product as far as wines of ordinary quality is concerned rendering the buyers indifferent in their choice of their suppliers, made them conscious of the impact of their own pricing policies on each other's marketing strategy. In the absence of concerted action, no supplier could be certain how his rivals would react to a change in his price, since price changes undertaken independently would inevitably bring on intrinsically uncertain responses with unpredictable results on the volume of his sales. Since uncertainty stands in the way of profitable price adjustments, the oligopolistic

[158] See n. 48 above.

[159] For details on the workings of differentiated oligopoly, see BAIN, *Pricing*, pp. 273-283; WATSON, *Price Theory*, pp. 109-111, 369-370.

wholesalers might try to eliminate that hurdle through overt or covert agreements as to price or sales. Such understandings would permit collusive exploitation of the aggregate local demand after the fashion of a monopolist, awarding each seller what is effectively a predetermined share of the market and enhanced profits. But, as already mentioned, outright collusion, besides being illegal, might not always be a viable price-setting alternative. Besides, wholesalers located in the capital who might attempt to raise prices above competitive levels through conspiratorial schemes could be easily detected as such actions would involve a price-sensitive staple affecting the masses, prompting the authorities to crack down in order to protect the consumers. Therefore, it is unlikely that wholesalers would pursue such tactics. Another form of concerted action would be *price leadership*, whereby the oligopolists recognize one seller, usually the larger, as price leader.[160] By means of a tacit agreement or unspoken understanding, he takes the lead and sets a price which the others follow closely. The result is price uniformity, though not necessarily price stability, as the leader establishes a price which he may then change periodically depending on market or personal conditions, and the others match it for convenience or fear of price war. In a sense, the price leader is in a position to enforce price uniformity and discipline and ensure above normal profits for the group as a whole.

The possibility that a large wholesaler would attempt to dominate the market by pursuing aggressive price rivalry cannot be excluded. In this case, the result is price war as his competitors will keep matching his price and may even set lower prices, each being determined to force the others out of the market. Conceivably, the lower-cost or financially stronger oligopolist wholesaler could in the end eliminate the others, but it is unlikely that he will survive unscathed in the process. Nor is it certain that he will be able to forestall new entry for a long time. Since everyone appreciates the consequences of such short-sighted policy, namely that the final outcome is uncertain and that all stand to lose, it can hardly be expected that they will adopt such tactics, preferring to avoid cutthroat competition with an unpredictable outcome and settling for a stable price. The level at which the price will settle is *indeterminate* and may be at any level between the monopoly and the perfectly competitive, while the market shares of the rivals would be unstable and indeterminate. While it cannot exceed the price of imported wine as a higher price will attract new suppliers, it is unlikely that it will fall below the point at which the oligopolists earn normal profits since in the long run it would not be possible for them to stay in

[160] See n. 156 above.

business. Nevertheless, in their sales to the local network of taverns and inns, the wholesalers' profit margins probably persisted at above normal level due to a confluence of factors. In the first place, the competitive process was anemic as a few wholesalers faced a larger number of financially weak retailers wielding no market power. Second, the spatial isolation of the local market and the high transport costs and risks provided a natural protection to the wholesalers from external competition. Third, their financial strength enabled them to carry large inventories, regulate the rate of their sales, and thereby maintain market prices above competitive levels. Fourth, wholesalers had the ability to extend credit, and the high opportunity cost of capital due to its scarcity enabled them to justify higher markups. Finally, wholesalers might be inclined to set relatively large profit margins to maximize unit instead of total profits on a given lot, particularly when local supplies or imports in a post-vintage period were not forthcoming.

Still, in the wholesale traders/retailers submarket, a quite different price strategy was likely to be pursued with an altogether different price outcome. In the absence of concerted action, each wholesaler might aim to increase his market share and, to this end, set low profit margins, since lower markups would increase sales volume and enhance total profits. For an increase in sales volume not only broadens the basis on which profit margins are calculated, but also reduces the unit cost of sales by spreading overhead costs over a greater number of units. Also, the cost structure of individual sellers varied, and this implied that profit margins were calculated on a different cost basis. As a result, lower cost sellers could undersell higher cost ones and thereby increase their sales volume. Under such a pricing strategy excess profits would tend to be eliminated giving rise to a situation approaching *atomistic competition.*

In the *tavern-inn-keepers/household, guests* submarket, we may envisage a relatively large number of competing sellers confronting price and service conscious buyers, all with virtually no market power and hence with no discernible influence on price – a situation of *atomistic* or *pure competition.* Each seller sells so small a part of the total marketable quantity of wine that his actions have no influence on price – he is a price-taker. Consumers too are price-takers because, as individuals, they buy too little that each act of purchase has no appreciable influence on price. Impersonal market forces will therefore determine the prevailing price and sellers will be making normal profits.[161]

[161] On the functioning and conditions of purely competitive markets, see BAIN, *Pricing*, pp. 61-64, 126-181; WATSON, *Price Theory*, pp. 116-117, 232-267; STONIER and HAGUE, *Textbook*, pp. 123-146.

As a rule, commodity profit margins and prices in Byzantium were established by market forces under conditions of free and enforceable fair competition within a framework of a private enterprise system.[162] Nevertheless, the guild-organized tavern-inn-keepers in Constantinople operated under a special regime at least until the end of the twelfth century, a period during which guilds are known to have existed.[163] When wine was imported into the capital, the chiefs of the tavern-inn-keepers' guild had to report it to the Eparch. It was then the duty of his assessor to adjust the measures and jugs the tavern-inn-keepers used to retail their wine proportionate to the purchase price, in effect setting the *maximum profit level* which apparently was the same for all wine retailers.[164] The *adjustment* of the contents of the measures (= quantities) did not mean that the assessor 'fixed' the *retail price* of wine as has been argued.[165] The *Book of the Eparch*, regulating the

[162] G. C. MANIATIS, *Price Formation in the Byzantine Economy Tenth to Fifteenth Centuries*, in *Byz.*, 73 (2003), pp. 401-444. 'It is only natural that goods of higher market value to be purchased at a lower price, and goods of lower market value be sold at a higher price': *B.* 20. 1. 22 (3) and scholium; further, agreements reached in any manner by those engaging in lawful transactions are enforceable: *B.* 11. 1. 7, 67. In fact, 'in buying and selling, the contracting parties are allowed to outmaneuver one another on the price': *B.* 20. 1. 22 and scholia; *B.* 19. 10. 66; *Synopsis Basilicorum*, Y. 7. 5; See also *B.* 53. 7. 1; *B.* 19. 1. 93-95; *Epitome*, 16. 30; *Synopsis Basilicorum*, A. 3. 21; A. 12. 19; *Synopsis Minor*, Π . 42. 93; ATTALEIATES, *Ponema*, 7, 11. 2; *Peira*, IV, 38. 5; *Prochiron Auctum*, 15. 34, 37; *Hexabiblos*, 3. 3. 69, 70 and scholium, 72, 101. The flexibility permitted in business conduct and aggressive bargaining indicates that one bought at his own risk (*caveat emptor*): 'It behooves the buyer to investigate and ascertain the facts before consummating a deal' (Δεῖ γὰρ τὸν ἀγοραστὴν πρὸ τοῦ συναλλάγματος δι' ἐρεύνης γενέσθαι καὶ ἀκριβοῦν καὶ οὕτω συναλλάσσειν). *Ecloga Legum*, 2, 9. 1; *Ecloga Privata Aucta*, 10. 2, 4; *Prochiron Auctum*, 15. 52.

[163] The scholarship is divided on the issue whether the guild system was extended to the provinces and whether it disappeared after the twelfth century. For a critical review of the views propounded, and compelling evidence suggesting that no guilds existed in the provinces and that the guild system actually had disintegrated even before the Latin conquest (1204), see G. C. MANIATIS, *The Domain of Private Guilds in the Byzantine Economy, Tenth to Fifteenth Centuries*, in *DOP*, 55 (2001), pp. 339-369.

[164] *BE*, 19.1.

[165] Misinterpretation of the relevant provisions of the *Book of the Eparch* has led to the view that the *price* of bread, wine, meat and fish were *fixed* by the Eparch. J. NICOLE, *Le Livre du Préfet*, Geneva, 1894, pp. 182, 188-190, 192; IDEM, *Notices détachées pour servir à la critique et l' exégèse de l' édit de Léon le Sage*, in *Livre du Préfet*, London, 1970, Variorum Reprints, pp. 90, 100; A. STOECKLE, *Spaetroemische und byzantinische Zuenfte*, Leipzig, 1911, pp. 80-81, 99-102; G. MICKWITZ, *Die Kartellfunktionen der Zuenfte und ihre Bedeutung bei der Enstehung des Zuftwesens*, Helsinki, 1936, 213, 217-223; E. H. FRESHFIELD, *Roman Law in the Later Roman Empire: Byzantine Guilds Professional and Commercial*, Cambridge, 1938, pp. xx, 38, 41, 43; KODER, *Eparchenbuch*, pp. 122-131; A. E. R. BOAK, *The Book of the Eparch*, in *Journal of Economic and Business History*, 1 (1929), pp. 598, 615-617; G. ZORAS, *Le corporazioni bizantine*, Rome, 1931, pp. 58, 70-71, 105, 107-108; C. M. MACRI, *L' organization de l' économie urbaine dans Byzance sous la dynastie macédoine*, Paris, 1925, pp. 41, 61, 71, 79, 87; A. P. CHRISTOPHILOPOULOS, *Τό 'Επαρχικόν Βιβλίον Λέοντος τοῦ Σοφοῦ καί αἱ Συντεχνίαι ἐν Βυζαντίῳ*, Athens, 1935, pp. 60-61; A. D. SIDERIS,

conduct of guild-organized enterprises, did not fix the *price* of any commodity at the production or distribution stages; it only set *maximum profit margins* at the *retail* end for a limited number of staple articles handled by the guilds and only in the capital for the public good. This was quite a progressive pricing policy since profit capping, though intrusive, was inappreciably disruptive of the functioning of the market mechanism and the price formation process than outright price fixing. Fixing profit margins is *not* tantamount to fixing prices. The reason is that the wholesale price structure of the wine – the bedrock for retail price formation – was allowed to reflect the prevailing demand and supply conditions as well as prospective price movements. Hence, retail prices mirrored existing market conditions as any change in the wholesale price was passed on to the consumer. Clearly, by adjusting the contents of the vessels (quantity) and keeping the price unchanged, *effectively* price changes in the wine market affected the consumer favorably or unfavorably. Besides, setting profit margins did not preclude price competition as vendors might be inclined to accept lower than the maximum allowed margin in order to increase sales volume and thereby enhance total profits.[166] On the other hand, neither price stability nor control of profit *levels* can be achieved by fixing profit margins in times of

'Ιστορία τοῦ Οἰκονομικοῦ Βίου, Athens, 1950, pp. 265, 271; G. I. BRATIANU, *La question de l' approvisionnement de Constantinople à l' époque Byzantine et ottomane*, in *Byz.*, 5 (1929-1930), pp. 91-92; A. M. ANDREADES, *The Economic Life of the Byzantine Empire*, in N. H. BAYNES and H. St. L. B. MOSS, ed., *Byzantium*, Oxford, 1962, pp. 57, 66; A. TOYNBEE, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus and his World*, London, 1973, p. 205; A. P. KAZHDAN, *Tsechi i gosudarstvennye masterskie v Konstantinopole v IX-X vv*, in *VV*, 6 (1953), p. 150; IDEM, *Derevnja i gorod v Vizantii IX-X vv*, Moscow, 1960, p. 321; A. P. KAZHDAN and A. WHARTON EPSTEIN, *Change in Byzantine Culture in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries*, Berkeley, 1985, p. 22; N. H. BAYNES, *The Byzantine Empire*, London, 1946, p. 216; G. G. LITAVRIN, *Vizantijskoe obščestvo i gosudarstvo v X-XI vv: I problemy istorii odnogo stoletija 976-1081 gg*, Moscow, 1977, pp. 145-146; S. RUNCIMAN, *Byzantine Industry and Trade*, in *Cambridge Economic History of Europe*, Cambridge, 1987, II, p. 157; IDEM, *Byzantine Civilisation*, London, 1933, p. 175; R. GUERDAN, *Byzantium: Its Triumphs and Tragedy*, New York, 1957, p. 93; H. ANTONIADIS-BIBICOU, *Démographie, salaires et prix à Byzance au XIe siècle*, in *Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations*, 27 (1972), pp. 238-240; M. ANGOLD, *The Byzantine Empire 1025-1204*, London, 1997, p. 93; J. DURLIAT, *L' approvisionnement de Constantinople*, in G. DAGRON, ed. *Constantinople and its Hinterland*, Ashgate, 1995, pp. 29 n. 54, 30-32; J. KODER, *Επαγγέλματα σχετικά με τον επισιτισμό στο Επαρχικό Βιβλίο*, in *Η καθημερινή ζωή στο Βυζάντιο, Α' Διεθνές Συμπόσιο*, Athens, 1989, pp. 368, 370. *Contra:* M. J. SJUZJUMOV, *Remeslo i torgovlja v Konstantinopole v načale X v*, in *VV*, 4 (1951), pp. 30-31, 36. In effect, the *Book of the Eparch* set the following maximum profit margins for the staples in question: for the bakers: one *keration* on the *nomisma* (*BE*, 18. 1); the butchers kept the proceeds from the sale of the hoofs, head, entrails, and the skins and pelts (*BE*, 15.2); for the fish merchants: one *miliaresion* on the *nomisma* (*BE*, 17.1). For details see MANIATIS, *Price Formation*, pp. 433-437, 438-440.

[166] See p. 261 above.

demand/supply imbalances, as has been argued.[167] For retail prices remain stable only as long as wholesale prices remain unchanged since the latter are determined by market forces; and when wholesale prices rise, the profit of the retailers increases as well because the demand for necessities is inelastic and the fixed profit margin is calculated on a higher cost basis resulting in a higher retail price. Realistically, wine cargoes were imported into the capital at intervals and sold at varying quantities and prices. A cargo of wine might be sold to one or more retailers, in which case the adjustment of the measures will be the same for all. But individual retailers might purchase different cargoes at different times and at prices depending on their bargaining power. In this instance, while profit margins ostensibly would be the same for all, the retail sales price could differ resulting in price competition and possibly erosion of profit margins and profit levels.

In this context, it is worth mentioning that tavern-inn-keepers caught selling wine in measures and jugs not conforming to the standards set were flogged, shorn and expelled from the guild;[168] they were forbidden to bid up deceitfully the rent of someone else's shop;[169] they were not allowed to open their shops and sell wine before 8 A.M. on Sundays and in days of feast; and they had to close their shops by 8 P.M. to prevent habitual daytime patrons from becoming intoxicated and engaging in brawls and acts of

[167] LITAVRIN, *Vizantijskoe obščestvo*, pp. 142-143, 145, 147-148; HARVEY, *Economic expansion*, p. 203; ANGOLD, *The Byzantine Empire*, p. 93; *ODB s.v.* Profit; G. DAGRON, '*Ainsi rien n' échappera à la réglementation*', in V. KRAVARI *et al.*, *Hommes et richesses*, pp. 171-172; KAZHDAN, *Derevnja*, pp. 320-321, 330, 334-335; IDEM, *Tsechi*, pp. 149, 154; MORRISSON and CHEYNET, *Prices and Wages*, *EHB*, II, p. 858; A. E. LAIOU, *Economic and Non-economic Exchange*, in *EHB*, II, pp. 735-736.

[168] *BE*, 19. 4.

[169] *BE*, 19. 2. Leases were subject to the same rules as sales contracts. They were freely negotiable and could be renegotiated at agreed upon intervals or at the time of expiration. The law imposed no ceilings on rentals. A lease could not be annulled on grounds that the agreed rental was less than the going rate unless deception could be proven. A tenant could not be evicted against his will before the expiration of his lease, even if someone offered a higher rent: *B.* 20. 1. 2; *Synopsis Basilicorum*, M. 13. 12, 13, 28; *Epanagoge*, 24. 13; *Epitome*, 7. 1, 19, 26; *Prochiron Auctum*, 18. 19, 33; *Hexabiblos*, 3. 8. 1, 2, 20, 34; 6. 14. 12. Nonetheless, in connection with workshops leased to guild members, the *Book of the Eparch* criminalized the acquisition of such properties, for the most part in prime or desirable locations and hence in short supply, by deceitfully raising the rent. *BE*, 4. 9; 9. 4; 10. 3; 11. 7; 13. 6; 18. 5; 19. 2. Apparently, the authorities were concerned that such stealthy practices could create an unsettling business environment by unwarrantedly strengthening the bargaining power of the landlords in the face of a highly inelastic supply of such rental properties, thereby forcing aggrieved tenants to accept unjustifiably excessive rent increases or face eviction and loss of goodwill. The provision did not prohibit rental adjustments reflecting changes in market conditions; rather, the aim was to frustrate opportunistic behavioral patterns. Certainly, the action did not mean to ban competition as MICKWITZ, *Kartellfunktionen*, p. 223, argues, or that the Eparch controlled the rent of the workshops, as KAZHDAN asserts, *Tsechi*, p. 148, *Derevnja*, p. 321.

violence, if they had the opportunity to return at night.[170] Clerics were forbidden to operate taverns, but they were allowed to own and rent out such shops.[171]

During the Latin occupation of the capital (1204-1261) and beyond, the guild regulations pertaining to tavern-inn-keepers, including the fixing of profit margins, fell into desuetude. Venetians not only imported wine on a large scale into the capital duty free based on existing treaties, but they had the right to sell it locally wholesale (*ad grossum*) and even retail (*ad minutium*). The discriminatory tax treatment of the market players and the resulting unfair competition, coupled with a weak state authority, certainly irked and was resented by the Greek business community. In 1344, emperor John V prohibited all foreign traders from selling wine retail, as Venetians had set up a large number of taverns outside the Venetian quarter of Constantinople and they could afford to sell wine at very low prices due to their tax exemption, attracting the majority of Greek consumers and reducing substantially the profitability of the native tavern-keepers and the flow of revenue to the fisc. However, following Venetian protests, the Byzantine government withdrew the prohibition, if it ever was practiced, as far as Venetian traders were concerned.[172] The issue of retail sales and loss of revenue was raised repeatedly in the following decades. The unilateral measure by the emperor to tax Greek consumers whenever they bought goods from Venetian traders in violation of earlier treaties[173] led to a compromise in 1361. To preserve the *status quo*, the Venetians imposed a tax of one *carat* per *mitro*[174] on the Venetian tavern-keepers operating in the capital, the proceeds to go to the Venetian *Regimen* in Constantinople. The aim of the tax was to mitigate the disadvantageous position of the Greek tavern-keepers vis-à-vis their Venetian competitors. However, the latter were quick to pass on the tax to the Greek consumers by raising prices. In 1362, John V protested the practice and sought to put an end to it and also to restrict

[170] *BE*, 19. 3. On taverns and inns (καπηλεῖα), see H. J. MAGOULIAS, *Bathhouse, Inn, Tavern, Prostitution and the Stage as Seen in the Lives of the Saints of the Sixth and Seventh Centuries*, in *EEBS*, 38 (1971), pp. 238-240. See also n. 43 above.

[171] RHALLES and POTLES, *Syntagma*, II, pp. 326-327.

[172] Most Venetian tavern-keepers were in fact Greeks who had illegally obtained Venetian naturalization in order to avoid paying taxes. CHRYSOSTOMIDES, *Venetian Commercial Privileges*, p. 300; D. JACOBY, *Les Vénitiens naturalisés dans l' empire byzantin: Un aspect de l'expansion de Venise en Romanie du XIIIe au milieu du XVe siècle*, in IDEM, *Studies on the Crusader States and on Venetian Expansion*, Northampton, 1989, Variorum Reprints Part IX, pp. 217-235.

[173] Existing treaties exempted both seller and buyer from taxation when one of the parties in the transaction was a Venetian subject.

[174] A *mitro*, a capacity measure for wine, was equivalent to 15. 79 litres. CHRYSOSTOMIDES, *Venetian Commercial Privileges*, p. 300 n. 68.

Venetian imports for 4-5 years to enable the empire to improve its financial situation. With the treaty of 1363, renewed in 1370, the idea of an embargo on imports was rejected but the number of Venetian taverns in the capital was restricted to 15. The import of wine and its sale both wholesale and retail went on unrestricted. Eventually, three issues arose concerning the 15 taverns run by Venetians. One relates to a tavern that became vacant and the emperor seized the opportunity to withdraw his permission to let it to another Venetian tavern-keeper. Another related to the emperor's refusal to allow tavern-keepers to move from a district where business became slack and hence unprofitable to another with a more promising profitability. The last had to do with the Venetians' attempt to abrogate the restriction limiting the number of taverns to 15. The conditions laid down in the treaty of 1406 concerning Venetian privileges were identical with those in the treaty of 1370 retaining the *status quo ante* and were repeated henceforth until 1447, although certain changes were made regarding the wine trade. In 1418, Manuel II levied a tax of one *carat* per *mitro* on all wine consumed by Venetians at home or in a tavern. The tax on wine consumed at home was suppressed in 1419, but the tax on wine sold retail remained in force. In 1423, John VIII made another attempt to introduce a new tax on wine, but apparently without success. In 1450, Constantine XI introduced a new tax on a wide range of commercial activities and commodities, including a tax on imported wine from Hadrianople then in Turkish hands. Venice reacted very strongly to these measures, and it seems certain that the Venetian merchants continued their trade activities in the capital, including the import of wine, until the collapse of the empire in 1453 and beyond.[175]

Conclusion

Viticulture was an important component of the Byzantine peasant economy. Grapevines were cultivated in many regions and islands of the empire favored by the temperate climate, while wine was a profitable cash crop in great demand and a potential supplementary source of income to many small peasants. Vine-growing could yield high returns on the invested capital, but only by careful planning and organization. Grapevine cultivation entailed demanding and strenuous work as the array of tasks involved required skill, experience, and a good deal of care to ensure a successful

[175] For a detailed account of the diplomatic exchanges between the Byzantine emperors and the Republic of Venice, see Chrysostomides, *Venetian Commercial Privileges*, pp. 298-311; Jacoby, *Food and Wine*, p. 140 and n. 162; *Idem*, *Vénitiens naturalisés*, pp. 224-226.

crop and to avoid irreparable damage to the vines. The productivity of the vineyard depends on the quality of the soil, topography, age of the vine, cultivated variety, care, rainfall, weather conditions, and whether or not it is disease-free. Neglect or inadequate husbandry leads to lower yields, and so does protracted drought. Wine prices *ex vineyard* vary depending on provenance, variety, age, demand, size of the harvest, carry-over stocks, substitutability between varieties, degree of competition, wholesale or retail transactions, cash or credit deals, price expectations, depreciation of the currency, or destination to market, as hauling wine over long distances raised significantly transport costs. Price was also affected by the incidence of numerous transaction taxes and other levies on cargoes on their way to the market.

Vineyards were owned by big landlords, lay and monastic, and by peasants, independent or *paroikoi*, with holdings ranging from ½ to 10 *modii* but mostly 2 *modii* per household, whose property rights were legally protected. Large vineyards were exploited for commercial purposes relying on hired labor (freemen) or *paroikoi*, while small ones mostly for self-consumption by self-cultivation. The cultivation of sizable vineyards was usually rented out, with the owner and the renter splitting equally the quantity of the produced wine. The profitability of viticulture led to continuous expansion of vineyards in the empire as is evidenced by the purchase and planting of arable, devastated, or fallow land with vines by many landholders, particularly magnates and monasteries; the rising production and export of wine by Athonite monasteries; and the production of high quality wines in Crete in response to the growing demand. At the same time, the use of ox skins, ceramic vessels, and wooden barrels as containers facilitated the bulk transport of wine by sea and even over land by increasing the safety of the cargo and reducing loss or damage due to breakage.

The conversion of grapes into wine involved three distinct stages and processes: *treading* of the grapes in the vat, *pressing* out the juice (must) in the beam-press, and *fermentation* of the must in storage containers. The preliminary treading of the grapes aimed to separate them from their stalks, to free most of the juice by a gentle squeezing process, and to subject the resulting mush which still contained a great volume of juice to mechanical pressing. The treading vats consisted of a rectangular tank made of stone or wood with shallow sides, elevated at some height from the receiving vessels placed at either side and immediately beneath the outlets. The capacity of the treading vat was commensurate with the volume of the prospective through-put of grapes. The juice was expressed under further pressure by either of two devices, apparently both used in Byzantium: the *lever press* or the *direct-screw press*. In the original *simple lever press*, the horizontal

press-bar was bent down by the weight of two heavy boulders. In an improved design, ropes, pulleys, and a capstan replaced the stone weights, until subsequently they too were replaced by a screw, first fixed to the floor and later secured at a level above the floor, which made the task of lowering the press-beam much easier and also simplified the problem of raising the heavy beam after the pressing is complete. The ensuing innovation was to dispense with the lever altogether by using a screw for direct pressure on the pulp – the *direct-screw press*, originally the single and then the twin, which had the advantage of withstanding the severe reverse pressure as the squeezing process reached its maximum. To express the juice, the pulp was built up in layers of bags separated by flat wooden slabs. By lowering the press-beam the pulp was squeezed and the juice flowed from spouts into a vat. The pressure was applied gradually until no juice flowed out of the bags. The must was then placed in casks where it was exposed to the process of fermentation. The dregs were decocted and were further pressed producing a low quality of wine while the residue was used as animal feed.

The fermentation process entails the conversion of the must's sugar into alcohol and other subsidiary products by exposing it to the spontaneous action of microorganisms contained in it. The fermentation at first is relatively slow, but it rapidly increases in intensity and continues until practically all sugar is converted. The temperature for fermentation depends on the type of wine, and if not maintained at the required levels it affects the bouquet of the wine. After the main fermentation is finished, which may last over a month depending on whether the grapes are red or white, the young wine is transferred to casks. During the sixth month secondary fermentation period, the must is constantly skimmed of the froth and other impurities. At that time, the wine gradually throws down lees, but by the end of this period the wine is more or less bright. At this stage, the wine is separated from the lees (*racking*) and *decanted* into clean casks, the operation to be repeated three to four times. To achieve absolute bright conditions, *fining* is necessary attained by filtration or by gypsum. Great care is necessary to clean and sterilize the casks in which the wine is stored. Byzantine vintners had to cope with the instability of the wine, as it was practically impossible to stop the fermentation during storage. As a result wines had to be consumed within three to four years. Other problems included development of mold and acidity which they corrected by treating the wine with gypsum, resin or pitch. Wines are distinguished by their color, taste, and treatment (e.g. addition of resin) resulting in many local varieties throughout the empire.

To instill good faith and ensure fairness in business deals, statute law set norms of business behavior in contractual relations and standards for the orderly conduct of commercial transactions, affording the injured party the right to sue the culprit and inflicting severe penalties on the nonperforming party. To this end, an impressive number of general, specific, and risk-bearing provisions were instituted. The high-volume wine trade developed particular transactional and risk-bearing arrangements, as to when faulty performance and the risk for fortuitous events would be borne by the seller or by the buyer. They were instituted by law, agreement, or custom, and were provided to accommodate the unique features of the trade and the special needs of the contracting parties.

Key elements affecting the production, supply and price of wine included: a dualistic tenure system (a small number of very large and many very small vineyards) in most locations; the extent of self-consumption of small vineyard owners which determined the magnitude of their marketable quantities of wine; dependence on weather conditions leading to significant year-to-year variations in the size and quality of the vintage; fragmentation of regional markets resulting in asymmetric competitive positions of the transacting parties; distribution of market power among sellers and buyers; ability of large producers to time or stagger their sales; intra-and-inter-regional output imbalances, export possibilities to the capital and other urban centers, and the cost and risk of storage which impacted on the rate of disposal of each producer's supplies; the level of effective demand, as influenced by income levels, consumer preferences, and the availability of close substitutes; the role of price mechanism; the presence of middlemen, native but particularly Venetians, who played an important role in the wine trade because of their command of financial resources, extensive network of maritime transportation, and a competitive edge over Byzantine merchants, all of which afforded them greater access to wine producing regions and enabled them to exploit interspatial and intertemporal price differentials. Hence, for the most part, wine deals were likely to be consummated in producing regions, which suggests that in these localities the wine market structure was characterized by a small group of major producers-sellers (lay and monastic) and a fringe of small, financially weak, and relatively less important producers-sellers (peasants), on the one hand; and a small group of local and/or sojourning foreign and native wine merchants along with local innkeepers and tavern-keepers, on the other. The bulk of the wine likely was sold to visiting traders destined mostly for the capital as the major consumption and transit center.

Disaggregation of the broader wine market into definable submarkets and analysis of their constituent elements evinces the distinct and varying impact that different forms of market structure can have on the players' market conduct, the degree of competition, and price formation. Disaggregation

also makes it possible to ascertain plausible patterns of response to rival conduct by sellers and buyers, likely pricing policy decisions, and the resultant performance outcomes in each market. In the *household producers/wine traders, local taverns and inns* submarket, many small peasant producers would likely dispose of their limited surplus to one or few local wholesale or retail wine merchants and taverns, depending on its volume and local circumstances, in a market that could be described as *oligopsonistic*, and hence at a price effectively set by the buyers. Often, they might have to sell the young wine hastily because they were already in debt having borrowed money or made purchases of consumer goods, seeds, agricultural implements, or building materials on credit, and having pledged repayment based on the sale of their wine after the new vintage, thus being eager to discharge these obligations to maintain their creditworthiness. Under these circumstances, small and usually not well-informed producers had limited, if any, bargaining power and hence were inclined to accept a price below the going market level.

The *large producers/wholesale traders* submarket could take on various forms. By one variant, one large wine seller (lay or monastic) confronts one wine buyer (native or foreign) in which case a situation of *bilateral monopoly* arises. In this approach, since both sides can exercise a varying degree of control over the price, the price mechanism is inoperative and the level of the price is *indeterminate* within a wide range. In the absence of impersonal market forces, the final outcome depends on bargaining strength, maneuvering skills, ability to wait, competitive price rivalry, or willingness to compromise. Producer dominance, trader dominance, or balanced power all are within the realm of possibilities. The price therefore may fall in either limit if one side has dominant market power, or may fall uncertainly between these extreme limits. Yet, a sojourning wine trader was at a disadvantage because he could not afford to wait as his stay was brief and time was of the essence. Cognizant of his predicament, the wine producer could stall for time and likely prevail.

By another variant, a few large wine producers (lay and monastic) competing in a geographically bounded locality or in the capital might sell their wine to a large group of competing local and sojourning wine traders, giving rise to an *oligopoly* situation. In this instance, each producer supplies a significant proportion of the total local wine so that price-output decisions become directly interdependent, while the remainder is supplied by a fringe of small peasants with limited disposable surpluses. Under these circumstances, price-making decisions would tend to be dominated by the large sellers whose pricing policies set the policy parameters for the group as a whole. Given the local character of the market which is

least conducive to secrecy concerning production levels and ongoing business transactions, each oligopolist producer would usually be aware of the size of his competitors' crop, of contractual sales they might have made, and of the impact of their sales on price quotations in the marketplace. More importantly, the price effects of consummated deals would be immediately felt by all competing oligopolists. By commanding a large market share, the oligopolist's own price and sales adjustments will have significant repercussions on rivals' prices and sales with unpredictable reactions. Even a moderate change in his price or sales will elicit changes in his rivals' prices and sales sufficient to affect his own sales. And since there is not necessarily a unique pattern of reaction because their responses are based on *conjectures* regarding further responses by all rivals, the seller's demand curve is *indeterminate*. As pricing decisions become directly interdependent (*mutually recognized interdependence*), all rival prices, whatever the pattern of price reactions, will tend to become identical and fairly stable. As to the likely pricing behavior and the level of price, several patterns may emerge. There may be a typically monopolistic pattern where the oligopolists aim at joint profit maximization, possibly put in place by collusion on price or price leadership. In this case the price is raised above marginal and average costs and excess profits (i.e. above normal level) are earned by the group. Alternatively, if the buyers through concerted action manage to speak with one voice attained by a tacit agreement or unspoken understanding, in effect forming a *monopsony*, a situation of *bilateral monopoly* arises with potential price outcomes as already discussed. Or, a competitive pattern may develop with the price gravitating close to marginal and average costs, allowing for small or no excess profits.

When higher quality varieties of wine to meet the preferences of higher income consumers were marketed, the oligopolists were competing in a market characterized by *product differentiation* – wine quality is not homogeneous, but neither are the wines remote substitutes or completely different. Competition in this instance was affected by the degree of substitutability of the various varieties – a rise in the price of one variety increases the demand for its substitutes. When product differentiation is introduced into an oligopolistic setting – when wine varieties become close but not perfect substitutes – much is changed in the oligopolists' pricing calculus. A price cut by one seller does not deprive the others of all their sales but only of part of them. With product differentiation prices do not have to be equal but only not far apart. The syndrome of *mutually recognized interdependence* among oligopolists continues to influence their price-setting decisions as already discussed.

In the *wholesale traders/retailers* submarket (*including the capital*), local wholesalers sold wine to local retailers. By virtue of their small number in each locality and the fact that they supplied a relatively large number of taverns and inns, the wholesalers apparently occupied an *oligopolistic* position which afforded them a degree of monopoly power. The fact that each supplied a significant share of the market and handled a fairly homogeneous product as far as wines of ordinary quality is concerned rendering the buyers indifferent in their choice of their suppliers, made them conscious of the impact of their own pricing policies on each other's marketing strategy. In the absence of concerted action, no supplier could be certain how his rivals would react to a change in his price, since price changes undertaken independently would inevitably bring on intrinsically uncertain responses with unpredictable results on the volume of his sales. Since uncertainty stands in the way of profitable price adjustments, the oligopolistic wholesalers might try to eliminate that hurdle through overt or covert agreements as to price or sales. Such understandings would permit collusive exploitation of the aggregate local demand after the fashion of a monopolist, awarding each seller what is effectively a predetermined share of the market and enhanced profits. But outright collusion, besides being illegal, might not always be a viable price-setting alternative. Another form of concerted action would be *price leadership*, whereby by means of a tacit agreement or unspoken understanding, the price leader takes the lead and sets a price which the others follow closely. The result is price uniformity which ensures above normal profits for the group as a whole.

In the *tavern-inn-keepers/household, guests* submarket, we may envisage a relatively large number of competing sellers confronting price and service conscious buyers, all with virtually no market power and hence with no discernible influence on price – a situation of *atomistic* or *pure competition*. Each seller sells so small a part of the total marketable quantity of wine that his actions have no influence on price – he is a price-taker. Consumers too are price-takers because, as individuals, they buy too little that each act of purchase has no appreciable influence on price. Impersonal market forces will therefore determine the prevailing price and sellers will be making normal profits.

As a rule, commodity profit margins and prices in Byzantium were established by market forces under conditions of free and enforceable fair competition within a framework of a private enterprise system. Nevertheless, the guild-organized tavern-inn-keepers in Constantinople operated under a special regime at least until the end of the twelfth century, a period during which guilds are known to have existed. When wine was imported into the capital, the chiefs of the tavern-inn-keepers' guild had to report it to the

Eparch, and his assessor adjusted the measures and jugs the tavern-inn-keepers used to retail their wine proportionate to the purchase price, in effect setting the *maximum profit level* which apparently was the same for all wine retailers. The *adjustment* of the contents of the measures (= quantities) did not mean that the assessor 'fixed' the *retail price* of wine. The *Book of the Eparch*, regulating the conduct of guild-organized enterprises, did not fix the *price* for any commodity at the production or distribution stages; it only set *maximum profit margins* at the *retail* end for a limited number of staple articles handled by the guilds and only in the capital for the public good. Profit capping, though intrusive, was inappreciably disruptive of the functioning of the market mechanism and the price formation process than outright price fixing – fixing profit margins is *not* tantamount to fixing prices. During the Latin occupation of the capital (1204-1261) and beyond, the guild regulations pertaining to tavern-inn-keepers, including the fixing of profit margins, fell into desuetude. Venetians not only imported wine on a large scale into the capital tax exempt based on existing treaties, but they had the right to sell it locally wholesale and even retail operating their own taverns and substantially underselling the native tavern-keepers. Despite repeated efforts by successive emperors to change this regime, the *status quo* continued until the collapse of the empire and beyond.

There is no evidence in the legal and or primary sources that enterprise size, the number of workers to be employed, the scale of a firm's operations, wage rates, profit margins, or price-making decisions were ever fixed centrally in manufacturing or trade activities in Byzantium. The state refrained from prescribing business organization forms, and did not interfere with the firms' pricing policies. Appreciating the impracticality and unworkability of such interventions, the authorities opted to relegate these tasks to the operative market forces and the price mechanism.[176]

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SUMMARY

This article examines the organization and functioning of the Byzantine winemaking industry. Topics analyzed in considerable depth include: the multi-faceted grape-growing activity; the art of winemaking; the economics of wine-growing; the organization of the winemaking industry; the guild-organized tavern-keepers in

[176] G. C. MANIATIS, *Organization and Modus Operandi of the Manufacturing Industry in Byzantium*, in *Bsl*, 68 (2010), pp. 181-184, 187-189, 192-193.

Constantinople; the incidence of numerous land and transaction levies, and array of assessments on wine cargoes; the obligations of the transacting parties and the special legal regime of the wine trade; the degree of seller and buyer concentration in regional market structures; and the role of price mechanism and the state in price determination. Disaggregation of the wine market into definable submarkets and analysis of their constituent elements evinces the distinct and varying impact different forms of market structure can have on the players' market conduct, the degree of competition, and the likely price-setting decisions and resultant profit levels. The state refrained from prescribing business organization forms, and did not interfere with the firms' operations, decision-making, and pricing policies. Appreciating the impracticality and unworkability of such interventions, the authorities opted to relegate these tasks to the operative market forces and the price mechanism.

UN IMITATEUR CHRÉTIEN DE JULIEN L'APOSTAT ?

Dédié à la mémoire de l'auteur,
Prof. Dr. Gabriele Marasco
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En dépit de l'échec de son essai de réforme politique et religieuse, l'empereur Julien a suscité beaucoup d'intérêt et a joui d'un très grand renom, de l'antiquité jusqu'à nos jours[1]. Il a été, naturellement, l'objet de quelques essais de défense par les païens, tels qu'Ammien Marcellin et Libanios[2], et de polémiques acharnées des chrétiens ; mais ces polémiques ont-elles effacé entièrement le souvenir de toutes les qualités personnelles de Julien, y compris celles qui étaient somme toute conformes à la morale et à la conduite du bon chrétien ? Nous ne devons pas oublier, en effet, que Julien était né chrétien, qu'il avait été éduqué dans cette religion, qu'il avait emprunté sa réorganisation des cultes païens au modèle de l'Église[3] et qu'il s'était conformé aux préceptes de la religion chrétienne dans plusieurs domaines, notamment dans l'éthique sexuelle[4]. Nous pouvons donc supposer que l'hostilité des chrétiens contre l'ennemi de leur foi ne les empêchait pas d'apprécier quelques traits de la personnalité de l'Apostat, ce qui est confirmé, comme nous le verrons, par les sources.

[1] Cf. surtout J. BIDEZ, *La tradition des discours de l'Empereur Julien*, Gand-Paris, 1929 ; *L'Empereur Julien. 1 : De l'histoire à la légende (331-1715)*, Etudes rassemblées par R. BRAUN et J. RICHER, Paris, 1978 ; *2 : De la légende au mythe : de Voltaire à nos jours*, Etudes rassemblées par J. RICHER, Paris, 1981 ; S. CONTI - A. DORIA, *Giuliano l'Apostata un imperatore romano nella letteratura tedesca del Medioevo*, Trieste, 2005. Au sujet des études sur Julien, KLEIN, dans : *Julian Apostata*, hrsg. v. R. KLEIN, Darmstadt, 1978, pp. 1-23 ; A. MARCONE, *Di Tarda Antichità. Scritti scelti*, Milano, 2008, pp. 3-14. Concernant Julien dans la tradition orientale cf. ci-dessus, les notes 32 et 42.

[2] Cf. BRAUN - RICHER, *L'Empereur Julien*. Pour Libanios, cf. P. PETIT, *L'empereur Julien vu par le sophiste Libanios*, dans BRAUN - RICHER, *L'Empereur Julien*, pp. 67-87 ; R. SCHOLL, *Historische Beiträge zu den julianischen Reden des Libanios*, Stuttgart, 1994 ; H. U. WIEMER, *Libanios und Julian. Studien zum Verhältnis von Rhetorik und Politik im vierten Jahrhundert n. Chr.*, München, 1995.

[3] Cf. W. KOCH, *Comment l'empereur Julien tâcha de fonder une Église païenne*, dans *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire*, 6 (1927), pp. 123-46 ; 7 (1928), pp. 49-82 ; 511-50 ; 1363-85 ; A. KUHRMANN, *Gregor von Nazianz, Oratio 4 gegen Julian. Ein Kommentar*, Basel, 1988, pp. 367-78 ; O. NICHOLSON, *The 'Pagan Churches' of Maximinus Daia and Julian the Apostate*, dans *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 45 (1994), pp. 1-10 ; S. OLSZANIEC, *Julian Apostata und seine Reform der heidnischen Priesterschaft*, dans *Eos*, 86 (1999), pp. 217-41 ; K. BRINGMANN, *Kaiser Julian*, Darmstadt, 2004, pp. 129-52.

[4] Cf. surtout D. M. COSI, *Casta Mater Idaea. Giuliano l'Apostata e l'etica della sessualità*, Venezia, 1986.

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C'est justement dans cette perspective qu'il faut examiner, à mon avis, la conduite d'un personnage qui a joué un rôle important dans la controverse monophysite et dans les luttes, surtout doctrinales, qui ont déchiré l'Empire au VIème siècle : Sévère, le patriarche monophysite d'Antioche entre 512 et 518[5]. Après avoir étudié le droit à Beyrouth, ce dernier s'est adonné à la vie monastique, a été choisi par les moines monophysites chassés de leurs monastères par les orthodoxes pour défendre leur cause auprès de l'empereur Anastase. S'étant distingué par ses vertus d'ermite et par son œuvre dans l'organisation de la vie monastique, il a été élu au patriarcat d'Antioche surtout grâce à l'appui des moines[6]. Ce passé et ces circonstances ont sans doute influencé la conduite de Sévère au cours de son patriarcat. Nous en avons un récit assez détaillé dans la biographie écrite par Jean, higoumène du monastère de Beith-Aphthonia[7] peu après la mort de Sévère[8] et conservée dans une traduction syriaque[9]. Jean nous rapporte qu'aussitôt après la cérémonie de son intronisation, Sévère « renvoya les marmitons et les cuisiniers du palais épiscopal avec toutes les préparations culinaires qu'ils

[5] Cf. G. FEDALTO, *Hierarchia Ecclesiastica Orientalis*, II, *Patriarchatus Alexandrinus, Antiochenus, Hyerosolimitanus,* Padova, 1988, p. 688.

[6] Cfr. G. BARDY, *Sévère d'Antioche*, dans *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique,* XIV, Paris, 1941, c. 1998 ; E. HONIGMANN, *Évêques et évêchés monophysites d'Asie antérieure au VIe siècle, CSCO* 127, *Subsidia* 2, Louvain, 1951, pp. 19-60 ; G. DOWNEY, *A History of Antioch in Syria from Seleucus to the Arab Conquest,* Princeton, New Jersey, 1961, pp. 509-13 ; W. A. C. FREND, *The Rise of the Monophysite Movement. Chapters in the History of the Church in the Fifth and Sixth Centuries*, Cambridge, 1972, pp. 201-220 ; P. ALLEN - C. T. R. HAYWARD, *Severus of Antioch*, London - New York, 2004. Au sujet du rôle, même physique, que les moines ont joué dans les controverses de cette époque, cf. surtout H. BACHT, *Die Rolle des orientalischen Mönchtums in den kirchenpolitischen Auseinandersetzungen um Chalkedon (431-519)*, dans *Das Konzil von Chalkedon. Geschichte und Gegenwart*, hrsg. v. A. GRILLMEIER und H. BACHT, II, Würzburg, 1953, pp. 192-314. Concernant les rapports de Sévère avec les moines cf. K. M. HAY, *Severus of Antioch : An Inheritor of Palestinian Monasticism,* dans *Aram*, 15 (2003), pp. 159-71.

[7] Concernant Jean, qui avait fondé ce monastère monophysite vers 530, cf. surtout WATT, *A Portrait of John bar Aphthonia, Founder of the Monastery of Qenneshre*, dans J. W. DRIJVERS - J. W. WATT (eds), *Portraits of Spiritual Authority. Religious Power in Early Christianity, Byzantium and the Christian Orient*, Leiden - Boston - Köln, 1999, pp. 165-199.

[8] La chronologie est discutée : I. GILLMAN et H.-J. KLIMKEIT, *Christians in Asia before 1500,* Ann Arbor, 1999, p. 31, datent la mort de Sévère en 538 ; cf. aussi ALLEN - HAYWARD, *Severus of Antioch,* p. 30 ; J. RIST, *Zacharias Rhetor als Biograph. Zu Überlieferung und Inhalt der* Vita Severi Antiocheni *(BHO 1060), der* Vita Isaiae *(BHO 550) und der* Vita Petri Iberi *(CPG 7001),* dans M. TAMCKE, A. HEINZ (hrsg.), *Die Suryoye und ihre Umwelt. 4. Deutsches Syrologen-Symposium in Trier 2004. Festgabe Wolfgang Hage zum 70. Geburtstag*, Münster, 2005, p 337.

[9] Je renvoie ici à l'édition avec traduction française de M. A. KUGENER, *Vie de Sévère, par Jean, supérieur du monastère de Beith Aphthonia, PO* II 8, Paris, 1904. (citée dans la suite par les numéros des pages).

avaient inventées »[10]. Cette conduite ressemble à celle de Julien qui, après son arrivée à Constantinople, renvoya les cuisiniers et tout le personnel de ce genre travaillant au palais. Il était scandalisé par leurs salaires exorbitants et jugeait qu'il n'avait pas besoin de leurs services[11]. Cette décision est également connue par la tradition chrétienne qui reconnaît qu'elle contribua beaucoup à la popularité de l'empereur[12]. Nous avons ici, sans doute, la conséquence de l'accoutumance de Sévère à la vie monastique, aux jeûnes et aux privations qui en étaient les caractéristiques ; mais l'analogie avec Julien reste néanmoins frappante et c'est un premier élément qui s'impose à notre réflexion.

Le récit de Jean continue, en soulignant l'adhésion de Sévère aux habitudes de la vie monastique : « il couchait par terre, ne prenait pas de bains, faisait de longs offices de chant, mangeait des légumes… et se faisait apporter du marché du pain grossier et commun, comme les boulangers ont l'habitude d'en faire pour les pauvres »[13]. On peut rapprocher de cette conduite l'insistance de Julien dans son *Misopogon* (écrit justement à Antioche) sur sa frugalité dans l'alimentation : il évitait toute forme de luxe dans la qualité des mets et il en limitait la quantité, si bien qu'il ne se levait jamais rassasié de table ; il rappelle d'ailleurs les nuits blanches passées sur une paillasse[14]. Ailleurs encore, il range parmi les vertus du bon empereur la frugalité des repas et l'habitude de limiter le sommeil[15]. Ammien, de son côté, fait l'éloge de la modération de Julien quant à la nourriture et souligne qu'il avait divisé la nuit en trois parties, la première réservée au repos, la deuxième aux affaires et la troisième à l'étude[16]. Nous retrouvons des éloges tout à fait identiques dans Libanios[17], tandis que Mamertin souligne lui aussi la frugalité de la nourriture de l'empereur[18] connue et admise également par ses adversaires chrétiens, Grégoire de Nazianze et Socrate[19].

[10] Jean, *V. Sev.*, p. 253.

[11] Amm. Marc. 22, 5, 10 : *Unde motus omnes huius modi, cum cocis similibusque aliis, eadem paene accipere consuetos (ut parum sibi necessarios), data quo uelint eundi potestate, proiecit.*

[12] Socrat. *Hist. eccl.* 3, 1, 50-51 et 58.

[13] Jean, *V. Sev.*, p. 253.

[14] Julian. *Misopog.* 340b ; cf. aussi 350b-c.

[15] Julian. *Or.* 1, 10d-11a.

[16] Amm. Marc. 16, 5, 1 et 5 ; cf. aussi 25, 4, 4-5.

[17] Liban. *Or.* 12, 94, FÖRSTER, II, p. 42 ; 18, 175, FÖRSTER, II, p. 312.

[18] *Paneg. Lat.* 11, 3, 4 ; cf. H. GUTZWILLER, *Die Neujahrsrede des Konsuls Cl. Mamertinus vor dem Kaiser Julianus,* Freiburg 1942, p. 156. Cf. aussi *Un anonimo panegirico per l'imperatore Giuliano (Anon.* Paneg. Iul. Imp.),Introduzione, Testo critico, Commento a cura di A. GUIDA, Firenze, 1990, p. 36, 18 ss. et le commentaire, pp. 90-92.

[19] Greg. Naz. *Or.* 4, 71, *SCh*, n° 309, p. 182 ; Socrat. *Hist. eccl.*3, 1, 50.

L'autre élément de ce récit qui suggère un rapprochement entre Sévère et Julien est naturellement son refus de prendre des bains. Le manque de tout soin non seulement pour l'apparence physique, mais aussi pour l'hygiène est en effet un trait caractéristique que Julien soulignait constamment dans son *Misopogon :* non seulement il monte en épingle son refus de raser sa barbe, qu'il juge un signe de virilité opposé à l'efféminations de ses détracteurs antiochiens[20], mais il insiste sur la longueur de sa barbe hérissée, sale et très pouilleuse qui lorsqu'il mange, l'oblige à faire attention à ne pas engloutir les poils[21]. Si tout cela n'était pas suffisant, il ajoute qu'il tient à la saleté de son visage, qu'il ne se fait pas couper les cheveux, qu'il se nettoie rarement les ongles et qu'il a souvent les doigts noirs d'encre[22]. Plus loin, il revient sur la saleté de son visage[23].

Jean nous donne encore d'autres renseignements précieux sur la conduite de Sévère à Antioche. S'apercevant que les Antiochiens aimaient les chants, que l'on chantait sur scène quand ils étaient profanes, dans le cadre de l'Église quand ils étaient ecclésiastiques, il décida de les seconder dans leur penchant, pour les détourner du mal et les corriger. Il composa donc des chants et des hymnes religieux, non frivoles et efféminés, mais pleins de gémissements ; « aussi en arracha-t-il beaucoup de la sorte à la perdition du théâtre, pour leur faire fréquenter avec assiduité l'église ». Ces chants enseignaient la théologie et les dogmes, illustraient les Écritures ou traitaient des fléaux et des plaies envoyés par Dieu pour punir les péchés du peuple[24]. Cette conduite de Sévère est confirmée par ses homélies, qui renferment de lourdes invectives contre les spectacles, en particulier ceux du théâtre, auxquels s'adonnaient[25] souvent les Antiochiens.

Il est vrai que la polémique contre les spectacles du théâtre est courante dans la tradition chrétienne et en particulier qu'un Antiochien illustre, Jean Chrysostome, leur avait consacré une partie considérable de ses homélies[26]. Cependant, il faut considérer que cette polémique avait été menée déjà par Julien et développée particulièrement durant son séjour à Antioche. Dans le

[20] Cf. p. ex. Julian. *Misopog.* 342b ss. ; 346a ss. ; 347a ss.

[21] Julian. *Misopog.* 338c

[22] Julian. *Misopog.* 339b.

[23] Julian. *Misopog.* 367b.

[24] Jean, *V. Sev.*, pp. 254-55.

[25] Cf. surtout F. GRAFFIN, *La vie à Antioche d'après les homélies de Sévère. Invectives contre les courses de chevaux, le théâtre et les jeux olympiques*, dans G. WIESSNER (ed.), *Erkenntisse und Meinungen*, II, 'Göttinger Orientforschungen', 1. Reihe : Syriaca, Bd. 17, Wiesbaden, 1978, pp. 115-30 ; F.N. ALPI, *Société et vie profane à Antioche sous le patriarcat de Sévère (512-518)*, dans *Antioche de Syrie, Topoi Orient Occident.* Supplément 5, Lyon, 2004, pp. 531-33.

[26] Cf. O. PASQUATO, *Gli spettacoli in s. Giovanni Crisostomo : paganesimo e cristianesimo ad Antiochia e Costantinopoli nel 4. secolo*, dans *OCA* 201 (Roma 1976).

Misopogon, il blâme l'amour des Antiochiens pour le théâtre et les spectacles et leur passion pour les acteurs, en leur opposant son hostilité personnelle à ce genre d'amusements, qu'il juge immoraux, et son aversion à y participer[27]. En organisant son Eglise païenne, il avait défendu aux prêtres de se rendre au théâtre[28] et avait répété ailleurs cette interdiction d'assister aux spectacles théâtraux, en obligeant les prêtres païens à ne pas avoir de rapports avec les acteurs, les danseurs et les mimes[29]. Cette aversion de Julien pour les spectacles est confirmée par Libanios, qui en fait l'éloge[30].

Les analogies entre les idées et la conduite de Julien et celles de Sévère sont donc étonnantes. On pourra objecter d'une part que Julien a été le dernier persécuteur du christianisme et pour cela décrié dans toute la tradition chrétienne mais également syriaque qui était très populaire à Antioche[31]. D'autre part, sa conduite dans cette ville a dû laisser un souvenir très profond et répandu, surtout si nous considérons que la plupart des renseignements que nous avons examinés se rapportent justement à Antioche et viennent du *Misopogon*. Or, cette œuvre était non seulement largement diffusée, comme l'attestent les polémiques à son sujet entre païens et chrétiens[32], mais aussi bien connue du public, surtout si l'on en croit le témoignage de Jean Malalas, un Antiochien et contemporain de Sévère, selon qui Julien en avait fait afficher un exemplaire aux portes du palais impérial[33]. Nous pouvons donc penser que les accusations de Julien contre les Antiochiens étaient de domaine public, ainsi que l'éloge de sa propre conduite. Pourtant, au delà de l'opposition religieuse, Sévère pouvait bien se rattacher au précédent de Julien dans sa lutte pour réformer les mœurs et les habitudes de vie de ses nouveaux fidèles.

Cette hypothèse me paraît d'ailleurs confirmée par la conclusion des rapports entre Sévère et les Antiochiens. En 536, après le rappel de Sévère à la cour grâce à l'appui de l'impératrice Théodora, à l'occasion du concile de

[27] Julian. *Misopog.* 340a ss. ; 344a ; 365d ; cf. p. ex. M. CASELLA, *Le 'colpe' della cultura pagana : riflessioni sull'epistola 89b di Giuliano*, dans *Koinonia*, 26-27 (2002-2003), pp. 131-43.

[28] Iulian. *Epist.* 84, 430b.

[29] Iulian. *Epist.* 89b, 304b-d.

[30] Liban. *Or.* 18, 170-71, FÖRSTER, II, pp. 309-10. Libanios lui-même prit part à cette polémique : cf. J. HAUBOLD - R. MILES, *Communality and Theatre in Libanius*, dans I. SANDWELL - J. HUSKINSON (eds), *Culture and Society in Later Antioch*, Oxford, 2004, pp. 24-34.

[31] Cf. à ce sujet R. CONTINI, *Giuliano imperatore nella tradizione siriaca*, dans *Da Costantino a Teodosio il Grande. Cultura, società, diritto. Atti del Convegno Internazionale (Napoli, 26-28 aprile 2001)*, a cura di U. CRISCUOLO, Napoli, 2003, pp. 119-45.

[32] Amm. Marc. 22, 14, 2 (lui-même assez critique) ; Greg. Naz. *Or.* 5, 41, *SC* 309, Paris, p. 378 ; cf. aussi Theodoret. *Hist. Eccl.* 3, 28, 3. On a jugé aussi parfois l'*Or.* 15 de Libanios une défense d'Antioche contre les critiques de Julien : cf. p. ex. *Libanii Opera*, rec. R. FÖRSTER, II, Lipsiae, 1904, p. 115, n. 3.

[33] Malal., p. 328, 2-4 DINDORF = 251, 27-30 THURM ; cf. DOWNEY, *op. cit.*, pp. 393-94.

Constantinople, quelques clercs et moines antiochiens présentèrent une accusation, qui fut insérée et conservée dans les Actes du concile : ils accusaient Sévère d'avoir accompli à Daphné, avec le concours de quelques juifs, des pratiques de magie et des sacrifices aux démons païens[34]. Cette accusation, jointe à d'autres d'ordre dogmatique, provoqua la condamnation de Sévère par le concile et son exil final en Egypte. Elle se rattachait sans doute à des accusations précédentes identiques qui avaient été élevées contre Sévère lors de son élection patriarcale. Mais, ce qui nous intéresse ici, ce sont les détails de la localisation et des circonstances des pratiques imputées à Sévère. Il s'agissait, avant tout, de pratiques de magie et d'invocation des démons païens : il est inutile de souligner l'analogie avec l'accusation la plus répandue dans la tradition chrétienne contre Julien, celle d'avoir été un sorcier faisant toujours recours à la magie noire pour nuire à ses adversaires et pour atteindre ses buts, en appelant les démons à son aide. En second lieu, la localisation de ces cérémonies à Daphné est frappante : ce faubourg d'Antioche avait été le siège de l'un des plus importants sanctuaires d'Apollon, abandonné à la suite de la victoire du christianisme. La tentative de Julien de restaurer le temple et ses cultes avait provoqué l'opposition acharnée des Antiochiens, en majorité chrétiens[35]. Dans l'imaginaire et la tradition des chrétiens, les pratiques de magie et les évocations de démons de Julien restaient strictement liées à Daphné, où tout culte païen fut abandonné après sa mort. L'accusation portée contre Sévère visait donc à présenter celui-ci comme le continuateur de l'Apostat dans le domaine de la magie et des cultes païens.

Enfin, il faut souligner le rôle confié aux Juifs dans l'accusation portée contre Sévère : ils sont considérés comme les complices du patriarche dans les sacrifices, dans les invocations des démons, dans les cérémonies de sorcellerie. Nous savons qu'Antioche abritait une communauté juive nombreuse, qui n'avait pas des rapports toujours faciles avec les chrétiens[36] : Jean Chrysostome, en particulier, avait consacré des homélies à la polémique contre eux et contre les fidèles qui « judaïsaient » en participant à des rites

[34] J. D. MANSI, *Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, VIII, Florentiae, 1762, coll. 1038-39 ; cfr. *PO*, 2, 1, p. 342.

[35] Cf. à ce sujet W. LIEBESCHUETZ, *The view from Antioch : from Libanius via John Chrisostom to John Malalas and beyond*, dans *Cristianesimo nella storia* 30 (2009), pp. 442 ss., aux conclusions duquel je me range.

[36] Cf. C. H. KRAELING, *The Jewish Community at Antioch*, dans *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 51 (1932), pp. 130-60 ; W. A. MEEKS, R. L. WILKEN, *Jews and Christians in Antioch in the First Four Centuries of the Common Era*, dans *Sources for Biblical Study*, 13, Missoula, Missouri, 1978 ; J. SANDWELL, *Religious Identity in Late Antiquity. Greeks, Jews and Christians in Antioch*, Cambridge, 2007 ; LIEBESCHUETZ, *The view from Antioch...*, pp. 442 ss..

juifs[37]. Les Juifs, d'ailleurs, avaient une réputation bien assise de sorciers, si bien qu'on leur attribuait une expérience particulière dans ce domaine. Leur compromission avec Sévère dans l'accusation des clercs et des moines antiochiens visait donc à souligner le blâme jeté sur la conduite du patriarche, qui recourait aux Juifs en les associant à ses pratiques de magie et à ses sacrifices aux démons ; l'accusation se rattachait ainsi à un précédent illustre, celui de la polémique de Chrysostome.

Mais quelle a été l'origine de cette étrange rumeur qui associait Sévère aux Juifs ? Nous savons bien que les rapports de Julien avec eux avaient été excellents, à telle enseigne qu'il les avait encouragés et aidés dans leur tentative ratée pour reconstruire le temple de Jérusalem. Cette affaire avait provoqué une réaction très hostile des chrétiens, bien documentée dans les traditions chrétienne[38] et syriaque[39], tandis qu'elle a provoqué des sympathies pour l'empereur parmi les Juifs[40]. Pourtant, le rapprochement de Sévère avec la tradition de Julien concernant la conduite ascétique et la critique du luxe et des spectacles comportait un risque assez considérable d'amalgame que ses adversaires pouvaient retourner contre lui car si Julien avait été le champion de l'ascétisme, de la frugalité, de l'*enkrateia*, il restait aussi et surtout, dans la tradition et dans l'imaginaire chrétiens, l'exemple de l'empereur qui s'adonnait à la magie et au culte des démons. Il est difficile de séparer le bon du mauvais modèle : plus difficile encore quand il s'agit de Julien.

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[37] *PG* 48, 843-942 (trad. angl. de P. W. HARKINS, *Discourses against Judaizing Christians*, Washington, 1977) ; cf. R. WILKEN, *John Chrysostom and the Jews. Rhetoric and Reality in the Late Fourth Century*, Berkeley - Los Angeles, 1983 ; R. ZIADÉ, *Les martyres Maccabées. Les homélies de Grégoire de Nazianze et de Jean Chrysostome* (*Supplements to VigChr*, 80), Leiden, 2007, pp. 123 ss.

[38] Rufin. *Hist. Eccl.* 10, 38-40 ; Ephraem. *Hymn. C. Julian.* 4, 18-25, *CSCO* 175, *Script. Syri* 79, pp. 84-85 ; Greg. Naz. *Or.* 5, 3-4 et 6-7, *SC* 309, pp. 289-306 ; Joh. Chrys. *Or.* 5, 4 ss., *SC* 309, pp. 300 ss. ; *Paneg. In S. Paul.* 4, 6, *SC* 300, p. 192 ; *Contra Iud. et gent.* 16, *PG* 48, 835 ; *Hom. in Matth.* 4, 1, *PG* 57, 41 ; Philostorg. *Hist. Eccl.* 7, 9-9ª, p. 95-96 BIDEZ-WINCKELMANN ; Socrat. *Hist. Eccl.* 3, 20 ; Sozomen. *Hist. Eccl.* 5, 22 ; Theodoret. *Hist. Eccl.* 3, 20-21 ; *Vita Athan.*, *PG* 25, 2 ; Theophan. *Chron.*, p. 51 DE BOOR ; Zonar. 13, 12, 24-25, p. 62 BÜTTNER-WOBST.

[39] Cf. CONTINI, *art. cit.*, pp. 128 ss.

[40] Cf. G. LACERENZA, *Giuliano imperatore nella tradizione ebraica*, dans *Da Costantino a Teodosio il Grande...*, *op. cit.*, pp. 197-220, auquel nous renvoyons aussi pour la bibliographie concernant la conduite de Julien et ses rapports avec les Juifs. KAEHLING (*art. cit.*, pp. 156-58) et DOWNEY (*op. cit.*, p. 382) jugent que la perspective de l'appui de la nombreuse population juive a joué un rôle important dans le choix de Julien de s'établir à Antioche.

SUMMARY

The present contribution deals with the Life of Severus, monophysite patriarch of Antioch (512-518), written shortly after the prelate's death by John, Abbot of the Monastery of Beith-Aphthonia, and handed down in Syriac. The article explores the remarkable analogies in the biographies of Severus of Antioch and the Emperor Julian the Apostate.

ON THE TOPAZ ISLAND: DIODORUS OF SICILY AND THE BYZANTINE *FLORILEGIUM COISLINIANUM*

For quite some years the research group of Byzantine Studies of the University of Leuven has been dealing with Byzantine anthological literature, to understand the origins and the functions of these compilations which played an important part in transmitting knowledge in Byzantium. More particularly we have been studying the *Florilegium Coislinianum*[1], a monumental alphabetic anthology of the IXth-Xth century A.D. Unfortunately the exact date of this florilegium is difficult to determine; the most ancient manuscripts of the florilegium (*B*, *C* and *D*) date roughly to the Xth century; a *terminus post quem* can be derived from *Epistula* 57 of Theodore Studita, the most recent text quoted in the *Florilegium Coislinianum* and written either in 797 or in 809-811. The place of origin of the compilation also remains under debate: some indications point to Southern Italy or Sicily, but no definitive proof has been given until now.

The compiler whose identity is unknown gathered hundreds of fragments varying from one single line to several pages. The importance of the anthology is very clear: for quite a lot of texts the *Florilegium Coislinianum* is the only witness, for other texts the compilation is a very valuable indirect attestation, while the excerptor allowed himself only a few liberties. It is

[1] We mention the following Leuven publications: I. DE VOS, E. GIELEN, C. MACÉ and P. VAN DEUN, *L'art de compiler à Byzance: la Lettre Γ du Florilège Coislin*, in *Byz*, 78 (2008), pp. 159-223; I. DE VOS, E. GIELEN, C. MACÉ and P. VAN DEUN, *La Lettre B du Florilège Coislin: editio princeps*, in *Byz*, 80 (2010), pp. 72-120; T. FERNÁNDEZ, *Book Alpha of the Florilegium Coislinianum: A Critical Edition with a Philological Introduction*, Ph.D., Leuven, 2010 (supervisor: P. Van Deun; in the near future, this critical edition of the long Letter Alpha will be published in the *Series Graeca* of the *Corpus Christianorum*); R. CEULEMANS, I. DE VOS, E. GIELEN, P. VAN DEUN, *La continuation de l'exploration du* Florilegium Coislinianum: *la Lettre Ēta*, in *Byz*, 81 (2011), pp. 74-126; the critical edition of the Letter Psi is published in this volume of *Byzantion* (by R. CEULEMANS, E. DE RIDDER, K. LEVRIE and P. VAN DEUN); the critical edition of the Letter Xi is in preparation by F. WILDENBOER and P. VAN DEUN. The other existing scholarly literature can be found in these publications. Add to this the following recent articles of T. FERNÁNDEZ: *Un fragmento inédito sobre la virtud, atribuido a Nilo de Ancira*, in *Bizantinistica*, ser. II, 12 (2010), pp. 201-213; *Cosmas Vestitor's Ascetic-Physiological Fragment (CPG 8163)*, in *BZ*, 104 (2011), pp. 633-640; *Dos fragmentos inéditos de Atanasio de Alejandría*, in *Erytheia*, 32 (2011), pp. 79-93; *Un fragment inédit attribué à Anatole d'Alexandrie*, in *Byzantion Nea Hellás*, 30 (2011), pp. 189-202. Finally there is also the contribution of C. MACÉ, I. DE VOS and K. GEUTEN, *Comparing Stemmatological and Phylogenetic Methods to Understand the Transmission History of the* Florilegium Coislinianum, in A. BUCOSSI and E. KIHLMAN (eds.), *Ars Edendi. Lecture Series*, II (*Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis. Studia Latina Stockholmiensia*, 58), Stockholm, 2012, pp. 107-129.

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not surprising that almost all extracts deal with purely Christian topics and are taken from the Bible, Greek Fathers and Byzantine theological texts. Going through the anthology we only meet a few exceptions characterized by a more pagan flavour. In Book Èta, a short text on the ages of men is attributed to Hippocrates (fragment 14 in our Leuven edition). Philo of Alexandria is represented by some fragments quoted in the Letters Kappa and Psi. Book Kappa is also important for a short fragment of the philosopher Porphyrius, quoted in the section Περὶ θεοῦ κριμάτων[2]. Letter Psi contains a one page fragment of the *De mensibus* of John Lydus (IV, 26), but in this article we will concentrate on a fragment which is quoted in Letter Lambda and is attributed to the historian Diodorus of Sicily.

Let us first present the manuscript witnesses that have preserved this interesting extract of Diodorus. The textual transmission of the florilegium is known to be divided into three different recensions.

The first version is represented solely by *Parisinus, Coislinianus* 294 (manuscript *A*), dated to the XIth or the XIIth century; it is this remarkable codex which gave its name to the whole anthology.

The important second recension has been preserved in three manuscripts (as far as the Letter Lambda is concerned): *Atheniensis, Bibliotheca Nationalis* 464 (manuscript *B*), from the Xth century, *Parisinus gr.* 924 (codex *C*), also from the Xth century, and an apograph of manuscript *B* preserved in the Royal Library Albert Ist in Brussels, manuscript IV 881, and completed in november 1542 by the scribe John Katelos of Nauplion (manuscript *S*).

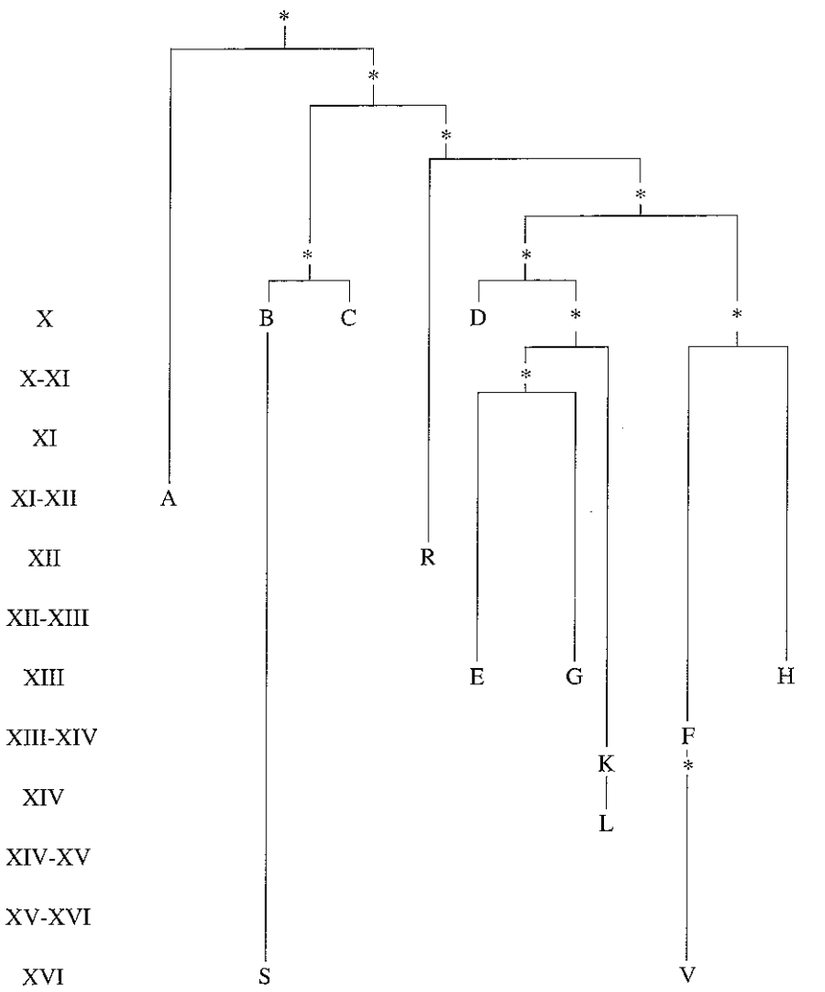
Of the third recension, which is in general shorter than the previous versions, more manuscripts have come to us, but until recently we knew of only three that presented the Letter Lambda: *Mediolanensis, Ambrosianus* Q 74 sup., Xth century (manuscript *D*); *Athous, Iviron* 38 (manuscript *G*) and *Argentoratensis, Bibliotheca Nationalis et Universitatis gr.* 12 (manuscript *E*), both of which seem to be written by the priest Symeon Kalliandrès of Rhodes, probably in 1281-1282 and 1285-1286 respectively. Recently we discovered two other partial witnesses of the third recension containing our fragment: *Lesbiacus, Leimonos* 268 (completed by a certain Methodius in 1552; manuscript *M*) and *Vaticanus, Ottobonianus gr.* 441 (from the year 1477, copied by Symeon, patriarch of Constantinople; manuscript *O*)[3];

[2] P. VAN DEUN prepares an article dealing with this fragment; he will demonstrate that the extract of Porphyrius has been taken from the third book of the *Contra Iulianum* of Cyril of Alexandria (*CPG* 5233).

[3] FERNÁNDEZ, *Book Alpha*, pp. CII and CXLVII-CXLVIII, only focused on fragments 1 to 4 of Alpha preserved in the *Florilegium Coislinianum*; in these manuscripts we discovered a number of additional extracts from Alpha and from many other Letters.

in content these two manuscripts are quite similar and they contain in particular the same large selection of fragments from the *Florilegium Coislinianum*.

For Letter Èta, for which more manuscripts are involved, we constructed the following stemma codicum visualizing the relations between the main manuscripts of the florilegium:



It is obvious that the fragment of Diodorus is too short to be important for some problems that have hitherto remained unsolved. We limit ourselves to pointing out some instances where our text could be of interest.

It is beyond any doubt that the manuscripts *E* and *G* are closely related to each other; they seem to be written by the same scribe and stand out from the rest of the tradition by a very large amount of common mistakes and variants. This statement is confirmed by the following *loci* in our fragment where *E* and *G* have the same readings; we quote e.g.: a slightly different title (περὶ τοῦ τοπαζίου λίθου); omission of δὲ; πλήρης ὑπῆρχε instead of ὑπῆρχε πλήρης; προϋπαρξάντων instead of ὑπαρξάντων; omission of the article τῶν. This matches well with our previous statement that these manuscripts are brothers, copied from a model unfortunately lost today.

Although manuscript *D* is one of the earliest witnesses of the florilegium, it contains a lot of individual errors; for our fragment we can add to this list ἀπολεεῖ and the omission of διὰ. The same can be said about *A*, the only witness of the first recension; regarding our fragment, we only mention one obvious error: πάθους instead of βάθους.

With regard to the recently discovered *M* and *O*, the fragment is too short to answer all our questions, but fortunately we could also benefit from the information T. Fernández gathered in his dissertation[4] and from our own research of the Letter Psi (see the article published in this same volume of *Byzantion*). *M* and *O* have the same variant readings as *E G* (listed above), which confirms our observations concerning Letter Alpha and Psi. *M O* side with manuscript *G* in particular; although no evidence to support this claim can be adduced from our Diodorus fragment, it is evident from the Fernández fragments, to which we can add two instances in Psi (φρονοῦντες in *G M O* instead of φοροῦντες; the omission of οὐ in *G M O*). Moreover *M O* hold quite a few variants of their own, while there are no passages in which *G* has an individual mistake against *M O*: for the Diodorus fragment one could for example point to the marginal scholion in *M O*, to ἐπὶ instead of περὶ and to ἀστυχῆ instead of ἀτυχῆ. Based on these observations, it is rather tempting to infer that *M O* derive from *G*. As for the relation between *M* and *O*, it is likely that the former is an apograph of the latter. *M* has some variants and errors that are absent in *O*: Fernández[5] gives three clear examples and the Diodorus fragment has one reading unique to *M* (ἔλαβε instead of ἔτυχε).

[4] *Book Alpha*, pp. CXLVII-CXLVIII.
[5] *Book Alpha*, p. CXLVII.

In other parts of the anthology we saw that the second recension has often preserved readings which seem to be original, but in the fragment we are editing in this article, *B C S* have one obvious error: αὖτη instead of ἔτι.

It is clear also that *B* and *S* often have errors in common, which is not surprising since manuscript *S* is a direct copy of *B*. Our fragment adds to the already existing material the following variants and mistakes of *B S*: the addition of the article before φιλοτιμίας, ἐπιγενομένης instead of ἐπιγινομένης and φανέντι instead of καταφανέντι. Unfortunately our fragment does not offer any decisive element to solve the difficult problem of the relation between *B* and *C* (is *B* a copy of *C* or are they brothers?).

All these considerations have brought us the following critical text; in the footnotes we have not only indicated the variant readings in the manuscripts, but also compared the text of the anthology to Diodorus' *Bibliotheca Historica* 3, 38, 4 – 3, 39, 9[6].

Conspectus siglorum

Recension I

A *Parisinus, Coislinianus* 294 (*s.* XI-XII), ff. 194^{v}-195^{v}

Recension II

B *Atheniensis, Bibliotheca Nationalis* 464 (*s.* X), pp. 314-315
C *Parisinus gr.* 924 (*s.* X), ff. 242^{v}-244
S *Bruxellensis, Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier*, IV 881, f. 131^{r-v}

Recension III

D *Mediolanensis, Ambrosianus* Q 74 sup. (*s.* X), ff. 79^{v}-80
E *Argentoratensis, Bibliotheca Nationalis et Universitatis gr.* 12 (*a.* 1285-1286), ff. 124^{v}-125
G *Athous, Iviron* 38 (*a.* 1281-1282), ff. 72^{v}-73
M *Lesbiacus, Leimonos* 268 (*a.* 1552), ff. 482^{v}-483
O *Vaticanus, Ottobonianus gr.* 441 (*a.* 1477), f. 20^{r-v}

[6] The edition of Diodorus (= D.S.) referenced in the following pages is B. Bommelaer's: *Diodore de Sicile.* Bibliothèque historique. *Livre III* (*Collection des universités de France*), Paris, 1989, pp. 53-56.

TEXTUS

Περὶ τοῦ λίθου τοῦ τοπαζίου[7]. Διοδώρου ἱστοριογράφου[8]

Εἰς τὸν Ἀραβικὸν[9] λεγόμενον κόλπον[10], εἰς τὸν[11] κατὰ μεσημβρίαν κείμενον ὠκεανόν, κεῖται νῆσος πελαγία μὲν τῷ διαστήματι, τὸ δὲ μῆκος ὀγδοήκοντα σταδίους[12] παρεκτείνουσα, καλουμένη δὲ[13] Ὀφιώδης[14], ἣ τὸ μὲν παλαιὸν ὑπῆρχε πλήρης[15] φοβερῶν ἑρπετῶν[16], ἀφ' ὧν καὶ ταύτης ἔτυχε[17] τῆς προσηγορίας, ἐν δὲ τοῖς μεταγενεστέροις χρόνοις ὑπὸ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν βασιλέων ἐξημερώθη[18] φιλοτίμως ὥστε μηδὲν ἔτι[19] κατ' αὐτὴν[20] ὁρᾶσθαι τῶν ὑπαρξάντων[21] ζώων. Παραλειπτέον δὲ ἡμῖν οὐδὲ[22] τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς περὶ[23] τὴν ἡμέρωσιν

[7] Περὶ τοῦ λίθου τοῦ τοπαζίου] περὶ τοῦ λίθου τοῦ παζίου *A*, περὶ λίθου τοπαζίου *S*, περὶ τοῦ τοπαζίου λίθου *E G*, περὶ τοῦ παζίου λίθου *M O*.

[8] Διοδώρου ἱστοριογράφου] *om. C M O*.

[9] ἀρραβικὸν *E G*.

[10] Εἰς τὸν Ἀραβικὸν λεγόμενον κόλπον] ὁ δὲ προσαγορευόμενος Ἀράβιος κόλπος ἀνεστόμωται μὲν D.S. 3, 38, 4.

[11] τὸν] τὸ *S*.

[12] ὀγδοήκοντα σταδίους] εἰς ὀγδοήκοντα σταδίους D.S. 3, 39, 4.

[13] δὲ] *om. E G M O*.

[14] ὀφιόδης *E G M O*, ὠφιώδης *a. corr. S*. A scholion was added to the margins of *M* and *O*: ἡ νῆσος δὲ καλεῖται ὀνόματι βερνῆ. There is not a single attestation of βερνῆ, but it is immediately reminiscent of Βερενίκη. This regal name, which regularly appears as βερνίκη, was given to a large number of cities, harbours, villages and geographical entities (especially but not exclusively in Egypt). In the surroundings of our Snake Island it is found as well. In particular at the Ἀκάθαρτος κόλπος, opposite the island (cf. D.S. 3, 39, 3), lay the port Berenice (the modern Bender el-Kebir) which Ptolemaeus II founded and named after his mother (cf. K. SETHE, *Berenike [5]*, in *RE* III.1 (1897), cols. 280-281; Trismegistos GEO 416). Although the Ὀφιώδης or Τόπαζος island is not known by this name, it was certainly associated with the eponymous queen Berenice, the mother of Ptolemaeus II, as Juba in Plinius, *Historia Naturalis* 37, 108 and the Origenes tradition bear witness (u.i.). It follows that the marginal note was in all likelihood the result of distortion and mutilation and that βερνῆ originally referred to the location opposite the port or to an otherwise not transmitted name of the island. The scriba of *O* copied the corrupt scholion without reflecting on its content and the scriba of *M* adopted it equally ignorant of its meaning from *O*.

[15] πλήρης ὑπῆρχε *E G M O*.

[16] φοβερῶν ἑρπετῶν] παντοδαπῶν καὶ φοβερῶν ἑρπετῶν D.S. 3, 39, 4.

[17] ἔτυχε] ἔλαβε *M*.

[18] ἐξημερώθη] οὕτως ἐξημερώθη D.S. 3, 39, 4.

[19] ἔτι] αὖτη *B C S*.

[20] κατ' αὐτὴν] *bis hab. a. corr. E*.

[21] ὑπαρξάντων] προϋπαρξάντων *E G M O* and D.S. 3, 39, 4.

[22] Παραλειπτέον δὲ ἡμῖν οὐδὲ] οὐ παραλειπτέον δ' ἡμῖν οὐδὲ D.S. 3, 39, 5; nearly all manuscripts of the *Florilegium Coislinianum* have παραληπτέον, from the verb παραλαμβάνω, which in this context lacks meaning (only *M* and *O* have παραλειπτέον).

[23] περὶ] ἐπὶ *M O*.

φιλοτιμίας[24]. Εὑρίσκεται γὰρ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ταύτῃ τὸ καλούμενον τοπάζιον[25], ὅπέρ ἐστι λίθος διαφαινόμενος[26], ὑέλῳ[27] παρεμφερής[28]. Διόπερ ἀνεπίβατος ἡ νῆσος αὕτη[29] τοῖς πολλοῖς[30] τηρεῖται, θανατουμένου παντὸς τοῦ προσπλεύσαντος[31] ὑπὸ τῶν κατασταθέντων ἐν αὐτῇ[32] φυλάκων. Οὗτοι δὲ τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὄντες πολλοὶ[33] βίον ἔχουσιν ἀτυχῆ[34]· ἵνα μὲν γὰρ μηδεὶς λίθος διακλαπῇ, πλοῖον οὐκ ἀπολείπεται τὸ παράπαν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ[35]· οἱ δὲ παραπλέοντες αὐτὴν διὰ[36] τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ βάθους[37] φόβον πόρρωθεν αὐτὴν[38] παραπλέουσιν[39]· τροφαὶ δὲ αἱ μὲν κομιζόμεναι τοῖς φυλάσσουσι τὴν νῆσον ταχέως ἐκλείπουσιν, ἕτεραι[40] δὲ ἐντόπιοι τροφαὶ τὸ σύνολον οὐχ ὑπάρχουσι. Διόπερ ὅταν τῶν[41] τροφῶν[42] ὀλίγα καταλείπεται[43], κάθηνται πάντες οἱ κατὰ τὴν νῆσον[44] προσδεχόμενοι τοὺς τὰς[45] τροφὰς ἀποκομίζοντας, βραδυνόντων δὲ αὐτῶν[46] εἰς τὰς ἐσχάτας ἐλπίδας καταντῶσιν[47]. Ὁ δὲ προειρημένος τοπάζιος[48] λίθος φυόμενος ἐν

[24] φιλοτιμίας] τῆς *praem. B S*.

[25] τοπάζιον] πάζιον *A C*$^{a.\ corr.}$, τὸ πάζιον *M O*.

[26] διαφαινόμενος] διαφαινόμενος ἐπιτερπής D.S. 3, 39, 5.

[27] ὑέλῳ] ὑάλῳ *B C S*.

[28] παρεμφερής] παρεμφερὴς καὶ θαυμαστὴν ἔγχρυσον πρόσοψιν παρεχόμενος D.S. 3, 39, 5.

[29] ἡ νῆσος αὕτη] *om.* D.S. 3, 39, 6.

[30] πολλοῖς] ἄλλοις D.S. 3, 39, 6.

[31] προσπλήσαντος *e corr. O*.

[32] ἐν αὐτῇ] ὑπ' αὐτῶν *codd.* D.S. 3, 39, 6, ἐπ' αὐτῆς in the editions of Diodorus.

[33] πολλοὶ] ὀλίγοι D.S. 3, 39, 6.

[34] ἀστυχῆ *sic M O*.

[35] οὐκ ἀπολείπεται τὸ παράπαν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ] we corrected the reading of the *Florilegium Coislinianum* and decided to follow the version of Diodorus (in the manuscript tradition of D.S. 3, 39, 6 ἀπολείπεται and καταλείπεται are found); it is clear that the whole tradition of the *Florilegium Coislinianum* has a corrupt text: manuscripts *B C S D* have πλοῖον οὐκ ἀποπλέει (ἀποπλεῖ *D*) ἐν τῷ παράπαν τῇ νήσῳ, which *A* (πλοῖον οὐκ ἀποπλέη ἐν τῷ παρὰ τῇ νήσῳ) and *E G* and *M O* (πλοῖον οὐκ ἀποπλέει τὸ παράπαν τῇ νήσῳ) tried to correct.

[36] διὰ] *om. D*.

[37] βάθους] πάθους *A*, βασιλέως D.S. 3, 39, 6; it is probable that βάθους should be emended to βασιλέως.

[38] αὐτὴν] *om.* D.S. 3, 39, 6.

[39] παραπλέουσιν] παραθέουσι D.S. 3, 39, 6.

[40] ἕτεροι *C E G M O*, ἑτέραι *S*.

[41] τῶν] *om. E G M O*.

[42] τροφῶν] σιτίων D.S. 3, 39, 7.

[43] καταλίπηται *B E G M O*.

[44] νῆσον] κώμην D.S. 3, 39, 7.

[45] τὰς] *om. a. corr. D*.

[46] τοὺς τὰς τροφὰς ἀποκομίζοντας, βραδυνόντων δὲ αὐτῶν] τὸν τῶν κομιζόντων τὰς τροφὰς κατάπλουν· ὧν βραδυνόντων D.S. 3, 39, 7.

[47] καταντῶσιν] συστέλλονται D.S. 3, 39, 7.

[48] τοπάζιος] πάζιος *A D*$^{a.\ corr.}$, *om.* D.S. 3, 39, 8.

ταῖς πέτραις τὴν ἡμέραν[49] οὐχ ὁρᾶται, κυριευόμενος[50] ὑπὸ τοῦ φέγγους τοῦ ἡλίου[51], τῆς δὲ νυκτὸς ἐπιγινομένης[52] ἐν σκοτίᾳ[53] διαλάμπει καὶ πόρρωθεν φανερός[54] ἐστιν ἐν ᾧ διαλάμπει τόπῳ[55]. Οἱ δὲ νησοφύλακες κλήρῳ μεριούμενοι[56] τοὺς τόπους τηροῦσι[57], καὶ τῷ καταφανέντι[58] λίθῳ ἐπιτιθέντες[59] σημείου χάριν αἰγὸς δέρμα[60] τηλικοῦτον ἡλίκον ἐστὶν[61] τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ στίλβοντος λίθου· τῇ ἡμέρᾳ[62] περιερχόμενοι τέμνουσι[63] τὸν σημειωθέντα τόπον τῆς πέτρας, καὶ παραδιδόασι τοῖς διὰ τῆς τέχνης δυναμένοις ἐκλεαίνειν τὸ παραδοθὲν ἁρμοδίως[64].

Let us now turn to the question how the fragment compares to the source text. The *Florilegium Coislinianum* introduces and situates the subject by paraphrasing the first sentence of D.S. 3, 38, 4 (l. 1: Εἰς τὸν Ἀραβικὸν λεγόμενον κόλπον, εἰς τὸν κατὰ μεσημβρίαν κείμενον ὠκεανόν, cf. D.S. Ὁ δὲ προσαγορευόμενος Ἀράβιος κόλπος ἀνεστόμωται μὲν εἰς τὸν κατὰ μεσημβρίαν κείμενον ὠκεανόν), and then jumps to D.S. 3, 39, 4 for the description of the island (κεῖται νῆσος πελαγία κτλ.). Subsequently the compiler faithfully follows the story line of D.S. 3, 39, 4-9.

Diodorus' text is followed almost word-by-word, except for some rephrasings and (small) omissions (especially near the end of the text) as well as some errors due to the compiler's misunderstanding of the text and some unclarities due to his sloppy excerpting. Most omissions occur in the first half of the text, but overall we come across less deviations from the *Bibliotheca Historica* in the beginning than in the second half of the text.

rephrasings: ll. 1-2: Εἰς τὸν Ἀραβικὸν λεγόμενον κόλπον, εἰς τὸν κατὰ μεσημβρίαν κείμενον ὠκεανόν, κεῖται νῆσος (D.S.: ὁ δὲ προσαγορευόμενος Ἀράβιος κόλπος ἀνεστόμωται μὲν εἰς τὸν κατὰ μεσημβρίαν κείμενον ὠκεανόν); l. 14: παραπλέουσιν (D.S.: παραθέουσι); l. 16: τροφῶν (D.S.: σιτίων); l. 17: τοὺς τὰς τροφὰς ἀποκομίζοντας (D.S.: τὸν τῶν κομιζόντων τὰς τροφὰς κατάπλουν); ll. 17-18: βραδυνόντων δὲ αὐτῶν (D.S.: ὧν βραδυνόντων); l. 18: καταντῶσιν (D.S.: συστέλλονται); ll. 19-20: κυριευόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ φέγγους τοῦ ἡλίου (D.S.: κρατούμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ περὶ τὸν ἥλιον φέγγους); l. 20: σκοτίᾳ (D.S.: σκότει); l. 21: φανερός (D.S.: δῆλός); l. 21: ἐν ᾧ διαλάμπει τόπῳ (D.S.: ἐν ᾧ ποτ' ἂν ᾖ τόπῳ); l. 21: μεριούμενοι (D.S.: διῃρημένοι); l. 22: τηροῦσι (D.S.: ἐφεδρεύουσι); l. 22: καταφανέντι (D.S.: φανέντι); l. 22: ἐπιτιθέντες (D.S.: περιτιθέασι); l. 23: ἡλίκον ἐστὶν (D.S.: ἡλίκον ἂν ᾖ); l. 24: περιερχόμενοι τέμνουσι (D.S.: περιιόντες περιτέμνουσι); l. 25: ἁρμοδίως (D.S.: οἰκείως).

omissions: l. 2: τὸ δὲ μῆκος ὀγδοήκοντα σταδίους (D.S.: τὸ δὲ μῆκος εἰς ὀγδοήκοντα σταδίους); l. 4: φοβερῶν ἑρπετῶν (D.S.: παντοδαπῶν καὶ φοβερῶν ἑρπετῶν); l. 5: ἐξημερώθη (D.S.: οὕτως ἐξημερώθη); ll. 8-9: λίθος διαφαινόμενος (D.S.: λίθος διαφαινόμενος ἐπιτερπής); l. 9: παρεμφερής (D.S.: παρεμφερὴς καὶ θαυμαστὴν ἔγχρυσον πρόσοψιν παρεχόμενος); l. 19: τὴν ἡμέραν οὐχ ὁρᾶται (D.S.: τὴν μὲν ἡμέραν διὰ τὸ πνῖγος οὐχ ὁρᾶται).

possible errors: l. 7: Παραλειπτέον δὲ ἡμῖν οὐδὲ (D.S.: οὐ παραλειπτέον δ' ἡμῖν οὐδὲ); l. 9: πολλοῖς (D.S.: ἄλλοις); l. 11: πολλοὶ (D.S.: ὀλίγοι); ll. 12-13: οὐκ ἀποπλέει ἐν τῷ παράπαν τῇ νήσῳ in most of the witnesses (D.S.: οὐκ ἀπολείπεται τὸ παράπαν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ); l. 13: βάθους (D.S.: βασιλέως); ll. 22-23: αἰγὸς δέρμα (D.S.: ἄγγος).

Note especially l. 9 where the compiler adds ἡ νῆσος αὕτη for clarification, and similarly ὁ τοπάζιος in l. 18. Ὁ τοπάζιος is a less common variant of τὸ τοπάζιον, the latter of which Diodorus uses in 3, 39, 5 and the *Florilegium* adopts at l. 8. In our text tradition we also find the forms τὸ πάζιον and ὁ πάζιος (*A in titulo* περὶ τοῦ λίθου τοῦ παζίου; *A* $C^{a.\ corr.}$ in l. 8: τὸ καλούμενον πάζιον; l. 18: Ὁ δὲ προειρημένος πάζιος in *A* and $D^{a.\ corr.}$), a rare variant that is most likely the result of misinterpretation (from το-πάζιον or by haplography from τὸ τοπάζιον to τὸ πάζιον). It is first attested in Hesychius' lexicon (V^{th}-VIth c.; πάζιον· λίθος πολύτιμος) and the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* lists it only eight times (especially in the homilies of Neophytus the Enclosed, XIIth-XIIIth c.)[65].

Most deviations from the text of Diodorus Siculus occur in all the manuscripts of the *Florilegium Coislinianum,* but in some instances the indirect tradition of the *Florilegium* seems to have preserved a better text than one or more prototypes[66] of the direct manuscript tradition of Diodorus' *Bibliotheca Historica* and confirms the text of the correct prototypes.

[49] τὴν ἡμέραν] τὴν μὲν ἡμέραν διὰ τὸ πνῖγος D.S. 3, 39, 8.
[50] κυριευόμενος] κρατούμενος D.S. 3, 39, 8.
[51] ὑπὸ τοῦ φέγγους τοῦ ἡλίου] ὑπὸ τοῦ περὶ τὸν ἥλιον φέγγους D.S. 3, 39, 8.
[52] ἐπιγενομένης *B S M O*.
[53] σκοτίᾳ] σκότει D.S. 3, 39, 8.
[54] φανερός] δῆλός D.S. 3, 39, 8.
[55] ἐν ᾧ διαλάμπει τόπῳ] ἐν ᾧ ποτ' ἂν ᾖ τόπῳ D.S. 3, 39, 8.
[56] μεριούμενοι] διῃρημένοι D.S. 3, 39, 9.
[57] τηροῦσι] ἐφεδρεύουσι D.S. 3, 39, 9.
[58] καταφανέντι] φανέντι *B S* and D.S. 3, 39, 9.
[59] ἐπιτιθέντες] περιτιθέασι D.S. 3, 39, 9.
[60] αἰγὸς δέρμα] ἄγγος D.S. 3, 39, 9.
[61] ἐστὶν] ἂν ᾖ D.S. 3, 39, 9.
[62] τῇ ἡμέρᾳ] τῆς δ΄ ἡμέρας D.S. 3, 39, 9.
[63] περιερχόμενοι τέμνουσι] περιιόντες περιτέμνουσι D.S. 3, 39, 9.
[64] ἁρμοδίως] ἁρμονίως *B C S*, οἰκείως D.S. 3, 39, 9.

[65] After Hesychius in the monk Alexander Salaminus (middle of the VIth c.), *Laudatio in apostolum Barnabam* 115; Neophytus Inclusus, *Liber panegyricus* 29, 268; *Homiliae* 9, 20, 2; 20, 10; 21, 4; 22, 6; *Liber catechesium* 2, 35, 16.

[66] Books I-V of Diodorus' *Bibliotheca historica* are transmitted in a separate tradition of 28 manuscripts, of which there are four prototypes: *Neapolitanus suppl. gr.* 4 (D^a), beginning

Especially with regard to *V*: l. 2: D^b *L C* + *Florileg.* μὲν | *V* δὲ; l. 6: D^b *L C*+ *Florileg.* ὥστε | *V* ὡς; l. 11: D^b *L C* + *Florileg.* ἀτυχῆ | *V* ἀτευχῆ; l. 12: D^b *C* + *Florileg.* διακλαπῆ | *L* διακλάπης | *V* διαλείπῃ; l. 22: D^b *L C* + *Florileg.* σημείου | *V* σημείον.

However, *Florileg.* confirms *CV* at l. 6: *CV* + *Florileg.* μηδὲν | D^b *L* μηδ' ἂν.

E and *G* are the only manuscripts to preserve προϋπαρξάντων (l. 6, cf. Diodorus; *ABSCD* have ὑπαρξάντων), yet at other instances they do not offer the better text.

Let us now turn to a short history of the τοπάζιον[67] story in Ancient and Medieval literature, from Agatharchides to Michael Psellus.

A divide of 10 to 11 centuries lies between Diodorus Siculus (Ist c. B.C.) and the recurrence of the τοπάζιον story in the *Florilegium Coislinianum*. It is not possible to ascertain how it reached the compiler, although the information about the stone is attested throughout literature in a selected number of sources.

Photius (IXth c.) included in his *Bibliotheca* (*codex* 250, 456b) an extensive excerpt from *De Mari Erythraeo,* V, 82 (*Geographi Graeci Minores*) of Agatharchides of Cnidus (IInd c. B.C.). Diodorus, *Bibliotheca* 3, 12-48[68],

of the Xth c.; *Vaticanus gr.* 130 (*C*), mid-Xth c.; *Vaticanus gr.* 996 (*V*), XI-XIIth c.; and *Laurentianus* 70, 1 (*L*), XIVth c.. *D*^{a} was mutilated and restored in the XIIIth c., and II, 46,2 - III, 40, 9 (amongst other parts) was only conserved in the restored segment (D^b). D^b*L* are related, as well as *CV*. All information on the manuscript tradition of Diodorus Siculus is adopted from P. BERTRAC (*Diodore de Sicile*. Bibliothèque historique. *Introduction générale* par F. CHAMOUX et P. BERTRAC. *Livre I*. Texte établi par P. BERTRAC et traduit par Y. VERNIÈRE [Collection des universités de France], Paris, 1993), pp. LXXVII-C and BOMMELAER, pp. XLIX-LVIII (who could already make use of Bertrac's preliminary results).

[67] The stone we are here dealing with is not topaz but peridot, 'a gem of green hue' (*LSJ* τόπαζος: cf. Plinius, *Historia Naturalis* 37, 107-109; Dionysius Periegeta, *Orbis Descriptio*, v. 1121). D. E. EICHHOLZ (*Pliny*. Natural History, X, *Libri XXXVI-XXXVII* [*The Loeb Classical Library*], London – Cambridge [MA], 1962), p. 250 n. c substantiates this identification in his commentary on Plinius: 'St. John's Island, which lies 35 miles S.E. of Ras Benas on the Egyptian mainland, is a notable source of peridot. Moreover, peridot, unlike oriental topaz, is comparatively soft, as Pliny implies in §109. These two facts place the identification of topazos with peridot beyond all reasonable doubt.' See also G. F. HERBERT SMITH, *Gem-Stones and their Distinctive Characters*, London, 1912, pp. 198-199 and 227; E. H. WARMINGTON, *The Commerce Between the Roman Empire and India*, Cambridge, 1928, p. 253 and p. 383, n. 80. The Arabic name of the island, *Zeberged*, is also derived from the peridot stone (G. A. WAINWRIGHT, *Zeberged: the Shipwrecked Sailor's Island*, in *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, 32 [1946], p. 32). For this reason and for clarity's sake this article will refer to the stone by its Greek name.

[68] BOMMELAER, pp. XV-XXXI: D.S. 3, 12-48 is for the most part the product of compilation of Agatharchides (and not a reliable witness of the source text, for that matter: BOMMELAER [p. XXXI], notwithstanding Diodorus' assertions that he consulted eye-witnesses and the royal archives of Alexandria [D.S. 3, 11, 3; 3, 38, 1]). However, Diodorus' description of the Arabian

Strabo, *Geographica* 16, 4, 5-20 (Ist c. B.C.)[69] and Juba II's *De Arabia* (Ist c. B.C. – Ist c. A.D.)[70] depend on the latter account. A potential source of Agatharchides is the explorer Pythagoras[71], an officer of Ptolemaeus II Philadelphus (IIIrd c. B.C.)[72] who dug up the *gemma topazus* (Juba in *Die Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker* 275 F 76) and who according to Kortenbeutel may feasibly be identified with Pythagoras, the author of a *Περὶ τῆς Ἐρυθρᾶς θαλάσσης*[73]. Of the witnesses of this Hellenistic tradition we can exclude all but Diodorus as connected to the *Florilegium,* and the accounts of Strabo, Plinius Maior and Photius cannot offer us more information on the link between the *Bibliotheca Historica* and the *Florilegium Coislinianum,* so we are back to square one.

No more help was offered by lemmas citing Alexander Polyhistor (Ist c. B.C.)[74] about an Indian island[75] named Τοπάζιος, where an eponymous stone with the hue of young olive oil is found. Neither does Origenes' exegesis of Psalm 118, 127 (IInd-IIIrd c. A.D.), which cites the lapidary *Lithognomon*

Gulf (3, 38, 4-6) is excluded from the passages borrowed from Agatharchides (BOMMELAER, pp. XXIX-XXX).

[69] Strabo is indirectly dependent on Agatharchides, through the intermediate source of Artemidorus of Ephesus (S. M. BURSTEIN, *Agatharchides of Cnidus* On the Erythraean Sea [*Works issued by the Hackluyt Society*, Second series, 172], London, 1989, pp. 22 and 34-35). He tells about the Ὀφιώδης island and the τοπάζιον in 16, 4, 6. His description of the latter is adopted by Eustathius in his commentary of Dionysius Periegeta, *Orbis Descriptio* 1107 (cf. Dionysius Periegeta, v. 1121).

[70] To whom Plinius Maior refers for the Topazus island in *Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker* 275 F 74 (= Plinius, *Historia Naturalis* 35, 39); F 75 (= Plinius, *Historia Naturalis* 37, 107-108); F 76 (= Plinius, *Historia Naturalis* 37, 24). Cf. D. W. ROLLER, *The world of Juba II and Kleopatra Selene. Royal scholarship on Rome's African frontier*, New York, 2003, p. 234.

[71] W. PEREMANS, *Diodore de Sicile et Agatharchide de Cnide*, in *Historia,* 16 (1967), pp. 448-449 (who advances that such explorers as Pythagoras were the 'eye-witnesses' mentioned in D.S. 3, 38, 1); BURSTEIN, pp. 31-32; ROLLER, p. 234.

[72] Cf. the Ptolemaean preoccupation with the island and the stone in the Diodorean account; see also Plinius, *Historia Naturalis* 37, 108; the longer recension of Origenes' note on Ps. 118, 127 (ut infra); Ambrosius, *Expositio Psalmi* 118, 41-42; *Catena Palestinensis* in Ps. 118, 126-127a (in the *Clavis Patrum Graecorum* this *catena* is listed as C 12 and 24); for their role in the exploitation of the τοπάζιον (ut infra).

[73] Read Aelianus, *De natura animalium* 17, 8, and Athenaeus 4, 183f, and 14, 634a. Cf. H. KORTENBEUTEL, *Der ägyptische Süd- und Osthandel in der Politik der Ptolemäer und römischen Kaiser*, Ph.D., Berlin, 1931, p. 28.

[74] *Indica, Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker* 273 F 136 = Herodianus graecus 1, 143; 2, 592; 2, 881; Stephanus of Byzantium, *Ethnica, s. v.* Τοπάζιος. Cf. *Orphei lithica kerygmata,* 8.

[75] Due to the vague geographical notion the Ancients had of the Red Sea and the world beyond, this is probably not an Indian island, but the Ὀφιώδης island, now commonly identified as St. John's Island or Zeberged in the Red Sea, which was also the location of an Egyptian serpent story (cf. the article of WAINWRIGHT). WARMINGTON, p. 253 believes that peridot was exported from Egypt to India.

of Xenocrates of Ephesus (I[st] c. A.D.) which Ambrosius (IVth c. A.D.) adopted in his exegesis[76]. Here the precious stone is said to be found in Alabastron in the Thebais or on the island Τόπαζος. It came hence when a certain Philo bought it from Arab merchants as a gift for Berenice, the mother of Ptolemaeus II[77]. These exegeses establish an interest in the τοπάζιον island and stone because of the psalm verses (ut infra).

Michael Psellus refers twice to the τοπάζιον, once contradictory to the Agatharchidean-Diodorean tradition that the stone is dyed red with sunrise and darkens in the evening (*Opusculum theologicum* 1, ll. 110-112), but in *Opusculum philosophicum* 34, ll. 99-104 following this very tradition in his description of the stone. In the latter text Psellus displays more verbal concordances with Diodorus and the *Florilegium* than with Photius or Strabo, but since it establishes its independence from Diodorus in the parenthesis of l. 101 and in ll. 102-104, we can deduce that the concordances merely establish that Diodorus – and the *Florilegium* for that matter – offers the more conservative reading on these points and that Psellus represents yet another branch of our tradition:

> Τοπάζιον λίθος ἐστὶ διαφανής, ὑέλῳ[78] παρεμφερής· φύεται δὲ εἰς τὸν Ἀραβικὸν λεγόμενον κόλπον ἔν τινι πελαγίᾳ νήσῳ. Καὶ ἡμέρας μὲν οὐχ ὁρᾶται – κρύπτει γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὸ φέγγος ὁ ἥλιος –, νυκτὸς δὲ διαλάμπει πόρρωθεν. Καὶ τραχὺς μὲν εὑρίσκεται καὶ ἀνώμαλος, τεχνικοῖς δὲ ὀργάνοις λεαίνεται. Οὗτος μαινομένους ἀποκαθίστησι τριβεὶς καὶ ποθείς, δρᾷ δὲ τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ περίαπτος.
>
> A short comparison: διαφανής in Psellus and Strabo (Diodorus 3, 39, 5 and Photius have διαφαινόμενος); παρεμφερής in Psellus and Diodorus 3, 39, 5 (Photius has προσεμφερής); φύεται in Psellus (cf. Diodorus 3, 39, 8: φυόμενος); εἰς τὸν Ἀραβικὸν λεγόμενον κόλπον in Psellus and in our anthology (something similar in Diodorus 3, 38, 4: ὁ δὲ προσαγορευόμενος Ἀράβιος κόλπος); ἔν τινι πελαγίᾳ νήσῳ in Psellus (cf. Diodorus 3, 39, 4: κεῖται νῆσος πελαγία; Photius has νῆσος ἔκκειται, τῇ μὲν θέσει πελαγία); οὐχ ὁρᾶται in Psellus and Diodorus 3, 39, 8 (Photius has οὐ γίνεται σύνδηλος, and Strabo οὐ ῥᾴδιον ἰδεῖν ἔστι); νυκτὸς δὲ διαλάμπει πόρρωθεν in Psellus (cf. Diodorus 3, 39, 8: τῆς δὲ νυκτὸς ... διαλάμπει καὶ πόρρωθεν δῆλός ἐστιν ...; Photius has ... διαλάμπει πάντοθεν).

In conclusion, let us return to the *Florilegium Coislinianum* and ask ourselves why this pagan fragment has been quoted in a sea of Christian lemmas.

As mentioned earlier, we meet but a few fragments with pagan flavour in the *Florilegium*. Since there is no systemic approach to the inclusion of these fragments, a Christian interest must have inspired the compiler's motivation for their individual inclusion[79]. That this interest was real, is apparent from the following.

Earlier we touched upon a mention of the τοπάζιον in the Septuagint's Psalm 118, 126-127: Καιρὸς τοῦ ποιῆσαι τῷ Κυρίῳ· διεσκέδασαν τὸν νόμον σου. Διὰ τοῦτο ἠγάπησα τὸν νόμον σου, ὑπὲρ χρυσίον καὶ τοπάζιον[80], and saw that these psalm verses sparked an interest in the origin of this precious stone in the exegesis by Origenes and Ambrosius[81].

Secondly, τοπάζιον takes the second place in enumerations of precious stones[82] since the Septuagint (*Exodus* 28, 17; 36, 17; *Ezechiel* 28, 13), for instance in Epiphanius' *De gemmis* which is structured after *Exodus'* description of the twelve gems worn by the high priest Aaron and linked to the twelve tribes of Israel. Although Epiphanius' account of the τοπάζιον has scarcely anything in common with Diodorus, the *Florilegium Coislinianum* or the tradition sketched above and appears to be speaking of another stone altogether (red-hued and queried in the Indian city of Topaze), this treatise establishes an interest to document the properties of the gems of the high priest[83].

[76] Cf. R. CADIOU, *L'Île Topaze. Le fragment du «Lithognomon» de Xénocrate d'Éphèse*, in *Mélanges offerts à A.-M. Desrousseaux par ses amis et ses élèves en l'honneur de sa cinquantième année d'enseignement supérieur (1887-1937)*, Paris, 1937, pp. 27-33; A. SCOTT, *Origen's Use of Xenocrates of Ephesus*, in *VigChr*, 45 (1991), pp. 278-285. Origenes' text has come down to us by a complex transmission, firstly in a lemma in the *Catena Palestinensis* on Psalm 118, 126-127 (cf. R. DEVREESSE, *Les anciens commentateurs grecs des Psaumes* [*ST*, 264], Città del Vaticano, 1970, pp. 67-68; M. HARL and G. DORIVAL, *La chaîne palestinienne sur le psaume 118 [Origène, Eusèbe, Didyme, Apollinaire, Athanase, Théodoret]*, II [*SC*, 190], Paris, 1972, pp. 712-713), secondly in two other recensions, one incomplete (edited by J. B. PITRA, *Analecta sacra Spicilegio Solesmeni parata*, II, Tusculum, 1884, pp. 341-342: *Seniores Alexandrini*, fr. 8) and the other longer but unfortunately corrupt (edited by CADIOU), and at last indirectly through Ambrosius, *Expositio Psalmi* 118, 41-42. F. BÜCHELER, *Zwei Gewährsmänner des Plinius*, in *RM*, 40 (1885), pp. 304-307 has shown that Plinius, *Historia Naturalis* 37, 109 used Xenocrates too.

[77] Plinius, *Historia Naturalis* 37, 108 attributes the same information to Juba (*Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker* 275 F 75).

[78] The Hellenistic variant ὕελος is also used, as we have seen, in our anthology, l. 9 (in the manuscripts *A D EG*).

[79] Likewise, it has been shown that the fragment from Porphyrius in Book Kappa has been excerpted from the Christian context of Cyril of Alexandria (see note 2).

[80] The Hebrew text uses the word *paz* (often translated as 'fine gold'). Similarly Psalm 18, 11 reads ἐπιθυμητὰ ὑπὲρ χρυσίον καὶ λίθον τίμιον πολὺν (Hebrew: *paz*).

[81] Other commentators (John Chrysostomus, Theodoretus, Hesychius of Jerusalem, Petrus Lombardus) also pay some attention to the τοπάζιον, and ὑπὲρ χρυσίον καὶ τοπάζιον is referenced by Ephraem Syrus, *De panoplia ad monachos*, p. 36; Eustratius, *Vita Eutychii* l. 15; Germanus I, *Historia ecclesiastica* 13; etc..

[82] The traditional sequence goes σάρδιον, τοπάζιον, σμάραγδος, ἄνθραξ, σάπφειρος, ἴασπις, λιγύριον, ἀχάτης, ἀμέθυστος, χρυσόλιθος, βηρύλλιον, ὀνύχιον.

[83] For the transmission and tradition of *De gemmis*, which betrays an interest in these precious stones as well, see J.-M. NIETO IBÁÑEZ, *A Greek Epitome of Saint Epiphanius'* De Gemmis *in Two Spanish Libraries (National Library and El Escorial)*, in *Mus*, 120 (2007), pp. 78-80. See also Origenes' commentary on the psalm verses, which concludes with an allegorical interpretation of the precious stone based on the *Exodus* passage (cf. HARL - DORIVAL, p. 713).

In addition John the Evangelist counts the τοπάζιον among the twelve precious stones with which the walls of the Holy City of New Jerusalem are adorned (*Apocalypse* 21, 20).

To conclude, there are several reasons why the compiler could have considered Diodorus' account valuable from a Christian point of view and worthy of inclusion in the *Florilegium Coislinianum*.

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SUMMARY

As part of ongoing research into the byzantine *Florilegium Coislinianum* at the University of Leuven this paper presents a critical edition of a lemma adopted from the historian Diodorus Siculus. It offers a description of the 'Snake Island' and the τοπάζιον stone (our peridot) that was found and mined on the island. The surprising inclusion of this pagan fragment in a sea of Christian lemmas is testimony to the Christian interest in the origin and properties of the precious stone.

IMAGING ISAAK KOMNENOS OF CYPRUS (1184-1191) AND THE CYPRIOTS: EVIDENCE FROM THE LATIN HISTORIOGRAPHY OF THE THIRD CRUSADE*

In July 1190 King Philip II of France (1180-1223) and King Richard I of England (1189-1199) departed from Vézelay on the Third Crusade.[1] The two sovereigns separated in Lyon, and were reunited in September at Messina in Sicily, where they wintered. On 30 March 1191 Philip set sail for Acre, where he arrived on 20 April. Richard, who sailed on 10 April, reached Palestine only on 6 June. The delay of the king of England was due in part to his conquering the island of Cyprus.[2]

Cyprus had formed part of the Byzantine Empire until 1184, when Isaak Komnenos, a member of the former imperial dynasty, proclaimed himself emperor and ruled the island independently.[3] On 12 April 1191 a storm

* In this study, the term 'Latin historiography' denotes texts written by Latins, i.e., authors who unequivocally accepted the ultimate authority of Rome in spiritual matters. Whereas a number of these Latin historians wrote in Latin, others composed their works in Old French. – This paper is dedicated to the memory of Filomena Coccaro Andreou. A special thank to Jerry Mulvihill for proofreading this manuscript.

[1] For the Third Crusade in general, see P. LOCK, *The Routledge Companion to the Crusades*, Abingdon, 2006, pp. 151-155; H. E. MAYER, *The Crusades*, translated by J. GILLINGHAM, 2nd ed., Oxford, 1988, pp. 137-149; J. RILEY-SMITH, *The Crusades: a Short History*, London, 1987, pp. 109-118; S. RUNCIMAN, *A History of the Crusades*, 3 vols., Cambridge, 1951, III, pp. 3-75; C. TYERMAN, *God's War: A New History of the Crusades*, Oxford, 2006, pp. 375-474; T. F. MADDEN, *The New Concise History of the Crusades*, Lanham – Oxford, 2005, pp. 79-95; S. PAINTER, *The Third Crusade: Richard the Lionhearted and Philip Augustus*, in K. M. SETTON (ed.), *A History of the Crusades*, 2nd ed., II, Madison – London, 1969, pp. 45-85; J. GILLINGHAM, *Richard I*, London, 1999, pp. 123-221; J. FLORI, *Richard the Lionheart: King and Knight*, translated by J. BIRRELL, Edinburgh, 2006, pp. 63-154.

[2] For Richard's conquest of Cyprus, see TYERMAN, *God's War*, pp. 443-446; PAINTER, *The Third Crusade*, pp. 62-64; GILLINGHAM, *Richard*, pp. 140-154; E. C. FURBER, *The Kingdom of Cyprus, 1191-1291*, in SETTON (ed.), *A History of the Crusades*, pp. 599-602; FLORI, *Richard*, pp. 113-118; P. W. EDBURY, *The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades, 1191-1374*, Cambridge, 1991, pp. 5-12; W. H. RUDT DE COLLENBERG, *L'Empereur Isaac de Chypre et sa Fille, 1155-1207*, in *Byz*, 38 (1968), pp. 147-151; A. NICOLAOU-KONNARI, *The Conquest of Cyprus by Richard the Lionheart and Its Aftermath: a Study of Sources and Legend, Politics and Attitudes in the Year 1191-1192*, in *Επετηρίδα του Κέντρου Επιστημονικών Ερευνών*, 26 (2000), pp. 39-59; P. A. GIANNOPOULOS, *Το εφήμερο βασίλειο του Ισαακίου Κομνηνού Δούκα: Εποποιΐα ή τυχοδιωκτισμός; [The ephemeral kingdom of Isaak Komnenos Doukas: Epopee or adventure?]*, in *Ιστορικά Θέματα*, 13 (December 2002), pp. 12-13.

[3] RUNCIMAN, *Crusades*, p. 43; COLLENBERG, *L'Empereur Isaac de Chypre*, pp. 123-147; M. ANGOLD, *The Byzantine Empire, 1025-1204: a Political History*, 2nd ed., London, 1997, pp. 308-309; M. ANGOLD, *The Road to 1204: The Byzantine Background to the Fourth*

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scattered the fleet of Richard of England while it was sailing to Palestine. Some of Richard's ships were driven to the coast of Cyprus and two or three of them were wrecked off Limassol on 24 April. Isaak immediately robbed and imprisoned the crusaders who were cast on his shore. Upon entering the harbour of Limassol on 6 May, Richard sent an embassy demanding that the ruler of Cyprus liberate the prisoners and return their belongings. Isaak refused and consequently the king of England landed with his men. A fight took place and the army of the ruler of Cyprus was defeated and fled. The following day Richard attacked the camp of Isaak, who once again took flight together with his men. On 11 May the Byzantine ruler decided to negotiate a peace settlement with Richard. He swore an oath of allegiance to the king of England and agreed to pay a large sum of money in compensation for the crusaders who had been ill-treated and send a body of troops under Richard's command to the Holy Land. Richard was to hold Isaak's castles in pledge. Towards evening, however, the ruler of Cyprus left abruptly. Consequently the fleet and land forces of the king of England proceeded to the conquest of the island.

The majority of modern scholars accept Richard's conquest of Cyprus in 1191 as an incidental episode of the Third Crusade.[4] Some commentators, however, have questioned the accidental aspect of the conquest, claiming that 'the conquest of Cyprus must have been in Richard's mind from the outset'.[5] This view is not adequately supported by the evidence: the primary sources unanimously agree that the king of England proceeded to a conquest of Cyprus only after he had been provoked. How far one gives credence to the thesis that Richard I's original intent was to capture the island on his way to Palestine partly depends on the degree to which one subscribes to 'conspiracy theory' explanations of historical causation. Even if we accept, for the sake of argument, that Richard had plans to intervene in Cyprus and Isaak's maltreatment of the shipwrecked crusaders gave him an excuse to do so, the evidence clearly demonstrates that the king of England's initial intention was not to conquer Cyprus but to make the ruler of the island his vassal. It was Isaak's subsequent breaking of his oath of fealty to Richard that prompted the king of England to conquer Cyprus. Whether

Crusade, in *Journal of Medieval History*, 25 (1999), p. 276; J. HARRIS, *Byzantium and the Crusades*, London, 2003, pp. 141-142; EDBURY, *Kingdom of Cyprus*, pp. 3-4; GIANNOPOULOS, *Το εφήμερο βασίλειο του Ισαακίου Κομνηνού*, pp. 10-11.

[4] RILEY-SMITH, *Crusades*, p. 114; RUNCIMAN, *Crusades*, pp. 43-47; PAINTER, *The Third Crusade*, pp. 62-64; FLORI, *Richard*, pp. 113-118; MADDEN, *New Concise History*, p. 87; TYERMAN, *God's War*, p. 446.

[5] J. O. PRESTWICH, *Richard Coeur de Lion: Rex Bellicosus*, in J. L. NELSON (ed.), *Richard Cœur de Lion in History and Myth*, London, 1992, p. 9; GILLINGHAM, *Richard*, pp. 145, 153-154; NICOLAOU-KONNARI, *Conquest of Cyprus*, p. 38.

or not an intervention in Cyprus had been planned from the outset by Richard is an intriguing question but is outside the scope of this paper. The purpose of this article is to examine the image of Isaak Komnenos and the people of Cyprus in the contemporary Latin historiography of the Third Crusade and investigate how the conquest of the island was viewed and remembered in Latin narratives and accounts.

SOURCES

Before analysing the evidence, a brief survey of the primary sources investigated in this essay is essential given the complexity and obscurity of some of them. The Old French poem *Estoire de la guerre sainte* is the account commonly acclaimed by modern scholars as 'the best source for the crusade of Richard'.[6] This precious eyewitness narrative of the Third Crusade was composed towards the end of the twelfth century by the Norman Ambroise, whose primary concern was to recite the *gestes* of his king, Richard. M. Ailes and M. Barber have recently challenged the belief traditionally held by scholars that Ambroise was a 'jongleur' or a professional poet, suggesting rather that he was a cleric in King Richard's train. What is most important is that he was an eyewitness and participant in the events he describes.[7]

The Latin prose chronicle *Itinerarium peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi* is probably the most controversial account of the Third Crusade. This work, published by W. Stubbs in 1864 and translated by H. J. Nicholson as recently as 1997, is a compilation of several accounts, including primarily a Latin translation of Ambroise's *Estoire* and an account known as *Itinerarium peregrinorum*, published by H. E. Mayer in 1962.[8] The

[6] Ambroise, *The Crusade of Richard Lion-Heart*, translated by M. J. HUBERT and J. L. LA MONTE, New York, 1941, p. 22.

[7] Ambroise, *The History of the Holy War*, edited by M. AILES and M. BARBER, and translated by M. AILES, 2 vols., Woodbridge, 2003 (vol. I: Old French poem, vol. II: English translation). For Ambroise, see *ibidem*, II, pp. 1-3, 12-13, 16, 19; Ambroise, *Crusade of Richard Lion-Heart*, pp. 3-5, 18-19, 22-25; A. GRANSDEN, *Historical Writing in England, c.550 to c.1307*, London, 1974, pp. 238-239; NICOLAOU-KONNARI, *Conquest of Cyprus*, pp. 29-30.

[8] *Das Itinerarium peregrinorum. Eine zeitgenössische englische Chronik zum dritten Kreuzzug in ursprünglicher Gestalt*, edited by H. E. Mayer (*MGH Schriften*, XVIII), Stuttgart, 1962; Richard de Templo, *Itinerarium peregrinorum et gesta Regis Ricardi*, in W. STUBBS (ed.), *Chronicles and Memorials of the Reign of Richard I* (*Rolls Series*, XXXVIII), 2 vols., London, 1864-1865, I; Richard de Templo, *Chronicle of the Third Crusade: a translation of the Itinerarium peregrinorum et gesta Regis Ricardi*, translated by H. J. NICHOLSON, Aldershot, 1997.

Itinerarium peregrinorum, which breaks off in November 1190, was composed between 1 August 1191 and 2 September 1192 by an anonymous author, possibly an English crusader cleric, in Tyre, while the *Itinerarium peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi* was compiled between 1217 and 1222 by Richard de Templo, prior of the Augustinian priory of Holy Trinity in London from 1222 to 1248/50. Richard may well have taken part in the Third Crusade and his chronicle is generally regarded by modern researchers as a reliable account of the expedition.[9]

The English chronicler and royal clerk Roger of Howden (d. 1201), author of the *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi et Ricardi Primi* and a *Chronica*, accompanied King Richard on the Third Crusade to the Holy Land. Therefore, the chronicler's narrative of the events from August 1190 to 25 August 1191, when he left for the West in the entourage of Philip II, is considered to be reliable and accurate.[10] Apart from the eye-witness narratives, a number of English contemporary or near contemporary sources contain second-hand, yet important, material on Richard's crusading expedition. Ralph of Diceto (d. 1199/1200), dean of St Paul's Cathedral, London, and author of the *Ymagines Historiarum*, was provided information by his chaplain who participated in the crusade.[11] William (d. c. 1198), a canon of the Augustinian priory of Newburgh, also appears to have had access to information of a high level of reliability, which he included in his *Historia Rerum Anglicarum*.[12] Similarly, the account of King Richard's crusade

[9] For Richard de Templo, see Richard de Templo, *Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, pp. 6-15; GRANSDEN, *Historical Writing*, pp. 239-242; NICOLAOU-KONNARI, *Conquest of Cyprus*, pp. 29-30; Ambroise, *Holy War*, II, pp. 13-14.

[10] Roger of Howden, *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi et Ricardi Primi*, edited by W. STUBBS (*Rolls Series*, XLIX), 2 vols., London, 1867; Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, edited by W. STUBBS (*Rolls Series*, LI), 4 vols., London, 1868-1871; Roger of Howden, *The Annals of Roger de Hoveden*, translated by H.T. RILEY, 2 vols., London, 1853. For Roger of Howden, see J. GILLINGHAM, *Roger of Howden*, in A. V. MURRAY (ed.), *The Crusades: an Encyclopedia*, 4 vols., Santa Barbara, California – Oxford, 2006, IV, p. 1046; D. M. STENTON, *Roger of Howden and Benedict*, in *English Historical Review*, 68 (1953), pp. 574-582; J. GILLINGHAM, *Roger of Howden on Crusade*, in J. GILLINGHAM (ed.), *Richard Cœur de Lion: Kingship, Chivalry, and War in the Twelfth Century*, London, 1994, pp. 143, 148; Richard de Templo, *Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, p. 2; NICOLAOU-KONNARI, *Conquest of Cyprus*, p. 31; Ambroise, *Holy War*, II, p. 14.

[11] Ralph of Diceto, *Opera Historica*, edited by W. STUBBS (*Rolls Series*, LXVIII), 2 vols., London, 1876. For Ralph of Diceto, see H. NICHOLSON, *Ralph of Diceto*, in MURRAY (ed.), *The Crusades: an Encyclopedia*, IV, pp. 1002-1003; Richard de Templo, *Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, p. 2; NICOLAOU-KONNARI, *Conquest of Cyprus*, p. 31; Ambroise, *Holy War*, II, p. 15; GRANSDEN, *Historical Writing*, pp. 230-236.

[12] William of Newburgh, *Historia Rerum Anglicarum*, in R. HOWLETT (ed.), *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I* (*Rolls Series*, LXXXII), 4 vols., London, 1884-1889, I. For William of Newburgh, see GRANSDEN, *Historical Writing*, pp. 263-268; NICOLAOU-KONNARI, *Conquest of Cyprus*, p. 31.

preserved in the *Cronicon de Tempore Regis Richardi Primi* of Richard of Devizes, a monk at St Swithin's, Winchester, was based on information obtained from several participants.[13] This is also true for the narrative of King Richard's conquest of Cyprus found in the *Chronicon Anglicanum* and authored by Ralph (d. after 1227), abbot of the Cistercian abbey of Coggeshall in Essex.[14] An interesting account of the king of England's takeover of the island is also preserved in the *Chronica* of Gervase (d. soon after 1210), a monk of Christ Church, Canterbury. By 1193 Gervase was the sacrist of Christ Church, holding office until sometime before 1197. His *Chronica*, begun in or soon after 1188, represents a history of Christ Church set against a background of general history, from the time of St Augustine until 1199.[15] Related to this group of English sources is a Latin Continuation of the *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum* of William of Tyre (d. 1186), the most eminent historian of the Latin East. The Latin Continuation was produced in England c. 1220. Its anonymous author drew on the *Itinerarium*, Roger of Howden, and William of Newburgh, but also had access to information that was independent of them and directly originated in the Latin East.[16]

Apart from the English sources, Richard's conquest of Cyprus was recorded by a number of Continental French and German contemporary chroniclers. While some of them refer to it very briefly, others, who are discussed in this paper, provide more information, yet their accounts are not as detailed as those of their English counterparts. The French chroniclers are Andreas of Marchiennes (d. 1202), Guido de Bazoches (d. 1203), Robert of Auxerre (d. 1211), William the Breton (d. post 1226), the anonymous monastic chronicler of Laon, and the anonymous compiler of the vernacular prose *Chronicles of Normandy*. The prolific historian Andreas was a monk

[13] Richard of Devizes, *Chronicle of the time of King Richard the First*, edited and translated by J. T. APPLEBY, London, 1963. For Richard of Devizes, see H. NICHOLSON, *Richard of Devizes*, in MURRAY (ed.), *The Crusades: an Encyclopedia*, IV, p. 1035; Richard de Templo, *Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, p. 2; NICOLAOU-KONNARI, *Conquest of Cyprus*, p. 31; Ambroise, *Holy War*, II, pp. 13-14; GRANSDEN, *Historical Writing*, pp. 248-252.

[14] Ralph of Coggeshall, *Chronicon Anglicanum*, edited by J. STEVENSON (*Rolls Series*, LXVI), London, 1875. For Ralph of Coggeshall, see B.E. Whalen, *Ralph of Coggeshall*, in MURRAY (ed.), *The Crusades: an Encyclopedia*, IV, p. 1002; Richard de Templo, *Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, p. 2; NICOLAOU-KONNARI, *Conquest of Cyprus*, p. 31; Ambroise, *Holy War*, II, p. 14; GRANSDEN, *Historical Writing*, pp. 322-331.

[15] Gervase of Canterbury, *The Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury*, edited by W. STUBBS (*Rolls Series*, LXXIII), 2 vols., London, 1879-1880, I. For Gervase of Canterbury, see GRANSDEN, *Historical Writing*, pp. 253-260.

[16] *Die lateinische Fortsetzung Wilhelms von Tyrus*, edited by M. SALLOCH, Leipzig, 1934. For the Latin Continuation, see B. HAMILTON, *The Leper King and His Heirs: Baldwin IV and the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem*, Cambridge, 2000, pp. 12-13.

of Anchin in Flanders and provost of the Benedictine abbey of Marchiennes in Hainaut. Between 1184 and 1196, he composed his *Historia succincta de gestis et successione regum Francorum* at the request of Bishop Peter of Arras.[17] In his *Historia*, Andreas refers only briefly to Richard's conquest of Cyprus in the context of the purchase of the island by Guy de Lusignan in 1192. However, a most detailed account of the event is preserved in the continuation of the chronicle of Sigebert of Gembloux, housed at the monastery of Anchin, which, as recently argued, was authored by Andreas as well[18] – passages used verbatim in the two texts also points to this conclusion, suggesting that Andreas's reference to the conquest of Cyprus in his *Historia* is an abridgment of the account preserved in his continuation of Sigebert's chronicle. Guido de Bazoches, a canon of the church of Châlons-sur-Marne, was a scion of a noble Champenois family and one of the foremost Latin authors of Champagne. In 1190 he accompanied King Richard's nephew, Henry II of Champagne (1181-1197), on the Third Crusade to Palestine, returning home only in 1203, the year of his death. His *Cronosgraphia*, a world chronicle which represents his most important work, was composed at the end of his life.[19] Quotations from Guido's *Cronosgraphia*, including his account of the conquest of Cyprus by the king of England, were inserted in the chronicle of the later historian of Champagne, Alberic (d. ca. 1252), a Cistercian monk of the abbey of Trois-Fontaines at Chalônsur-Marne in Champagne.[20] Robert was a monk at the Premonstratensian house of Saint-Marien of Auxerre. His *Chronicon* is characterised by a high degree of reliability and, while dating to the 1200s, was mainly compiled from twelfth-century original sources.[21] William the Breton, who, as his name indicates, was from Brittany, studied at Mantes and Paris, and enjoyed

[17] Andreas of Marchiennes, *Historia succincta de gestis et successione regum Francorum*, edited by G. WAITZ (*MGH Scriptores*, XXVI), Hanover, 1882, pp. 205-212.

[18] Andreas of Marchiennes, *Continuatio Aquicinctina Sigeberti Gemblacensis*, edited by D. L. C. BETHMANN (*MGH Scriptores*, VI), Hanover, 1844, pp. 405-438. For Andreas of Marchiennes, see L. SHOPKOW, 'Introduction', in Lambert of Ardres, *The History of the Counts of Guines and Lords of Ardres*, translated by L. SHOPKOW, Philadelphia, 2001, p. 21.

[19] J. F. BENTON, *The Court of Champagne as a Literary Center*, in *Speculum*, 36 (1961), pp. 572-573, 586; T. A. P. KLEIN, *Editing the Chronicle of Gui de Bazoches*, in *The Journal of Medieval Latin*, 3 (1993), pp. 27-33; A. PUTTER, *Knights and Clerics at the court of Champagne: Chrétien de Troyes's Romances in Context*, in S. D. CHURCH – R. E. HARVEY (eds.), *Medieval Knighthood. Papers form the Sixth Strawberry Hill Conference 1994*, Woodbridge – Suffolk, 1995, pp. 258-259.

[20] Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, *Chronicon*, edited by P. SCHEFFER-BOICHORST (*MGH Scriptores*, XXIII), Hanover, 1874, pp. 631-950.

[21] Robert of Auxerre, *Chronicon*, edited by O. HOLDER-EGGER (*MGH Scriptores*, XXVI), Hanover, 1882, pp. 219-276. For the work of Robert of Auxerre, see C. NEEL, *Man's Restoration: Robert of Auxerre and the Writing of History in the Early Thirteenth Century*, in *Traditio*, 44 (1988), pp. 259, 274.

a high reputation as a scholar. Having joined the court of France, he rapidly gained royal favour, eventually becoming royal chaplain to Philip II. His *Philippide*, a Latin poem celebrating Philip, was presented to Phillip's son, the French King Louis VIII (1223-1226) in 1224.[22] With regard to the anonymous monastic author of Laon in Picardy, not much is known other than that he composed his chronicle in the 1210s,[23] while the anonymous chronicler of the Old French *Chronicles of Normandy* seems to have also compiled his work in the early thirteenth century.[24]

The pro-Angevin sympathies of some areas of France, such as Flanders and Champagne, as well as more direct contacts between the French Kingdom and the Kingdom of England may well account for French interest in Richard's conquest of Cyprus. The German sources referring to the event, however, are even scarcer than the French. A reference to the capture of Cyprus by the king of England is found in the second recension of the *Historia de expeditione Friderici imperatoris*, the most important eyewitness account of the German expedition of the Third Crusade. The first draft of the *Historia* was compiled sometime between 1190 and 1195 in the Passau region on the Bavarian-Austrian border. In 1197, this first recension began being reworked by a new compiler, possibly in the monastery of the Holy Cross (Stift Heiligenkreuz) in the Vienna Woods in Austria, the second compiler also adding an account of the English and French expeditions of the Third Crusade to the end of the first draft.[25] Richard's takeover of Cyprus is also mentioned by the German chronicler Arnold (d. 1211), abbot of the monastery of St John at Lübeck. Arnold's work, covering the period 1172 to 1209, was written, or at least completed, in 1209 and represents a continuation of the *Chronica Slavorum* of Helmold of Bosau.[26]

[22] William the Breton, *Philippide* in *Œuvres de Rigord et de Guillaume le Breton*, edited by H. F. DELABORDE, (*Societe de l'Histoire de France*), 2 vols., Paris, 1882-1885, II. For William the Breton, see G. M. SPIEGEL, *The Chronicle Tradition of Saint-Denis: a Survey*, Brookline, MA, 1978, pp. 63-68; G. DUBY, *France in the Middle Ages 987-1469: from Hugh Capet to Jean of Arc*, translated by J. VALE, Oxford, 1991, p. 223.

[23] Anonymous of Laon, *Ex Chronico Anonymi Laudunensis Canonici*, edited by L. V. DELISLE (*Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France*, XVIII), Paris, 1878, pp. 702-720. For the Anonymous of Laon, see F. ANDREWS, *The Early Humiliati*, Cambridge, 1999, p. 39.

[24] *Ex chronicis Normanniae*, edited by O. HOLDER-EGGER (*MGH Scriptores*, XXVI), Hanover, 1882, pp. 702-703.

[25] *Historia de expeditione Friderici imperatoris*, in A. CHROUST (ed.), *Quellen zur Geschichte des Kreuzzuges Kaiser Friedrichs I* (*MHG Scriptores rerum Germanicarum, nova series*, V), Berlin, 1928, pp. 1-115; *The Crusade of Frederick Barbarossa: The History of the Expedition of the Emperor Frederick and Related Texts*, translated by G.A. LOUD, Surrey – Burlington, Vt., 2010, pp. 33-134. For the anonymous compilers of the first and second recensions of the *Historia de expeditione Friderici imperatoris*, see *History of the Expedition*, pp. 1-7.

[26] Arnold of Lübeck, *Chronica Slavorum*, edited by J. M. LAPPENBERG (*MGH Scriptores*, XXI), Hanover, 1869, pp. 100-250.

The chronicles from the Latin East that will be explored are the Old French text known by its nineteenth-century title as *La Chronique d'Ernoul et de Bernard le Trésorier*, and the Colbert-Fontainebleau and the Lyon-Florence Continuations of William of Tyre. The *Chronique d'Ernoul* extends from the early days of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem up to 1227 or 1231, depending on the manuscript – eight medieval manuscripts of the text survive.[27] Peter Edbury recently argued that the surviving versions of this text were put together in the late 1220s and early 1230s, even though the original text on which the later versions were based seems to have been composed by a squire of Balian of Ibelin (d. 1193) in the late 1180s.[28] The part of the *Chronique d'Ernoul* covering the period from 1184 to 1231 was more widely disseminated than the rest of the text, since 41 out of a total of 45 manuscripts containing the Old French Continuation of William of Tyre preserve an account that is virtually identical to it. What actually happened is that the material from before 1184 was jettisoned, while the text covering the period from 1184 to 1231 was appended at the end of the French translation of William's work which, as the original Latin text, ends in 1184.[29] In the late 1230s or early 1240s, an author in the Latin *Outremer* took this continuation and made several amendments to it. This revised text will henceforth be referred to as the *revised Old French Continuation*. Edbury has argued that the revised text represents what is today known as the Colbert-Fontainebleau Continuation of William of Tyre.[30] This thesis, however, is problematic. It seems that it was further revisions and expansions to the *revised Old French Continuation* – less than a decade after its production – that generated, on the one hand, the Lyon-Florence Continuation, which survives in two manuscripts, and on the other, the Colbert-Fontainebleau Continuation, which also has come down to us in two manuscripts.[31] The

[27] *La Chronique d'Ernoul et de Bernard le Trésorier*, edited by L. DE MAS LATRIE, Paris, 1871.

[28] P. W. EDBURY, *New Perspectives on the Old French Continuations of William of Tyre*, in *Crusades*, 6 (2010), pp. 108-109; *IDEM*, *The Lyon Eracles and the Old French Continuations of William of Tyre*, in B. Z. KEDAR – J. RILEY-SMITH – R. HIESTAND (eds.), *Montjoie: Studies in Crusade History in Honour of Hans Eberhard Mayer*, London, 1994, p. 143.

[29] EDBURY, *Lyon Eracles*, pp. 139-140; *IDEM*, *New Perspectives*, p. 108.

[30] EDBURY, *Lyon Eracles*, pp. 140-141, 143; *IDEM*, *New Perspectives*, pp. 110-111.

[31] For an edition of the Colbert-Fontainebleau Continuation, see *L'estoire de Eracles empereur et la conqueste de la terre d'Outremer* (*Recueil des Historiens des Croisades: Historiens Occidentaux*, II), Paris, 1859. For an edition of the Lyon-Florence Continuation, see *La Continuation de Guillaume de Tyr (1184-1197)*, edited by M.R. MORGAN (*Documents relatifs à l'historie des croisades*, XIV), Paris, 1982. For a translation of the Lyon Continuation for the period 1184-1197, see P.W. EDBURY, *The Conquest of Jerusalem and the Third Crusade: Sources in Translation*, Aldershot, 1996. For a translation of book 25, paragraphs XXII-XXVI of the Colbert-Fontainebleau Continuation, see EDBURY, *Sources in Translation*, pp. 176-178.

fact that the first and second halves of the Colbert-Fontainebleau Continuation adopt a completely different attitude towards Isaak of Cyprus and the Greeks testifies to the fact that they were not the work of the same author.[32] The first half is hostile to Isaak and the Greeks of Cyprus. This part of the text was the work of the author of the *revised Old French Continuator* and was also copied by the Lyon-Florence Continuator, who expanded it, adopting an even more hostile attitude towards the Greeks. In contrast, the author of the Colbert-Fontainebleau Continuation expanded the *revised Old French Continuation* taking a much more neutral stance towards Isaak and the Greeks.

ISAAK KOMNENOS OF CYPRUS

In his monumental *Historia*, the historian of *Outremer* William of Tyre acknowledged that Cyprus 'had always been useful (*utilem*) and friendly (*amicam*) to our realm [the Kingdom of Jerusalem]'.[33] This testimony is corroborated by Ambroise, who recounts that 'the well-endowed island of Cyprus… used to bring it [the Kingdom of Jerusalem] much aid'.[34] However, as the Norman author claims, since Isaak Komnenos seized control of Cyprus, the island 'did nothing on its behalf'.[35] Ambroise denounces the Byzantine ruler as 'a false (*faus*) and perfidious (*failli*) emperor', and makes a pun on *empereur* (= emperor) and *empireur*, a word which the writer forms from the verb *empirer* (= harm).[36] Isaak is further vilified by the author of the *Estoire* as 'a tyrant (*tirant*) who leaned only towards evil'.[37] The accusation of tyranny was the worst that could be made against a ruler. This charge, it should be noted, was not uncommon in twelfth-century Europe. Several twelfth-century Christian rulers, including Alexios I (1081-1118), Roger II (1130-1154), Frederick I (1152-1190), Tancred of Lecce

[32] First half: book 25, paragraph XVII–line 10 of paragraph XXII (pp. 159-163 of the *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades* edition of the Colbert-Fontainebleau Continuation); second half: book 25, line 11 of paragraph XXII–paragraph XXVI (pp. 163-169 of the edition of the Colbert-Fontainebleau Continuation).

[33] Guillaume de Tyr, *Chronique*, edited by R. B. C. HUYGENS (*Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio Mediaevalis*, LXIII-LXIIIA), 2 vols., Turnhout, 1986, LXIIIA, p. 824; William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, translated by E. A. BABCOCK and A. C. KREY, 2 vols., New York, 1943, II, p. 253.

[34] Ambroise, *Holy War*, II, p. 50.

[35] *Ibidem*.

[36] Ambroise, *Holy War*, I, pp. 23 (verses 1392-1393), 25 (verse 1559); *ibidem*, II, p. 53. On the *Estoire* as literature, see *ibidem*, II, pp. 20-23.

[37] Ambroise, *Holy War*, I, p. 23 (verses 1382-1383); *ibidem*, II, p. 50.

(1189-1194), and Henry VI (1190-1197), had been denounced as tyrants by their contemporaries.[38]

Isaak of Cyprus is damned by Ambroise as 'more treacherous (*plus traïtor*) and more evil (*plus felon*) than Judas or Ganelon',[39] the two arch-traitors in the New Testament and the *Chanson de Roland* respectively, who were seen by Christians in the Middle Ages as the archetypal traitors and used as yardsticks by which to judge, and denounce, contemporaries guilty of treason.[40] Since Isaak had supposedly assured initially the safety of the shipwrecked crusaders in Richard's army, their subsequent imprisonment is denounced as 'treachery' (*traïr*) on the part of the ruler of Cyprus, 'whose word should never be trusted'.[41] Once Isaak fled after swearing an oath of fealty to Richard, a new charge was added to his negative image, that of perjury. The ruler of Cyprus is branded as a perjurer (*perjure*) and traitor (*traitor*)[42] since in feudal society, the violation of an oath of fealty was regarded as high treason.[43] The most serious accusation hurled by the author of the *Estoire* against Isaak is that of collusion with the 'infidel', Saladin (1174-1193), sultan of Egypt and Syria. The writer alleges that the ruler of Cyprus who 'never ceased to commit evil ... and to pursue the Christians of God'[44] was 'the intimate friend (*privez*) of Saladin. It was said with some certainty that they had drunk each other's blood as a sign of their alliance (*aliance*), and this was later known to be true'.[45] From Ambroise's perspective, Isaak eventually met his doom 'on account of his sins'.[46]

The charges levelled against Isaak by Ambroise are repeated and amplified by Richard de Templo. The chronicler relates that 'the land of Jerusalem used to receive no little benefit each year' from Cyprus until Isaak 'usurped the imperial power... and refused to give anything [to the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem]'.[47] The ruler of Cyprus is cast as a *tyrannus* and labelled as 'the most wicked of all bad men (*omnium malorum nequissimus*)',

[38] S. NEOCLEOUS, *Tyrannus Grecorum: The Image and Legend of Andronikos I Komnenos in Latin Historiography*, in *Medioevo Greco*, 12 (2012), pp. 274-278.

[39] Ambroise, *Holy War*, I, p. 23 (verses 1384-1385); *ibidem*, II, p. 50.

[40] See P. GANIVET, *La trahison en Gaule au VIe siècle: de la maiestas romaine à l'Infidelitas franque*, in M. BILLORÉ – M. SORIA (eds.), *La trahison au Moyen Âge: De la monstruosité au crime politique, Ve-XVe siecle*, Rennes, 2009, p. 45.

[41] Ambroise, *Holy War*, I, p. 23 (verse 1403); *ibidem*, II, p. 51.

[42] *Ibidem*, I, p. 30 (verse 1863); II, p. 57.

[43] M. BILLORÉ, *Introduction*, in BILLORÉ – SORIA (eds.), *La trahison au Moyen Âge*, pp. 15-34.

[44] Ambroise, *Holy War*, II, p. 51.

[45] Ambroise, *Holy War*, I, p. 23 (verses 1386-1391); *ibidem*, II, pp. 50-51.

[46] *Ibidem*, II, p. 60.

[47] Richard de Templo, *Itinerarium peregrinorum*, p. 183; Richard de Templo, *Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, p. 179.

who 'surpassed Judas in faithlessness (*perfidia*) and Ganelon in treachery (*proditio*)'.[48] He is accused of allegedly pursuing 'all who professed the Christian religion with shameless determination' and capturing 'all the pilgrims who came to the island [Cyprus]'.[49] Isaak is condemned as being 'friendly with Saladin' and mingling his blood with that of the sultan 'as a sign and witness that they were allies (*confoederatio*)'.[50]

On 1 May, the vessel bearing Joanna, King Richard's sister and Queen of Sicily, and Berengaria of Navarre, the king's fiancée, anchored outside the port of Limassol. As recorded by Richard de Templo, Isaak tried deceit (*fallaciis*) to convince the two noblewomen to disembark in order to seize them.[51] The ruler's intention must indeed have been to arrest the two royal women and use them as leverage in later negotiations with Richard. Joanna and Berengaria politely declined the invitation of the ruler of Cyprus. In the words of Richard de Templo who does not fail to malign Isaak at every opportunity, the two royal women did not disembark since they were 'afraid of the cruelty (*sævitia*) and treachery (*perfidia*) of the emperor'.[52] Joanna and Berengaria were aware of Isaak's mistreatment of the shipwrecked crusaders. Above all they must have been fully conscious that two women of royal rank had a very high risk of being taken hostage by any foreign ruler, who could have held them to ransom or used them as bargaining chips to achieve other aims.

The stories circulating about Isaak's supposed hatred for the Latins eventually reached unbelievable proportions. Roger of Howden claims that the ruler of Cyprus killed his only son because he had confessed that he loved the Latins.[53] Roger denounces Isaak's cruelty to the shipwrecked crusaders, while the chronicler's conviction that the ruler of Cyprus was an enemy not only of the crusaders but also of God, since injury to the crusaders amounted to injury to God, is reflected in a speech put into the mouth of Richard. The king of England is portrayed as instructing his men: 'Arm yourselves and follow me to avenge the injuries which this perfidious [emperor] has done to God and to ourselves... I have full confidence in God, that He will this day grant us the victory over this emperor and his people'.[54]

[48] Richard de Templo, *Itinerarium peregrinorum*, p. 183; Richard de Templo, *Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, p. 179.

[49] Richard de Templo, *Itinerarium peregrinorum*, pp. 180, 183; Richard de Templo, *Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, pp. 177, 179.

[50] Richard de Templo, *Itinerarium peregrinorum*, p. 183; Richard de Templo, *Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, p. 179.

[51] Richard de Templo, *Itinerarium peregrinorum*, p. 187.

[52] *Ibidem*, p. 186; Richard de Templo, *Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, p. 182.

[53] Roger of Howden, *Gesta Regis*, I, p. 261.

[54] *Ibidem*, II, p. 163.

Roger of Howden complements Isaak's negative image with information on his arrogance (*superbia*) and oppressive regime. The chronicler relates that Isaak, after 'he caused himself to be crowned with the imperial diadem', exceeded the limits of imperial authority by calling himself *sanctum imperatorem*.[55] As the same author records, the ruler of Cyprus was of such folly, that he ordered statues of him made of gold and silver to be erected and worshipped in several churches, the walls of which were painted with frescoes commemorating his deeds. On Good Friday the ruler went to a major church of Cyprus and, sitting before the altar, where the cross was placed for worship, had his clergy and people worshiping him. He was extravagantly garbed in silk interwoven with gold. Nobody had the courage to talk to him, unless they had been granted permission to do so. When Isaak was crossing a village on horseback, no door or window opened, and if a cleric or layman met the ruler and failed to fall immediately prostrate and worship him, he was beaten. If anyone residing in Cyprus sought to leave the island, his leg was cut off. From Roger of Howden's standpoint, Richard's conquest of Cyprus was divine retribution for Isaak's behaviour.[56]

Roger of Howden was not alone in denouncing Isaak's regime. William of Newburgh casts Isaak as a *tyrannus* 'who had now for many years oppressed the island [Cyprus] with savage domination (*saeva dominatione*) and had, there, usurped the title of emperor'.[57] The term *tyrannus* in the Latin world could be used to describe either the 'illegitimate' ruler who had no right to power, in other words the usurper, or the cruel and unjust ruler who abused his power and oppressed his people.[58] In the last two decades of the twelfth-century, historians and chroniclers in England, among them Roger of Howden and William of Newburgh, increasingly used the term *tyrannus* to describe the wicked ruler. In this they were influenced by the work *Policraticus* of their contemporary countryman John of Salisbury (d. 1180).[59] In his *Policraticus*, completed in 1159 and 'commonly acclaimed as the first extended work of political theory written during the Latin Middle Ages',[60] John exhaustively identified tyranny as 'an abuse of

[55] *Ibidem*, I, pp. 255, 261.
[56] *Ibidem*, I, pp. 261-262.
[57] William of Newburgh, *Historia*, p. 350.
[58] NEOCLEOUS, *Tyrannus Grecorum: The Image and Legend of Andronikos I*, pp. 226-227; H. WIERUSZOWSKI, *Roger II of Sicily, Rex-Tyrannus, in Twelfth-Century Political Thought*, in *Speculum*, 38 (1963), pp. 54, 56-57.
[59] NEOCLEOUS, *Tyrannus Grecorum: The Image and Legend of Andronikos I*, pp. 239-241, 248-249, 277-278.
[60] JOHN OF SALISBURY, *Policraticus: of the Frivolities of Courtiers and the Footprints of Philosophers*, translated by C. J. NEDERMAN, Cambridge – New York, 1990, p. XV.

the power conceded to man by God' and a tyrant as a prince 'who oppresses the republic' and 'abuses any power over those subject to him'.[61] William of Newburgh's denunciation of Isaak as a *tyrannus* primarily because of his oppression of Cyprus with *saeva dominatione* and *tyrannicis moribus* ('tyrannical conduct')[62] is a clear manifestation of the chronicler's being influenced by the *Policraticus* and its ideas, which by the 1180s had received widespread dissemination in England. Following his denunciation of Isaak's oppressive regime, William proceeds to condemn the ruler of Cyprus for the fact that 'although called a Christian (*Christianus*)', he allied himself with Saladin (*Saladino fœderatus*), 'the enemy of the Christian name'.[63] As the chronicler relates, the weary crusaders were forced by the storm to divert to Cyprus so as to obtain secure and true hospitality, and to be treated with kindness by the Christian inhabitants (*Christiani incolae*). However, they suffered more hardships there than at sea. The reason was that the *tyrannus* Isaak, who considered the crusaders unworthy of life, treated them cruelly and dishonourably.[64] On escaping after he gave an oath of allegiance to King Richard, Isaak, 'the violator of the pacts, added perfidy (*perfidiam*) to his previous evils (*malis*)'.[65] *Perfidia*, alongside with *periuria*, *traditio*, and *proditio*, was indeed one of the terms used to denounce the breaking of an oath of fealty in feudal society.[66]

A modern authority on historical writing in England has commented on William of Newburgh's 'power of dispassionate judgment'[67] and 'judicious impartiality',[68] traits which characterise his entire work.[69] William's denunciation of Isaak as a tyrant did not aim to defame the ruler of Cyprus in order to exalt the personality of Richard. On the contrary, the historian's assessment of Isaak was devoid of intentional bias. The same is true for Gervase of Canterbury, a chronicler who also reviles the ruler of Cyprus as a tyrant but, it is important to note, disliked King Richard as well.[70] Gervase

[61] JOHN OF SALISBURY, *Policraticus sive de nugis curialium et vestigiis philosophorum*, edited by CLEMENS C.I. WEBB, 2 vols., Oxford, 1909, II, pp. 359, 364; JOHN OF SALISBURY, *Policraticus: of the Frivolities of Courtiers and the Footprints of Philosophers*, pp. 202, 205.
[62] William of Newburgh, *Historia*, p. 351.
[63] *Ibidem*, p. 350.
[64] William of Newburgh, *Historia*, p. 350.
[65] *Ibidem*, p. 351.
[66] D. POWER, *«La rage méchante des traîtres prit feu»: le discours sur la révolte sous les rois Plantagenêt (1144-1224)*, in BILLORÉ – SORIA (eds.), *La trahison au Moyen Âge*, p. 54.
[67] GRANSDEN, *Historical Writing*, p. 265.
[68] *Ibidem*, p. 265.
[69] For William of Newburgh's unbiased perception of the Greeks, see S. NEOCLEOUS, *Imaging the Byzantines: Latin perceptions, representations, and memory (c.1095–c.1230)*, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Trinity College, Dublin, 2009, pp. 233-235.
[70] GRANSDEN, *Historical Writing*, p. 257.

recounts that the king of England was treated with disdain by the inhabitants of Cyprus and the island's 'cruel and perfidious tyrant' (*tyranno crudeli et perfido*), who had 'made himself to be called emperor'.[71] As a result, Richard invaded Cyprus, 'routed the people, seized the tyrant, and captured the cities and towns'.[72] Gervase's denunciation of Isaak not only as a tyrant but as a *tyrannus crudelis et perfidus* clearly intended to paint him as a wicked rather than an illegitimate ruler. The chronicler may have received reports of Isaak's oppressive regime and cruelty circulating in England following the conquest of Cyprus. We should not rule out the possibility, however, that the aggression of the ruler of Cyprus against a crusader king, Richard, automatically qualified him as a wicked tyrannical ruler in Gervase's eyes. The same name-calling, *tyrannus*, was applied to the Byzantine Emperor Isaak II (1185-1195, 1203-1204) by a fellow countryman of Gervase, the anonymous author of the *Itinerarium peregrinorum*, and for the same reason: like Isaak of Cyprus, the Byzantine Emperor Isaak II attacked a crusader ruler, Emperor Frederick I, during the Third Crusade.[73]

Ralph of Diceto's concise account of Richard's capture of Cyprus is typically reliable and dispassionate. The chronicler charges Isaak with imprisoning and robbing the shipwrecked crusaders and attempting to prevent Richard's entering the harbour of Limassol. In reprisal the king of England invaded Cyprus, met Isaak in battle and defeated him, and conquered the island.[74] A slightly different version of events is given by Ralph of Coggeshall, who records that Richard landed on Cyprus for the sake of refreshing himself and his army as well as gathering provisions. 'The ruler of the island' (*dominus insulae*), however, forbade the king of England from entering his territory and prohibited his subjects from selling provisions to the crusading army.[75] Ralph does not fail to revile Isaak for 'having usurped the name of emperor' (*sibi nomen imperatoris usurpabat*),[76] a title to which only two rulers in twelfth-century Christendom had rightful claim, namely the German emperor, as *imperator Romanorum*, and the Byzantine emperor, as *imperator Constantinopolitanus*. The ruler of Cyprus's 'animosity and detestable inhuman conduct' (*animositatem ac detestandam inhumanitatem*) resulted in Richard's attack on the island. As in the case of the

[71] Gervase of Canterbury, *Historical Works*, p. 489.
[72] *Ibidem*.
[73] *Das Itinerarium peregrinorum*, p. 294; NEOCLEOUS, *Tyrannus Grecorum: The Image and Legend of Andronikos I*, pp. 276-277.
[74] Ralph of Diceto, *Opera Historica*, II, pp. 91-92.
[75] Ralph of Coggeshall, *Chronicon*, p. 31.
[76] *Ibidem*.

majority of the English chroniclers, Ralph does not fail to criticise Isaak for having 'broken the peace' concluded with the king of England.[77]

The last relatively detailed English account of Richard's conquest of Cyprus is provided by the anonymous author of the Latin Continuation of William of Tyre. According to this account, after a storm dispersed Richard's navy, three of the royal ships, which carried the king's private household, were driven off the coast of Cyprus. The attack of the island people on one of the ships and the plundering and imprisonment of the surviving shipwrecked crusaders prompted the king of England to rush to Cyprus. When Richard failed in his 'attempt to soften the minds of the opponents with peaceful words', he attacked the port of Limassol and, in a short time, succeeded in conquering it together with the entire city, following the flight of its citizens and their ruler.[78] The Latin continuator's narrative then turns to Isaak Komnenos. As recorded, 'the ruler of the island [Cyprus] was a certain Greek, who had been appointed by emperor Manuel of good memory as a governor (*procurator*), but following the death of the emperor he seized the tyranny (*tirannidem arripuit*), making himself ruler ... and usurping, together with the dominion of the whole island, the name of emperor'.[79] Although Manuel had never made Isaak governor of Cyprus, there is a kernel of truth behind the anonymous author's claim since the same emperor had appointed Isaak governor of Cilicia.[80] In the context of the Latin continuator's account, 'the seizure of *tirannis*' clearly means the establishment of illegitimate rule. The anonymous author proceeds to decry Isaak as a 'tyrant' – in the same context an illegitimate ruler – and deplore his 'iniquity' (*iniquitas*) and 'treachery' (*doli*). Although the *tirannus* fled during the first battle with Richard's armies, the king of England eventually defeated and seized him, and occupied the whole of Cyprus.[81]

Almost all French sources under discussion mention Richard's conquest of Cyprus in passing and as a matter of fact without any discussion of the events that led to it. This notwithstanding, all the main accusations against Isaak encountered in the English narratives are echoed by the French chroniclers.

[77] *Ibidem*.
[78] *Die lateinische Fortsetzung*, p. 137.
[79] *Ibidem*, p. 138. English chroniclers who received their information on eastern Mediterranean affairs directly from the Latin *Outremer* very often praise Manuel in the context of their accounts, see NEOCLEOUS, *Tyrannus Grecorum: The Image and Legend of Andronikos I*, pp. 281-283.
[80] Niketas Choniates, *Historia*, edited by J.-L. VAN DIETEN, Berlin – New York, 1975, p. 290; Niketas Choniates, *O City of Byzantium, Annals of Niketas Choniates*, translated by H. J. MAGOULIAS, Detroit, 1984, p. 161. See also COLLENBERG, *L'Empereur Isaac de Chypre*, p. 129.
[81] *Die lateinische Fortsetzung*, p. 138.

This is a testimony to the fact that these charges were widely propagated, attracting the attention of contemporaries, while the actual events were soon forgotten. Robert of Auxerre decries the ruler of Cyprus as a 'pseudo-emperor' (*pseudoimperator*).[82] Guido de Bazoches denounces Isaak as a 'perjured *tyrannus* of the island of his lord, the emperor of Constantinople', which he had acquired 'in violation of the law' (*invaso jure*).[83] This charge is also voiced by Andreas of Marchiennes. Andreas was not well disposed towards King Richard, whom he denounces as 'greedy and avaricious beyond human nature, hateful to all Christianity, and rebellious'.[84] This, however, did not deter the chronicler from decrying Isaak as a tyrant. In his continuation of Sigebert's chronicle, Andreas describes Isaak as 'a very powerful (*prepotens*) prince', who 'tyrannised' (*tyrannizabat*), i.e. ruled illegitimately, Cyprus 'against the emperor of Constantinople', and 'usurped the imperial name' (*nomen sibi imperiale usurpaverat*), while in his *Historia* the same author denounces the Byzantine ruler as a *tirannus*.[85] Interestingly, the French chroniclers, in stark contrast to the majority of their English counterparts, denounce Isaak as a tyrant because of the irregular way in which the power was gained, rather than exercised, their attitude reflecting the rigid adherence of the French to the notion that any violation of the hereditary lands and rights of the monarch constituted treason.[86]

Like the English chroniclers, the French ones do not fail to condemn Isaak's supposed alliance with Saladin. The ruler of Cyprus is charged by Guido de Bazoches with being allied with Saladin and committing grave nuisance to the Christians.[87] The anonymous chronicler of the Old French *Chronicles of Normandy* charges 'the emperor of Cyprus' with denying provisions to the Franks besieging Acre in *Outremer* 'for the love of the Saracens'.[88] In a similar tone, in his *Philippide* William the Breton, after making a fleeting reference to Richard's capture of Cyprus and its 'prince', proceeds to record that 'the region of Cyprus – although Christ was worshipped in it according to the rite of the Greeks – obstructed the crusaders (*Christicolas cruce signatos*), refused to bring help to the Sepulchre of the Lord, and favoured the Saracens'.[89]

[82] Robert of Auxerre, *Chronicon*, p. 255.
[83] Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, *Chronicon*, p. 866.
[84] Andreas of Marchiennes, *Continuatio*, p. 429.
[85] Andreas of Marchiennes, *Continuatio*, p. 428; Andreas of Marchiennes, *Historia succinct*, p. 212.
[86] See also NEOCLEOUS, *Tyrannus Grecorum: The Image and Legend of Andronikos I*, pp. 226-227, 277-278.
[87] Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, *Chronicon*, p. 866.
[88] *Ex chronicis Normanniae*, p. 703.
[89] William the Breton, *Philippide*, p. 104.

The anonymous monastic author of Laon is the only French chronicler who does not simply mention Richard's capture of Cyprus as a matter of fact, but attempts an account (however anachronistic) of the events that led to the capture of the island. The anonymous author records that following the killing of some of Richard's men by 'the indigenous', the king of England ordered 'the king of the island' to make reparation. Since the envoys sent to Isaak were treated disrespectfully, Richard captured the island. The 'generous king' (*rex magnanimus*), Richard, imposed a tribute (*tributo*) on Isaak in order to help the destitute crusading army before Acre and subsequently sent the ruler of Cyprus to his own affairs.[90] The anonymous chronicler has Richard withdraw from Cyprus, after which Isaak begins to kill and imprison the king's men he had earlier released. As a result, Richard returned to the island and conquered it a second time.[91] Intriguingly, the chronicler does not vilify Isaak as strongly as the rest of the French chroniclers, focusing instead on the events that led to the conquest of Cyprus.

The German sources referring to Richard's takeover of Cyprus are even scarcer than the French. The anonymous Austrian compiler of the *Historia de expeditione Friderici imperatoris* was hostile to Richard and well-disposed towards Leopold V of Austria (1177-1194), who was an enemy of the king of England and a second cousin of Isaak of Cyprus.[92] This notwithstanding, the Austrian compiler does not seem to have approved of the fact that Isaak 'usurped the royal dignity' (*regiam sibi dignitatem usurpabat*) and 'seized all of Cyprus for his dominion', this leading to the partition and weakening 'of the kingdom of the Greeks'.[93] To illustrate his point, the anonymous compiler cites Luke 11:17: 'every kingdom divided against itself is brought to desolation'.[94] Richard of England, according to the Austrian writer, conquered Cyprus since he 'could not endure the insolence and cruelty which Isaak *is said* (*dicitur*) to have exercised against poor pilgrims'.[95] The use of *dicitur* by the Austrian compiler testifies to his ambivalence about the veracity of the circulating rumours that Isaak abused 'poor pilgrims'.[96]

[90] Anonymous of Laon, *Ex Chronico Anonymi Laudunensis Canonici*, p. 708.
[91] *Ibidem*.
[92] The anonymous author was aware of the fact that the rulers of Austria and Cyprus were related by blood, *Historia de expeditione*, p. 102; *History of the Expedition*, p. 124.
[93] *Historia de expeditione*, pp. 32-33, 98; *History of the Expedition*, pp. 63, 121.
[94] *Historia de expeditione*, p. 32; *History of the Expedition*, p. 63. Note the Austrian chronicler's use of *regiam* instead of *imperialem dignitatem* used by the French Andreas of Marchiennes. Germans and Austrians authors often refused to acknowledge the Greeks' claim to *imperium* since they found it hard to stomach that there was a second empire along theirs in Christendom.
[95] *Historia de expeditione*, p. 98; *History of the Expedition*, p. 121. Emphasis added.
[96] *Historia de expeditione*, p. 102; *History of the Expedition*, p. 124.

Although largely inaccurate, Arnold of Lübeck's brief report is interesting to consider since it reflects how rumours, becoming more outlandish during their transmission and eventually recorded as facts, created their own version of history. According to Arnold's chronicle, Isaak Komnenos was initially a king subject to the Byzantine emperor, to whom he paid an annual tax.[97] Later, 'the king of this land [Cyprus], growing strong in wealth and elevated in arrogance, receded from the king of Constantinople' and – in the chronicler's most astonishing assertion – 'from the Christian faith' (*fide catholica*).[98]

While Isaak was manifestly demonised by most Western authors, a different picture emerges from the accounts written in the Latin East. The *Chronique d'Ernoul* gives a dispassionate and matter-of-fact account of Richard's takeover of Cyprus, without maligning Isaak at all.[99] More importantly, the overwhelming majority (91%) of the manuscripts containing the Old French Continuation of William of Tyre reproduce the *Chronique d'Ernoul*'s narrative of the conquest of Cyprus by the king of England. The anonymous author in the Latin *Outremer*, however, who revised this continuation in the late 1230s or early 1240s adopted a hostile attitude towards Isaak as well as the Greeks in general, in sharp contrast to the *Chronique d'Ernoul* which lacks any anti-Greek sentiments. The vehemently anti-Greek William of Tyre and, by extension, the author who translated his work into Old French at some point between the early 1190s and the early 1230s[100] had denounced the Byzantine Emperor Alexios I as 'malicious' (*malicieus*) and accused him of 'hating the Latins to death' (*les genz latines het-il de mort/li empereres de Constantinoble avoit envie grant et haine sur la gent de France*) and trying with all his power 'to do them some evil' (*à fere mal aus noz*).[101] Like William of Tyre, the anonymous author of the *revised Old French Continuation* was not a friend of the Greeks. He ascribed Isaak's hostility to the king of England to hatred towards the Latins in general. Presumably drawing upon Alexios I as a model for Isaak Komnenos, he denounced the ruler of Cyprus as 'malicious' (*malicios*), and twice accused him of hating the Latins (*[il] estoit … hainos as latins/[il] estoit moult hainos as crestiens latins*).[102] The Lyon-Florence continuator

[97] Arnold of Lübeck, *Chronica*, p. 198.
[98] *Ibidem*.
[99] *La Chronique d'Ernoul et de Bernard le Trésorie*, pp. 270-273.
[100] For the date of the translation, see P. EDBURY, *The French Translation of William of Tyre's Historia: the Manuscript Tradition*, in *Crusades*, 6 (2007), p. 69.
[101] *Guillaume de Tyr et ses continuateurs: texte français du XIIIe siècle*, edited by P. PARIS, 2 vols., Paris, 1879-80, I, pp. 68, 347, 387.
[102] *L'estoire de Eracles*, pp. 160-161; *La Continuation*, pp. 114-115; EDBURY, *Sources in Translation*, pp. 100-101.

added that Isaak was 'always looking for the opportunity to do the Latin Christians some evil (*de mau faire a crestiens latins*)'.[103] The similarity between the Old French translator's accusations against Emperor Alexios I and the charges against Isaak made by the authors of the *revised Old French Continuation* and the Lyon-Florence Continuation are striking. In addition, the author of the *revised Old French Continuation* deplores Isaak's 'cruelty' (*cruauté*) towards the shipwrecked crusaders of Richard's army whom he allegedly ordered to be decapitated, and like Richard de Templo, accuses the ruler of Cyprus of trying through 'deceit' (*barat*) and 'treason' (*traison*) to entice Richard's sister to disembark in Cyprus.[104]

While, as already argued, the first half of the account of Richard's conquest of Cyprus found in the Colbert-Fontainebleau Continuation follows verbatim the *revised Old French Continuation*, the second half of the narrative adopts a completely different attitude towards Isaak. In this matter-of-fact account, the Colbert-Fontainebleau continuator acknowledges the ruler of Cyprus his imperial title – a title not conceded to him by the author of the *revised Old French Continuation* – describing him as 'Greek emperor' (*li empereres Grec/li empereres Grifons*), 'Emperor Isaak' (*l'empereor Kir Sac*) or 'emperor of Cyprus' (*li empereres de Chypre*).[105] Although the Colbert-Fontainebleau continuator describes Isaak as 'cruel and violent' (*fel et engres*), he nevertheless praises him as 'a brave man' (*de grant cuer*).[106] It seems that in the Latin East Isaak was known for his bravery. Even Roger of Howden, in his account of the rise and fall of the Byzantine Emperor Andronikos I (1183-1185) for which he drew on accounts from the Latin East, is largely sympathetic towards Isaak whom he extols as 'good in arms' (*probus in armis*).[107]

The fanciful rumours – which circulated in the West and found their way into the chronicle of the anonymous author of Laon – that Isaak treated disrespectfully the embassy sent to him by Richard stand in stark contrast to the testimony of the Colbert-Fontainebleau Continuation, which records that 'the emperor [Isaak] received him [Richard's ambassador] most honourably and had him lodged sumptuously and served him richly. On his [the envoy's] departure Isaak gave him fine gifts'.[108] Furthermore, the Colbert-Fontainebleau continuator portrays King Richard as acknowledging both the imperial title

[103] *La Continuation*, pp. 114-115; EDBURY, *Sources in Translation*, p. 100-101.
[104] *L'estoire de Eracles*, pp. 160-161; *La Continuation*, pp. 114-117; EDBURY, *Sources in Translation*, pp. 100-101.
[105] *L'estoire de Eracles*, pp. 164-166; EDBURY, *Sources in Translation*, pp. 176-177.
[106] *L'estoire de Eracles*, p. 168; EDBURY, *Sources in Translation*, p. 178.
[107] Roger of Howden, *Gesta Regis*, I, p. 254.
[108] *L'estoire de Eracles*, p. 165; EDBURY, *Sources in Translation*, p. 177.

as well as the Christian identity of Isaak during the subsequent meeting of the two men, despite the fact that the king of England is critical of the ruler of Cyprus. Richard is quoted as stating: 'Sir emperor, I am most amazed that you, who are a Christian (*Crestien*) and have seen the loss of the Holy Land,... have never sent counsel or aid there'.[109] Richard is presented as especially reproaching Isaak for his failure to assist the crusaders besieging Acre: 'In particular, while the siege of Acre has been in progress, the Christians have endured great hardships and have been short of both food and men, but you have done nothing to suggest that it means anything to you. Instead you have shown them enmity'.[110] Through the mouth of Isaak himself, the Colbert-Fontainebleau continuator sympathetically excuses the alleged refusal of the ruler of Cyprus to come in person to the aid of the crusaders in Acre. Isaak is quoted as stating: 'if I were to leave this land, I should never return, for the emperor of Constantinople disputes the land with me and so the people who are here and who hold me as lord would then turn against me'.[111] This understanding of the political situation between the Byzantine Empire and Isaak's kingdom of Cyprus as well as the details on the events that led to Richard's conquest of the island suggest that the Colbert-Fontainebleau continuator drew on a report written very near the events for the second half of his account of the king of England's takeover of Cyprus. Both the *Chronique d'Ernoul* as well as the second half of the Colbert-Fontainebleau continuator's narrative of Richard's capture of the island reveal a completely different picture of attitudes towards Isaak from that encountered in most of the Western sources as well as the *revised Old French Continuation* and the Lyon-Florence continuator.

In this context it should be discussed what two Greek contemporary authors say about the ruler of Cyprus. The Cypriot hermit Neophytos the Recluse, an eye-witness in the events preceding and following Richard's conquest of Cyprus, reports that Isaak 'not only utterly despoiled the land [Cyprus], and perpetually harassed the lives of its rich men, but every day he hounded and oppressed its nobles, so that all lived in distress, and sought how by any means they might protect themselves against him'.[112] The Byzantine historian Niketas Choniates describes Isaak as a 'tyrant' (*τύραννος*), a term which, as in the case of the Latin *tyrannus*, could be used to describe both the cruel, immoral and unlawful ruler who imposed his authority by

[109] *L'estoire de Eracles*, p. 165; EDBURY, *Sources in Translation*, p. 177.

[110] *L'estoire de Eracles*, pp. 165-166; EDBURY, *Sources in Translation*, p. 177.

[111] *L'estoire de Eracles*, p. 166; EDBURY, *Sources in Translation*, p. 177.

[112] Neophytos the Recluse, *De calamitatibus Cypri: Περὶ τῶν κατὰ χώραν Κύπρου σκαιῶν*, in *Excerpta Cypria: Materials for a History of Cyprus*, translated by C. D. COBHAM, Cambridge, 1908, p. 12.

violence and repressive measures against his subjects, as well as the usurper. The latter category, according to Byzantine political theory, included individuals who staged an unsuccessful coup against the reigning emperor in an attempt to gain the imperial throne for themselves, or secessionists who, having rebelled against Constantinople, carved out their independent principalities.[113] Although Isaak fell into the latter group, he was clearly more than a *τύραννος*-secessionist. Choniates condemns him as 'a tyrant or rather an inhuman and implacable destroyer' (*τύραννος, ἤ μᾶλλον ἀπάνθρωπος καὶ δυσμείλικτος ὀλοθρευτής*), 'an evildoer as no other... a flooding sea of calamities' (*κακοεργὸς ὡς οὔπω τις ἕτερος καὶ ... θάλασσα πελαγίζουσα συμφορὰς*).[114] According to the historian,

> Once he [Isaak] felt secure in his rule, he did not cease from perpetrating countless wicked deeds against the inhabitants of the island. He defiled himself by committing unjustifiable murders by the hour and became the maimer of human bodies, inflicting, like some instrument of disaster, penalties and punishments that led to death. The hideous and accursed lecher illicitly defiled marriage beds and despoiled virgins. He irresponsibly robbed once prosperous households of all their belongings, and those indigenous inhabitants who but yesterday and the day before were admired and rivaled Job in riches, he drove to beggary with famine and nakedness, as many, that is, whom the hot-tempered wretch did not cut down with the sword.[115]

Choniates even compares Isaak with the contemporary Byzantine Emperor Andronikos I, who was remembered by Byzantines and Westerners alike for his reign of terror.[116] Choniates concludes that the ruler of Cyprus 'exceeded Andronikos in obdurateness and ruthlessness' (*ἐς τὸ τοῦ ἤθους ἀκαμπὲς καὶ ἀμείλικτον Ἀνδρόνικον ὑπερέβαλεν*).[117]

[113] In contrast to the West, in Byzantium an individual's successful coup and seizure of the imperial throne was perceived in itself as a token of divine approval. After a person had ascended the Byzantine throne, either by force or by automatic succession, his sovereignty was regarded as descended directly from God. NEOCLEOUS, *Tyrannus Grecorum: The Image and Legend of Andronikos I*, pp. 249-250; G. DAGRON, *Emperor and Priest. The Imperial Office in Byzantium*, translated by J. BIRRELL, Cambridge, 2003, pp. 14-15, 37-38, 45; W. ENSSLIN, *The Government and Administration of the Byzantine Empire*, in J. M. HUSSEY (ed.), *The Eastern Roman Empire (717-1453)*, 2 vols., Cambridge, 1966-1967, II, pp. 2-9; H. ST L. B. MOSS, *The Formation of the East Roman Empire, 330-717*, *ibidem*, I, pp. 1-41: 14; A. TOYNBEE, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus and his World*, London, 1973, pp. 12-14.

[114] Choniates, *Historia*, pp. 291, 340, 369, 418, 464; Choniates, *Annals*, pp. 161, 187, 204, 229, 255.

[115] Choniates, *Historia*, p. 291; Choniates, *Annals*, p. 161. See also Choniates, *Historia*, pp. 340, 369; Choniates, *Annals*, pp. 187, 204. For Choniates's and Neophytos's assessment of Isaak, see also NICOLAOU-KONNARI, *Conquest of Cyprus*, pp. 78, 80; GIANNOPOULOS, *To εφήμερο βασίλειο του Ισαακίου Κομνηνού*, pp. 15-16.

[116] NEOCLEOUS, *Tyrannus Grecorum: The Image and Legend of Andronikos I*, pp. 239-252, 277-278.

[117] Choniates, *Historia*, p. 291; Choniates, *Annals*, p. 161.

The English chroniclers' description of Isaak's brutal regime over the Cypriots should not simply be dismissed as propaganda, intended solely to defame the ruler of Cyprus and justify the conquest of his 'kingdom' by King Richard. The information provided by Neophytos and Choniates corroborates the English chroniclers' evidence and adds to it further details, even though Roger of Howden's account of Isaak's supposed *superbia* was probably exaggerated. Modern commentators have argued that Isaak considered himself a legitimate emperor and his behaviour was 'largely in accordance with Byzantine imperial etiquette'.[118] Fine and lavish garments were an important component of the Byzantine sovereign's image. The concept of the sanctity of the Byzantine emperor, God's delegate on earth, had found expression in the acclamations and in art. The Byzantine emperor was acclaimed as *Hagios Basileus* (*sanctus imperator*) and was represented in churches and illuminated manuscripts with a halo, a sign of the sanctity bestowed on him through the sacred character of the imperial office.[119] Representations of imperial images were even acclaimed in the churches of Constantinople.[120] Isaak had obviously adopted a full-scale imperial Byzantine style, considering himself entitled to all imperial prerogatives and rights. The ruler even minted coins on which he was depicted in imperial garb, holding a sceptre and orb, or an *akakia*[121] while the Virgin was portrayed blessing him.[122] Genuine information as well as distorted accounts of Isaak's behaviour seem to have circulated amongst the crusaders in Richard's army. The accounts were embellished and eventually enshrined as truth. Isaak's conduct was interpreted as *magna superbia* and was condemned. Ignorant about Byzantine imperial etiquette, the crusaders went as far as to imagine Isaak ordering the construction and worship of gold and silver statues of himself.

One should ask how valid the rest of the grave accusations hurled by the Latin authors against Isaak are, and what is more to the point, whether

[118] NICOLAOU-KONNARI, *Conquest of Cyprus*, p. 85; COLLENBERG, *L'Empereur Isaac de Chypre*, pp. 136-140.

[119] W. ENSSLIN, *The Government and Administration of the Byzantine Empire*, in *The Cambridge Medieval History*, IV.2, edited by J.M. HUSSEY, Cambridge, 1967, p. 8; A. EASTMOND, *Between Icon and Idol: the Uncertainty of Imperial Images*, in A. EASTMOND (ed.), *Icon and Word: The Power of Images in Byzantium*, Aldershot, 2003, pp. 77-78.

[120] COLLENBERG, *L'Empereur Isaac de Chypre*, p. 137 n. 1.

[121] *Akakia* was a small purple silk bag held in the left hand of the Byzantine emperor. It contained dust, meant to remind the emperor of his mortality. I. SPATHARAKIS, *The Portrait in Byzantine Illuminated Manuscripts*, Leiden, 1976, p. 263.

[122] Four of Isaak's coins are illustrated in the exhibition catalogue: D. PAPANIKOLA-BAKIRTZIS – M. IACOVOU (eds.), *Βυζαντινή Μεσαιωνική Κύπρος, Βασίλισσα στην Ανατολή και Ρήγαινα στη Δύση* [Byzantine medieval Cyprus], Nicosia, 1997, pp. 87-88 (fig. 21-24). On Byzantine coinage, see P. GRIERSON, *Byzantine Coinage*, 2nd ed., Washington, D.C., 1999.

the ruler of Cyprus hated the Latins and was in alliance with Saladin. In 1186 Isaak routed the forces sent against him by the government of Constantinople while the ships that had carried the Byzantine imperial troops were 'unexpectedly attacked' by the Norman admiral Margaritone, who was 'coming to the aid of Isaakios'. The Byzantine captains surrendered themselves to Isaak, who 'handed them over to Megareites [i.e. Margaritone] to do with them as he wished'.[123] This episode evidences that far from detesting the Latins, the ruler of Cyprus was ready to approach and cooperate with them.[124] Moreover, Isaak appears to have had Normans in his service in 1191,[125] while he seems to have had dealings in support of the faction of Conrad of Montferrat against that of Guy de Lusignan in Palestine.[126] As Ambroise informs us, the evening when peace was concluded between Richard and Isaak 'there was with the emperor a slanderous knight', namely Lord Pagan of Haifa, a very important noble of Jerusalem and an ally of Conrad.[127] It should be also added that Isaak's first wife was half French, while his presumed second wife was a sister of William II of Sicily (1166-1189).[128] Finally, the Colbert-Fontainebleau Continuation attests to the presence of Latins – probably Italian merchants – in Limassol when King Richard arrived in Cyprus.[129] Isaak evidently did *not* detest the Latins. This accusation against the ruler of Cyprus is unfounded and seems to have been created and developed into a propaganda campaign against him during and after Richard's conquest of the island. It most probably originated in Isaak's maltreatment of the shipwrecked crusaders of Richard's army.

Late in 1189 the Byzantine Emperor Isaak II and Saladin agreed on a joint attack against Isaak of Cyprus.[130] Although nothing came of it, the agreement between the Byzantine and Muslim rulers demonstrates that Saladin was an enemy of Isaak of Cyprus rather than an ally. The sultan

[123] Choniates, *Historia*, p. 370; Choniates, *Annals*, p. 204.

[124] Several modern scholars understand this incident as testifying to the existence of an alliance between Isaak and King William II of Sicily (1166-1189). See COLLENBERG, *L'Empereur Isaac de Chypre*, p. 141; NICOLAOU-KONNARI, *Conquest of Cyprus*, p. 35; T. PAPACOSTAS, *Secular Landholdings and Venetians in 12th-Century Cyprus*, in *BZ*, 92 (1999), p. 483. However, there is no conclusive evidence to support this contention.

[125] *L'estoire de Eracles*, p. 162; *La Continuation*, p. 117. See also NICOLAOU-KONNARI, *Conquest of Cyprus*, pp. 35-36.

[126] NICOLAOU-KONNARI, *Conquest of Cyprus*, p. 36; COLLENBERG, *L'Empereur Isaac de Chypre*, p. 143; PAINTER, *The Third Crusade*, p. 62.

[127] Ambroise, *Holy War*, II, p. 57.

[128] NICOLAOU-KONNARI, *Conquest of Cyprus*, p. 36; GIANNOPOULOS, *Το εφήμερο βασίλειο του Ισαακίου Κομνηνού*, p. 11.

[129] *L'estoire de Eracles*, p. 164; EDBURY, *Sources in Translation*, p. 176.

[130] C. M. BRAND, *The Byzantines and Saladin, 1185-1192: Opponents of the Third Crusade*, in *Speculum*, 37 (1962), p. 174.

himself described the ruler of Cyprus as his enemy in a letter he sent to Guy de Lusignan in the summer of 1192.[131] Moreover, Isaak Komnenos's association with the faction of Conrad of Montferrat makes it improbable that an alliance between him and Saladin existed. The reason for Isaak's hostility to Richard was not due to collusion with Saladin against the crusaders. Isaak's dealings in support of Conrad of Montferrat's party against that of Guy de Lusignan, who was Richard's vassal and ally, automatically made the ruler of Cyprus an enemy in the eyes of the king of England. Isaak was aware of this and therefore suspicious of Richard's intentions, fearing that the king of England might attempt to invade Cyprus on his way to Palestine;[132] hence Isaak's hostility to the shipwrecked crusaders of Richard's army and the king himself.

The alleged firm alliance between Isaak of Cyprus and Saladin mentioned by the Western sources does not seem to have existed. It is important to point out that the king of England himself does not appear to have subscribed to the rumours of the alleged alliance between the ruler of Cyprus and the sultan. In a letter dated 6 August 1191 to Bishop William Longchamp of Ely, Richard refers to the *tyrannus* Isaak's hostility to the king of England's crusading expedition and maltreatment of his shipwrecked men,

[131] ABU SHAMA, *Le livre des deux jardins: histoire des deux règnes, celui de Nour ed-Dîn et celui de Salah ed-Dîn* (*Recueil des Historiens des Croisades: Historiens* Orientaux, IV), Paris, 1898, p. 510. The correspondence between Saladin and Guy is summarised in a report by al-Fāḍil, Saladin's secretary. H. Möhring and R.-J. Lilie have argued that the 'king' reported by al-Fāḍil as corresponding with Saladin was not Guy de Lusignan but Isaak of Cyprus. H. MÖHRING, *Saladin und der dritte Kreuzzug: Aiyubidische Strategie und Diplomatie im Vergleich vornehmlich der arabischen mit den lateinischen Quellen*, Wiesbaden, 1980, pp. 186-187; R.-J. LILIE, *Byzantium and the Crusader States, 1096-1204*, translated by J. C. MORRIS and J. E. RIDINGS, Oxford, 1993, p. 242 n. 75. The two scholars' arguments do not hold water for two reasons. First, Saladin reassured Guy that he 'should attribute no importance to our negotiations with the master of Constantinople [Isaak II] concerning the support we ought to lend him against Cyprus for we promised it only when the country *was in the hands of our enemy*' (emphasis added). Before Isaak Komnenos's secession, Cyprus formed part of the Byzantine Empire. The 'enemy' mentioned by Saladin could be no other than Isaak Komnenos. Secondly, according to al-Fāḍil, Guy de Lusignan informed Saladin of his rupture with King Richard of England and the sultan did 'welcome the proposal of the king [Guy]... and encourage him in his rupture [with Richard I] because, by spreading discord *among the Franks*, he facilitates the triumph of Islam' (emphasis added). Al-Fāḍil would have never described Isaak Komnenos as a 'Frank'. See also S. NEOCLEOUS, *The Byzantines and Saladin: Some Further Arguments*, in *Al-Masaq: Islam and the Medieval Mediterranean*, 25 (2013), forthcoming.

[132] *La Chronique d'Ernoul et de Bernard le Trésorie L'estoire de Eracles*, pp. 270-271; *La Continuation*, pp. 112-113; EDBURY, *Sources in Translation*, p. 100. The *revised Old French Continuation* relates that Isaak feared both the kings of England and France. This claim, however, does not seem to be true but must be due to a misapprehension on the part of the reviser, who wrote four decades after the events. Philip of France was, in fact, a close ally of Conrad and does not seem to have been seen as a threat by Isaak.

which resulted in Richard's resorting to violence.[133] The failure of the king's letter to accuse the ruler of Cyprus of alliance with the 'infidel' is of considerable weight. Richard was certainly in a better position than his men to know if an alliance existed between Isaak and Saladin.

The question that naturally arises must be how the crusaders in Richard's army came to believe that the ruler of Cyprus was an ally of Saladin. What seems to have happened is that in their attempt to rationalise Isaak's hostility to Richard's crusading expedition, the crusaders naturally concluded that the ruler of Cyprus was in league with the sultan. The crusaders' paranoia reached such a feverish peak that they imagined the sultan and the ruler of Cyprus 'drinking one another's blood'. In this connection, it is worthwhile to draw a parallel between Isaak of Cyprus and his contemporary Byzantine Emperor, Isaak II. Fearing that the real intention of the German army of the Third Crusade that took the overland route to Jerusalem was to conquer the Byzantine Empire, Isaak II did his best to destroy it.[134] In their attempt to make sense of Isaak II's hostility towards them, the Germans, as Choniates informs us,

> contended that nothing else could have convinced the emperor of the Romans [Isaak] to disregard the solemn oaths of the Western Christians except that he had concluded a peace with the ruler of the Saracens, and that, in accordance with their prevailing custom regarding friendship, they had both opened a vein on their chests and offered to each other the blood flowing out therefrom to drink.[135]

The similarity between the charges levelled at the two Isaaks is striking: both Greek rulers were imagined to have mixed their blood with that of the sultan.

Despite the fact that Isaak II never agreed with Saladin to destroy the German crusaders, fanciful reports of the Byzantine emperor's alleged alliance with the sultan against the Germans were sent from the East to the West and were incorporated in Latin chronicles, while decades after the Third Crusade, imaginative accounts of the two rulers' so-called conspiracy against the German crusading army continued to circulate in the West.[136] The evidence presented in this paper clearly demonstrates that, like

[133] *Epistolæ Cantuarienses*, in W. STUBBS (ed.), *Chronicles and Memorials*, II, p. 347; EDBURY, *Sources in Translation*, pp. 178-179.

[134] S. NEOCLEOUS, *The Byzantines and Saladin: Opponents of the Third Crusade?*, in *Crusades*, 9 (2010), pp. 87-106; IDEM, *Byzantine-Muslim Conspiracies against the Crusades: History and Myth*, in *Journal of Medieval History*, 36 (2010), pp. 265-271, 273-274.

[135] Choniates, *Historia*, pp. 409-410; Choniates, *Annals*, p. 225. See also the discussion in NEOCLEOUS, *The Byzantines and Saladin*, pp. 101-106.

[136] NEOCLEOUS, *The Byzantines and Saladin*, pp. 87-106.

Isaak II, Isaak of Cyprus went down in Western medieval historiography – especially English and French – as an ally of Saladin. As in the case of the accusation of alliance with the 'infidel', the charge that Isaak Komnenos refused to send provisions to the Holy Land also seems to have been based on rumours and thus to be baseless. The fact that the ruler of Cyprus most probably had relations with a political party in Palestine contradicts this allegation.

On 31 May 1191, Isaak finally surrendered himself to the king of England. Richard immediately permitted the Byzantine ruler to see his daughter, who had been found in the castle of Kyrenia and taken hostage when the fortress had surrendered a few days earlier. According to Ambroise, Isaak 'loved his daughter more than any living thing' and it was her capture that 'led him to seek peace with eagerness at whatever cost it would be to himself'.[137] When the ruler of Cyprus eventually saw his daughter again 'he was more joyful than if he were holding the feet of God. He kissed her one hundred times, weeping'.[138] In a similar vein, Richard de Templo recounts that when Isaak saw his daughter 'he was overjoyed: he hugged her affectionately (*affectuosius*) and kissed her insatiably (*insatiabiliter*) again and again, while his tears flowed copiously'.[139] Given the monstrous image of Isaak which the narratives of Ambroise and Richard de Templo hitherto had cultivated, the ruler's great love of his daughter and his weeping with overwhelming emotion when he saw her must have come as a surprise to their readers and moved them to pity. After all, the *tyrannus* was not completely inhuman.

The Cypriots

Having examined the image of Isaak Komnenos in the Latin sources, we should now proceed to investigate how the people of Cyprus were perceived by the Latins. Ambroise usually refers to the population of the island as *Griau* (= Greeks) or *Grifon*, an epithet widely used to describe the Greeks.[140] Obviously, for the Norman author, the people of Cyprus were

[137] Ambroise, *Holy War*, II, p. 60. Ambroise describes Isaak's daughter as being 'most beautiful and a very young girl' (*E sa fille, qui mult ert bele/E tosette jofne pucele*), Ambroise, *Holy War*, I, p. 34 (verses 2086-2087); *ibidem*, II, p. 61.

[138] Ambroise, *Holy War*, II, p. 60.

[139] Richard de Templo, *Itinerarium peregrinorum*, pp. 202-203; Richard de Templo, *Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, pp. 193-194.

[140] For a compelling argument that the use of the term *Grif(f)on* did not necessarily carry pejorative connotations, see A. Nicolaou-Konnari, *Strategies of Distinction: the Construction of the Ethnic Name Griffon and the Western Perception of the Greeks, Twelfth – Fourteenth Centuries*, in *Bizantinistica: Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Slavi*, 4 (2002), pp. 184-185, 187, 189-191.

not singled out from the rest of the Greeks. This is not surprising given the fact that the Cypriots spoke the Greek language. When describing military battles between the crusaders and the Greeks of Cyprus, Ambroise vilifies the Cypriots as 'spellbound by cowardice (*coardise*)', 'who fled shamefully (*a honte*)' before their enemies, namely the 'valiant' (*vaillant*) and 'brave Franks' (*Francs adurez*).[141] What is more, in the same context, the Norman author denounces the Cypriots as 'vile' (*colverte*), 'accursed' (*maudiz*), and 'evil' (*de male nature*),[142] and even compares them with the Saracens. As he recounts, when Richard arrived in the port of Limassol and learned of the trials of his shipwrecked men, met his sister awaiting him fearfully, and 'saw the shore covered with the vile (*colverte*) Greeks, he had no desire to hunt out worse Saracens than those (*Peors sarazins ne velt querre*)'.[143] The comparison of Christian opponents with the Saracens, the archetypal enemies, was not uncommon among Christian authors in the middle ages. In a Christendom riven by conflicts, the 'worse than the Saracens' accusation made against the Christian enemy found great resonance in contemporary polemics.[144]

As in the case of Ambroise, Richard de Templo refers to the population of Cyprus as *Graeci* and *Griffones*. Although Richard does not use Ambroise's derogatory epithets against the Cypriots, he is not less hostile to them when he refers to their maltreatment of the shipwrecked and of other crusaders in Richard's army who disembarked in Cyprus. The writer accuses the 'locals' (*indigenae*) of having 'joyfully allowed those who escaped from the shipwreck to land, pretending that their intentions were peaceful', only to subsequently imprison them, a charge that seems unfair since the natives must have acted under Isaak's orders. Richard de Templo, moreover, maintains that the provisions the crusaders on board sent to their imprisoned fellows were 'plundered by the Griffons', who 'deceived them [the prisoners] with flattery and deceitful words... deceitfully promising to provide them with all their necessities'. In his description of the episode in which the imprisoned crusaders tried to escape and the *indigenae* began to kill them, the same chronicler denounces the killers as 'treacherous persecutors of the Christians' (*infideles Christianorum persecutores*). As for the

[141] Ambroise, *Holy War*, I, pp. 25 (verse 1548), 26 (verse 1632), 27 (verse 1663), 31 (verse 1915); *ibidem*, II, pp. 53, 54, 58.

[142] Ambroise, *Holy War*, I, pp. 23 (verse 1431), 28 (verse 1757), 30 (verse 1821); *ibidem*, II, pp. 51, 56, 57.

[143] Ambroise, *Holy War*, I, p. 23 (verses 1430-1432); *ibidem*, II, p. 51.

[144] Although there is no study on this subject for this period, for later centuries see N. Housley, *Religious Warfare in Europe, 1400-1536*, Oxford, 2002, pp. 137-149.

Cypriot 'magnates of the land', they are charged with conspiring to 'take as many of the pilgrims captive as they could by trickery (*dolo*) and kill them', an accusation which seems to have been based on unfounded rumours given the Greek nobles' subsequent collaboration with Richard, as will become clear below. It is worth noting that Richard de Templo does not hesitate to acknowledge the Cypriots' skill in sea-fights (*navalis praelii perita*). Their expertise in naval warfare notwithstanding, the Greeks of Cyprus could not withstand the assault (*impetum*) of the crusaders and eventually took to flight.[145]

Roger of Howden uses the ethnonym *Griffones* to describe the Cypriots. The only negative attribute the chronicler assigns to them is that 'they were nearly all utterly unskilled in the art of warfare' (*indocti ad praelium*).[146] Of the rest of the Western authors referring to Richard's conquest of Cyprus, none employs the ethnonyms *Graeci* or *Griffones* to designate the Cypriots. William of Newburgh refers to them as 'islanders' (*insulani*) or 'Christian inhabitants' (*Christiani incolae*) of Cyprus, even though he was obviously aware of their Greek identity, as testified to by his contrasting of Greek softness (*Graeca mollities*) with the vigour (*impetum*) of the Latins with reference to a battle between the crusaders and the *tyrannus* Isaak.[147] Even this juxtaposition nevertheless can hardly be considered as a sign of hostility to the Greek inhabitants of Cyprus (even Greek authors admitted the military superiority of the Western knights to the Greek armies in warfare).[148] A careful examination of William of Newburgh's work demonstrates that the historian was, in fact, a staunch supporter of the notion of Christian fraternity between Greeks and Latins.[149]

Like William of Newburgh, Gervase of Canterbury describes the Cypriots as 'inhabitants of the island [Cyprus]' (*incolis insulae*)[150] and the Latin continuator as 'islanders' (*insulani*),[151] while the Anonymous chronicler of Laon refers to them as 'natives' (*indigenae*)[152] – in contrast to William of Newburgh, there is no evidence that these authors were aware of the Greek identity of the Cypriots. Although Gervase records that the 'inhabitants of the island' treated Richard with disdain, the focus of the chronicler's

[145] Richard de Templo, *Itinerarium peregrinorum*, pp. 184-185, 190-191, 193; Richard de Templo, *Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, pp. 180-181, 184.
[146] Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, III, p. 107; Roger of Howden, *Annals*, II, p. 201.
[147] William of Newburgh, *Historia*, p. 350.
[148] Choniates, *Historia*, p. 199; Choniates, *Annals*, p. 113.
[149] For a detailed discussion on this issue, see NEOCLEOUS, *Imaging the Byzantines*, pp. 233-235.
[150] Gervase of Canterbury, *Historical Works*, p. 489.
[151] *Die lateinische Fortsetzung*, p. 137.
[152] Anonymous of Laon, *Ex Chronico Anonymi Laudunensis Canonici*, p. 708.

invective is the *tyrannus* Isaak. The remarks of the Latin continuator of William of Tyre and the anonymous chronicler of Laon about the population of Cyprus are more disapproving than those of Gervase, even though none of the two chroniclers is particularly vociferous in his denunciation of the Cypriots. The Latin continuator ascribes the islanders' plundering and imprisonment of the shipwrecked crusaders of Richard's army to 'greed' (*cupiditas*),[153] while the anonymous chronicler of Laon blames the alleged death of 'certain' (*quosdam*) of the shipwrecked men on the 'wickedness of the natives' (*nequitiâ indigenarum*).[154] The rest of the Western authors – with the exception of Richard of Devizes, who will be discussed separately below – omit any mention of the population of Cyprus in their discussion of Richard's conquest of the island. The target of their abuse is clearly Isaak. It should also be noted that the Western chroniclers make no reference to any theological or doctrinal differences between Latins and Greeks. Neither does any of our writers report that Richard's military campaign in Cyprus was accompanied by religious propaganda against the Greeks of the island. The king of England, when he arrived in Acre, excused himself for the conquest of Cyprus stating 'that he had not gone to a Christian island (*Christianam insulam*) intentionally, but had accidentally diverted thither for the purpose of avenging an atrocious and flagrant injury'[155] – no attempt was made to 'de-Christianise' the image of the Cypriots. Even William the Breton's statement that 'Cyprus – although Christ was worshipped in it according to the rite of the Greeks – obstructed the crusaders, refused to bring help to the Sepulchre of the Lord, and favoured the Saracens'[156] does not aim to differentiate between Latin and Greek Christians. From William the Breton's perspective, the most scandalous aspect of Cyprus's not assisting the crusaders and, allegedly, favouring the Muslims was precisely that it was a Christian island.

The most exceptional ethnonym used to describe the Cypriots is found in the work of Richard of Devizes. The English chronicler refers to the population of Cyprus as *Cyprii*.[157] This is, in fact, the same ethnonym used by William of Tyre, the historian of *Outremer*, to describe the people of Cyprus.[158] It should be emphasised, however, that the two historians employed the epithet for completely different reasons. William had constantly been well-disposed towards the people of Cyprus who, as he records,

[153] *Die lateinische Fortsetzung*, p. 137.
[154] Anonymous of Laon, *Ex Chronico Anonymi Laudunensis Canonici*, p. 708.
[155] William of Newburgh, *Historia*, p. 354.
[156] William the Breton, *Philippide*, p. 104.
[157] Richard of Devizes, *Chronicle*, pp. 36-38.
[158] Guillaume de Tyr, *Chronique*, LXIII, p. 444; *ibidem*, LXIIIA, pp. 844-845.

'had always been useful and friendly' to the Kingdom of Jerusalem.[159] Even in his stridently anti-Greek narrative of the First Crusade, the Latin historian still describes the Cypriots as faithful (*fideles*).[160] William denounces the incursion of the acting prince of Antioch, Reynald of Châtillon (1153-1160), into the Byzantine island of Cyprus in 1155 as 'a shameful act' (*flagicium*) and condemns the prince of Antioch for having 'wreaked his fury upon the innocent *Cypriots* and... perpetrated upon them and upon their wives and children outrages abominable in the sight of both God and men'.[161] In William's eyes, the Cypriots were Christian brethren. While emphasising that Cyprus 'had a large faithful (*fideles*) population', the historian of *Outremer* fulminates against Reynald who 'treated them as if they had been enemies of the faith and detestable parricides'.[162] Edbury and Rowe understood that the incursion of Raynald of Châtillon into the Byzantine island of Cyprus in 1155 elicited William's 'sympathy for the Greeks'.[163] This statement, however, is debatable: *nowhere* in his account is William referring to the Cypriots as Greeks. He refers to them consistently as *Cyprii*.[164] William's sympathy for the Cypriots was certainly not a 'sympathy for the Greeks'. William was undoubtedly well aware that the people of Cyprus spoke the Greek language and their *autocephalous* Church, which was in communion with the Patriarchate of Constantinople, followed Greek rites and customs. The inhabitants of the island, however, represented positive qualities and characteristics, which, from William's perspective, were not typically associated with the rest of the *Graeci*. In other words, stereotypes applied to the *Graeci* did not seem to apply to the Greek population of Cyprus. Motivated to keep his stereotypes for the *Graeci* intact and safe in the face of evidence that challenged them, William subtyped the inhabitants of *Cyprus* into an individuated subcategory, referring to them using the ethnonym *Cyprii*. This enabled the historian to maintain his stereotypes for the *Graeci*.

Richard of Devizes employs the epithet *Ciprii* for a totally different reason. The historian seems to have been ignorant of the Greek identity of the inhabitants of Cyprus. Since their island was called *Ciprus*, he referred to its inhabitants as *Ciprii*. Although Richard's account of the king of

[159] Guillaume de Tyr, *Chronique*, LXIIIA, p. 824; William of Tyre, *History*, II, p. 253.
[160] Guillaume de Tyr, *Chronique*, LXIII, p. 375; William of Tyre, *History*, I, p. 334.
[161] Guillaume de Tyr, *Chronique*, LXIIIA, pp. 824, 845; William of Tyre, *History*, II, pp. 253, 276. Emphasis added.
[162] Guillaume de Tyr, *Chronique*, LXIIIA, pp. 824, 844; William of Tyre, *History*, II, pp. 253, 276.
[163] P. W. EDBURY – J. G. ROWE, *William of Tyre: Historian of the Latin East*, Cambridge, 1988, p. 142.
[164] Guillaume de Tyr, *Chronique*, LXIIIA, pp. 824, 845.

England's conquest of Cyprus is roughly accurate, the chronicler nevertheless imagines that the *Ciprii* were pirates, a warlike race (*gens bellicose*) 'accustomed to live by plunder', whose master (*piratarum princeps*) was Isaak Komnenos.[165] According to Richard, since the Cypriots had maltreated and killed many crusaders in the king of England's army, 'God willed that this accursed people should receive the punishment for their sins' from King Richard.[166] Despite fighting valiantly (*uiriliter*) and bitterly (*acriter*) against the Westerners, the *bellicosi Ciprii* were eventually defeated.[167] It is worth noting that even though Richard of Devizes perceived the *Ciprii* as pirates, he was nonetheless aware of their Christian identity: the chronicler has some shipwrecked crusaders take refuge in a church in order to escape their Cypriot attackers.[168]

Ambroise, Richard de Templo, Roger of Howden, and William of Newburgh attest that the majority of the Cypriots and especially the *archontes*, i.e. the nobles, who had been the main victims of Isaak's regime, not only did not assist their ruler in fighting Richard, but even collaborated with the king of England. As Ambroise relates, one of the reasons that compelled Isaak to come to terms with Richard on 11 May was that 'he was greatly hated in his land'.[169] Similarly, Richard de Templo records that Isaak 'could not rely on receiving assistance from the locals (*indigenae*), because they hated him'.[170] Ambroise further informs us that when Richard entered Nicosia, 'the townspeople... came to the king from all directions, taking him as their rightful lord; they came to him as to a father'.[171] The king of England 'accepted the homage of the most valiant and the most wise, who willingly turned from the emperor, whom they hated'.[172] Likewise, Richard de Templo recounts that 'all the citizens of Nicosia came out to welcome the king and admitted him as their lord... The king received homage (*homagia*) from the most noble Greeks (*nobiliorum Graecorum*), who seemed to throw off the emperor's yoke of their own volition (*voluntarie*)'.[173] The information on the Cypriot *archontes*' homage to Richard is corroborated by Roger of Howden. The chronicler reports that many Cypriot nobles, to whom he

[165] Richard of Devizes, *Chronicle*, pp. 36, 38.
[166] *Ibidem*, p. 36.
[167] *Ibidem*, pp. 37-38.
[168] *Ibidem*, p. 36.
[169] Ambroise, *Holy War*, II, p. 56.
[170] Richard de Templo, *Itinerarium peregrinorum*, p. 197; Richard de Templo, *Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, pp. 189-190.
[171] Ambroise, *Holy War*, II, p. 59.
[172] *Ibidem*.
[173] Richard de Templo, *Itinerarium peregrinorum*, p. 201; Richard de Templo, *Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, p. 193.

refers in feudal terminology as *comites* and *barones*, 'came to the king of England, and became his men (*homines*), and swore him fealty (*fidelitas*) against the emperor'.[174] Thus, seeing 'that he was left destitute of all valour and assistance of his people',[175] Isaak was forced to offer peace to King Richard. Roger of Howden portrays one of the emperor's *comites* as advising him 'to make peace with the king of England, that the whole of your nation may not be destroyed'.[176] At this advice an enraged Isaak allegedly 'struck his noble with a knife which he was holding in his hand, and cut off his nose'.[177] Consequently, the unfortunate Cypriot noble defected to the king of England.[178]

As has been seen, Isaak surrendered unconditionally to Richard on 31 May 1191. Ambroise reports that 'what had mortally injured and ruined him [Isaak] was that all his people had abandoned him'.[179] According to Richard de Templo, the Byzantine ruler realised that 'his subjects had long been alienated from him so that he was tolerated rather than loved'.[180] William of Newburgh gives a different version of Isaak's capture, which is false, yet it is interesting since it demonstrates the extent of the Cypriots' hatred for their ruler, as perceived by the Westerners. Isaak allegedly went into hiding in a monastery but 'was betrayed by certain islanders (*insulani*) by whom he was deservedly detested'.[181] According to William, after Isaak's capture, 'the entire island, hurt by tyrannical conduct, willingly conceded authority and allegiance (*devotio*) to the king [Richard]'.[182]

That the population of Cyprus collaborated with Richard is substantiated by the account of the Cypriot hermit Neophytos the Recluse, an eye-witness in the events preceding and following the king of England's conquest. Neophytos records that when Richard arrived in Cyprus, 'forthwith all ran unto him! Then the king [Isaak], abandoned by his people, gave himself also unto the hands of the English [king]'.[183] The Cypriots' attitude is hardly surprising, considering Isaak's reign of terror in the island so eloquently described by contemporary authors as Choniates, Neophytos, Roger of Howden, and William of Newburgh. As a result of the Cypriot *archontes*'

[174] Roger of Howden, *Gesta Regis*, II, p. 164-165.
[175] *Ibidem*, p. 165.
[176] Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, III, p. 110; Roger of Howden, *Annals*, II, p. 204.
[177] *Ibidem.*
[178] *Ibidem.*
[179] Ambroise, *Holy War*, II, p. 60.
[180] Richard de Templo, *Itinerarium peregrinorum*, p. 203; Richard de Templo, *Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, p. 194.
[181] William of Newburgh, *Historia*, p. 351.
[182] *Ibidem.*
[183] Neophytos the Recluse, *Περὶ τῶν κατὰ χώραν Κύπρου σκαιῶν*, p. 12.

collaboration with him, Richard, through an official document (*carta*), confirmed for them 'the laws and institutions which they had in the time of the Emperor Manuel of Constantinople' in return for half of all their possessions.[184]

Following our investigation of how the population of Cyprus was represented and remembered by Western chroniclers, we should explore the image of the Cypriots in the narratives composed in the Latin East. The *Chronique d'Ernoul* and the Old French continuations use the ethnonym *Griffones* to describe the Greek population of Cyprus. The *Chronique d'Ernoul*, which lacks the anti-Greek venom characterising its contemporary Latin *Historia* of the Archbishop William of Tyre, does not express any hostility towards the Greek population of Cyprus, or indeed the Greeks in general. The same is true for the second half of the account of Richard's conquest of Cyprus found in the Colbert-Fontainebleau Continuation – the Colbert-Fontainebleau continuator made no attempt to harmonise the anti-Greek first half of his account, which he copied verbatim from the *revised Old French Continuation*, with the second half, which, as argued, seems to have followed a report very neutral towards the Greeks. According to this second half, when Richard disembarked in the city of Limassol, 'he had it proclaimed throughout his host on land and sea that no one should be so foolhardy as to do the people of Limassol any harm or wrong'.[185] The king of England also 'ordered that they should all camp in the gardens and that no one should camp in the town',[186] an order often issued by rulers to armies in the middle ages with the aim of protecting the civil populations of an area. While, in the second half of his account of Richard's conquest of Cyprus, the Colbert-Fontainebleau continuator is at great pains to stress that Richard made provisions for the protection of Greek civilians in Limassol, he also underlines the important role that Greek monks played in communicating messages between Isaak and Richard. Significantly, the references to the Greek monks are made without religious overtones.

In contrast to the *Chronique d'Ernoul* and the second part of the Colbert-Fontainebleau Continuation's account of Richard's conquest of Cyprus, the author of the *revised Old French Continuation* adopts a hostile stance towards the Greeks of Cyprus. Undoubtedly aware of the fact that the population of Cyprus was Greek, he espouses the anti-Greek perspective of the Old French translation of the vehemently anti-Greek *Historia* of

[184] Roger of Howden, *Gesta Regis*, II, p. 168. See also NICOLAOU-KONNARI, *Conquest of Cyprus*, p. 61.
[185] *L'estoire de Eracles*, p. 164; EDBURY, *Sources in Translation*, p. 176.
[186] *Ibidem.*

William of Tyre. Like William of Tyre, the author of the *revised Old French Continuation* may well have been a cleric, the accounts of both authors mirroring the antagonism between Greek and Latin ecclesiastics in the Latin East.[187] The reviser condemned 'the Greeks of Cyprus' (*les Griffons de Chypre*) as 'evil' (*felons*)[188] – this denunciation of the Greeks is also found towards the end of the Old French translation of William of Tyre[189] – and deplored their conduct towards the shipwrecked crusaders in Richard's army, asserting that the shipwrecked men 'encountered greater cruelty among those who called themselves Christians (*qui se disoient crestiens*) [i.e., the Greeks of Cyprus] than they would have found with the evil Saracens'.[190] As in the case of Ambroise, the author of the *revised Old French Continuation* applied the hostile image of the Saracens to the Greek Christians of Cyprus, who maltreated shipwrecked crusaders. The Cypriots thus found themselves charged with acting in a 'Saracen' manner, one of the most serious accusations that could be made against Christians.

While the Western accounts of Richard's conquest of Cyprus as well as the *Chronique d'Ernoul* and the second part of the Colbert-Fontainebleau Continuation's account of Richard's conquest of Cyprus do not touch on the issue of religious difference between Greeks and Latins, the author of the *revised Old French Continuation* and the Lyon-Florence Continuation not only raise but emphasise theological difference in order to justify and commend Richard's takeover of the island. The author of the *revised Old French Continuation* asserts that 'the Greeks regard the Franks as heretics (*hereges*)',[191] a complaint echoed by William of Tyre and his Old French translator.[192] Going a step further, the reviser avers that the Greeks even

[187] For this antagonism, see B. HAMILTON, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States: the Secular Church*, London, 1980, pp. 174-179, 181, 185-186; J. PAHLITZSCH, *The Greek Orthodox Church in the First Kingdom of Jerusalem (1099-1187)*, in T. HUMMEL – K. HINTLIAN – U. CARMESUND (eds.), *Patterns of the Past, Prospects for the Future: the Christian Heritage in the Holy Land*, London, 1999, pp. 199-200, 204-209; J. PAHLITZSCH – D. BARAZ, *Christian Communities in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem (1099-1187 CE)*, in O. LIMOR – G. G. STROUMSA (eds.), *Christians and Christianity in the Holy Land: from the Origins to the Latin Kingdoms*, Turnhout, 2006, pp. 206-207, 209-210. For this antagonism, as reflected in William of Tyre's work, see NEOCLEOUS, *Tyrannus Grecorum: The Image and Legend of Andronikos I*, pp. 280-281.

[188] *L'estoire de Eracles*, p. 162; *La Continuation*, pp. 114-117; EDBURY, *Sources in Translation*, p. 101.

[189] *Guillaume de Tyr et ses continuateurs*, II, p. 423.

[190] *L'estoire de Eracles*, pp. 161-162; *La Continuation*, pp. 116-117; EDBURY, *Sources in Translation*, p. 101.

[191] *L'estoire de Eracles*, p. 163; *La Continuation*, pp. 116-117; EDBURY, *Sources in Translation*, p. 102.

[192] Guillaume de Tyr, *Chronique*, LXIIIA, p. 1021; William of Tyre, *History*, II, pp. 461-462; *Guillaume de Tyr et ses continuateurs*, II, p. 424.

'reckon killing a Latin to be very pleasing in the sight of God'.[193] Religious tension and antagonism between Greeks and Latins, particularly clergy and monks, were not uncommon in the Latin East and other areas where interaction between them took place. There were Greek ecclesiastics whose antipathy towards the Latins bordered on hatred. During the passage of Frederick I's expedition of the Third Crusade through the Byzantine Empire in 1189, the patriarch of Constantinople Dositheos (1189-1191), a former Orthodox Patriarch of Jerusalem in exile, publicly denounced the crusaders as 'dogs' and 'preached publicly in the church of St Sophia... that if any Greek should kill a hundred pilgrims, and even if he was guilty of the murder of ten Greeks, he would be granted indulgence by the Lord'.[194] Such extreme anti-Latin sentiments were shared by, at least, a number of the lower Greek ecclesiastical hierarchy: in a letter to Duke Leopold V of Austria written during the passage of the German crusading expedition through the Byzantine Empire, Bishop Dietpold of Passau reported that 'the Greeks are calling us heretics. Clerics and monks are making life very difficult for us both through words and deeds'.[195] What is more, as recorded by William of Tyre and his Old French translation, which the Old French Continuations carry on, Greek priests and monks participated in the massacre of the Pisan and Genoese residents of Constantinople in 1182.[196] The pogrom gave them the opportunity to satisfy their own near hysterical hatred for the Latins and the Roman Church.[197] These anti-Latin sentiments, although by no means shared by all Greek ecclesiastics and certainly not the majority of laymen,[198] created, at best, the Latins' feeling of disappointment with Greek Christians

[193] *L'estoire de Eracles*, p. 163; *La Continuation*, pp. 116-117; EDBURY, *Sources in Translation*, p. 102.

[194] The letter is reproduced in the *Historia de expeditione*, pp. 40-43 (p. 43); *History of the Expedition*, pp. 70-72 (p. 72). This information is repeated by the anonymous compiler of the *Historia de expeditione Friderici imperatoris. Historia de expeditione*, p. 49; *History of the Expedition*, p. 77.

[195] *Greci hereticos nos appellant. Clerici et monachi dictis et factis maxime nos persequuntur*: MAGNUS OF REICHERSBERG, *Chronicon*, edited by W. WATTENBACH (*MGH Scriptores*, XVII), Hanover, 1861, p. 510; *History of the Expedition*, pp. 152-53.

[196] Guillaume de Tyr, *Chronique*, LXIIIA, p. 1024; William of Tyre, *History*, II, p. 465; *Guillaume de Tyr et ses continuateurs*, II, p. 428.

[197] S. NEOCLEOUS, *Greeks and Italians in Twelfth-Century Constantinople: Convivencia or Conflict?*, in S. LA PORTA – B. CROSTINI (eds.), *Negotiating Co-Existence: Communities, Cultures and 'Convivencia' in Byzantine Society*, Trier, 2013, forthcoming.

[198] T. M. KOLBABA, *Byzantine Perceptions of Latin Religious 'Errors': Themes and Changes from 850 to 1350*, in A. E. LAIOU – R. P. MOTTAHEDEH (eds.), *The Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World*, Washington, DC, 2001, p. 139; *EADEM*, *The Orthodoxy of the Latins in the Twelfth Century*, in A. LOUTH – A. CASIDAY (eds.), *Byzantine Orthodoxies: Papers from the Thirty-Sixth Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, University of Durham, 23-25 March 2002*, pp. 199, 208, 213.

when they became aware of them, while at worst they were exploited to justify Latin military aggression against the Greeks.[199]

Drawing on the *revised Old French Continuation,* the Lyon-Florence continuator not only repeats all the accusations made against the Greeks but goes as far as to add that it was God himself 'who had brought King Richard' in Cyprus because he 'wanted to plant here the good seed on the island. That is to say establish the Holy Church and Christianity of the law of Rome and to eradicate the evil root of the wicked Greeks (*la mauvaise racine des felons Griffons*)'.[200] Eventually, 'with the help of God (*par l'aïe de Dieu*), the king subdued the whole lordship of Cyprus to his power and transferred it to the law of the Latins',[201] i.e. the Latin Christendom. As in the case of the intense anti-Latin sentiments of certain Greek ecclesiastics, these extreme anti-Greek feelings by no means reflect the sentiments of the majority of Frankish public opinion in the Latin *Outremer*. An eloquent testimony to this is the fact that the Lyon-Florence Continuation survives in only two out of 45 manuscripts containing the Old French Continuation of William of Tyre.

Modern historians have asserted that 'the Cypriots were demonised as treacherous and malign' by 'Richard's panegyrists'; 'for *all* contemporary writers, the Cypriots are the "Graecos" or "Griffons", as bad as the rest of the people from "Griffonie"'.[202] These statements are generalisations that are not borne out by the evidence. As has been made clear, *not* all Latin authors regarded the population of Cyprus as Greeks, and certainly *not* all were hostile to them. In fact, of the Western writers examined, only Ambroise, and after him Richard de Templo, refer to the people of Cyprus using the ethnonyms *Graeci* and *Griffones* while also expressing hostility towards them. Richard of Devizes, although holding the Cypriots in antipathy, did not regard them as *Graeci* but as *Cyprii*; this chronicler had a particularly distorted impression of the people of Cyprus, imagining them as warlike brigands. Even Ambroise and Richard de Templo do *not* seem to have been hostile to *all* Cypriots. The two authors abuse only those *Greeks* or *Griffons* who ill-treated and killed shipwrecked crusaders and fought on the side of the *tyrannus* Isaak. In marked contrast, the Greeks of the island

[199] NEOCLEOUS, *Imaging the Byzantines*, pp. 111-112, 319-321; IDEM, *Financial, Chivalric, or Religious? The Motives of the Fourth Crusaders Reconsidered*, in *Journal of Medieval History*, 38 (2012), p. 203.

[200] *la mauvaise semence des felons Griffons* in the Florence Continuation. *La Continuation*, pp. 118-119; EDBURY, *Sources in Translation*, p. 103.

[201] *La Continuation*, pp. 118, 121; EDBURY, *Sources in Translation*, pp. 103-104.

[202] TYERMAN, *God's War*, p. 446; NICOLAOU-KONNARI, *Conquest of Cyprus*, p. 88. Emphasis added.

who collaborated with Richard are respected and described by Ambroise as *vaillanz* and *sages*.[203] The same writer seems to have sympathised not only with the Western crusaders, but also with the Cypriots who admitted Richard as their lord, both groups equally maltreated by an enraged Isaak 'when he could get hold of them. He had their feet or hands chopped off, their eyes put out, or their nose cut off'.[204] As regards the texts composed in the Latin East, their attitude towards the Greeks is not unanimous. The *Chronique d'Ernoul* and the Old French Continuation adopting this text, i.e. a total of 49 manuscripts, do not express any anti-Greek sentiments. Only the Lyon-Florence Continuation, which survives in only two manuscripts, is downright hostile towards the Greeks, while the Colbert-Fontainebleau Continuation's account of Richard's conquest of Cyprus can be decomposed into two completely distinct parts: the first one is almost identical with the first half of the Lyon-Florence Continuation and is thus anti-Greek, while the second does not express hostile attitudes towards the Greeks.

RICHARD'S CONQUEST OF CYPRUS AS SEEN BY WESTERN AUTHORS

Cyprus was the first Christian-held territory seized by a crusading army. Although the independently ruled island was Christian, its conquest was fully legitimate in the eyes of King Richard himself and in the opinion of the majority of the Latin chroniclers. Both the chroniclers and the king of England in his letter to William Longchamp emphasise that the *casus belli* was provided by the *tyrannus* Isaak Komnenos. Richard naturally reacted under the provocation of the ruler of Cyprus. For Richard and most of the Latin chroniclers, the *tyrannus*'s hostility to and maltreatment of the shipwrecked crusaders was enough justification for an attack on him and capture of his land. Some chroniclers, however, felt that further justification was required.

On c. 19 May 1191, while in Famagusta, King Richard received envoys from King Philip with the urgent request to move on immediately to Acre.[205] Richard de Templo records that the ambassadors of the French king reproved Richard for 'arrogantly persecuting innocent Christians (*Christiani*

[203] Ambroise, *Holy War*, I, p. 32 (verse 1957).

[204] Ambroise, *Holy War*, II, 60.

[205] Ambroise, *Holy War*, II, p. 58; Richard de Templo, *Itinerarium peregrinorum*, pp. 199-200; Richard de Templo, *Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, p. 192.

innocui) when close by there were still so many thousands of Saracens whom he should be attacking'.[206] To the envoys' argument that the Cypriots were *Christiani* and thus King Richard should withdraw from their island, Richard de Templo advances a forceful counter-argument: 'it seemed very much in the general interest to subjugate the island of Cyprus because it is so indispensable for the land of Jerusalem'[207] – note that the chronicler does not challenge the *Christianitas* of the Cypriots. While for Richard de Templo the subjugation of Cyprus was in the common interest (*ad rem publicam*), for Ambroise the conquest of the island was 'in the interests of God' (*a oes Deu*).[208] To the author of the *Estoire*, what was in the interest of the crusaders and the crusader states was automatically in God's interests.

The conquest of Cyprus had immediate beneficial effects on the Third Crusade. After an enumeration of the 'treasures and riches' acquired by the crusaders from the captured island, Ambroise reports that Richard 'conquered all this for the service of God (*a ues Deu*), to put at the disposal of His land'.[209] According to William of Newburgh, the king of England allocated the huge booty taken from Cyprus 'to the reinforcement of the Christian expedition'. Therefore, his 'splendid success' should be commended rather than disparaged,[210] a testimony to the fact that Richard's conquest of the Christian island had engendered criticism from some quarters. Ralph of Coggeshall reports that upon hearing that the crusaders in Palestine were oppressed by hunger, the king of England hastened to their aid with plenty of provisions from the newly conquered Cyprus.[211] According to Ambroise, on his arrival at Acre, Richard was given a tumultuous welcome by the crusaders besieging the city 'for it had brought great joy to the army that the king had taken Cyprus, whence came so much food, which sustained the whole army'.[212] Similarly, Ralph of Coggeshall relates that when the king of England reached Acre, the crusading army was made more valiant due to the abundance of provisions arrived there,[213] while Andreas of

[206] Richard de Templo, *Itinerarium peregrinorum*, p. 200; Richard de Templo, *Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, p. 192.

[207] Richard de Templo, *Itinerarium peregrinorum*, p. 200; Richard de Templo, *Chronicle of the Third Crusade*, 192. Nicolaou-Konnari has argued that this is Richard's reply to the envoys of Philip II. See NICOLAOU-KONNARI, *Conquest of Cyprus*, p. 38. A close examination of the text, however, does not support this interpretation.

[208] Richard de Templo, *Itinerarium peregrinorum*, p. 200; Ambroise, *Holy War*, I, p. 33 (verse 2063).

[209] Ambroise, *Holy War*, I, p. 34 (verses 2078-2079); *ibidem*, II, p. 61. I have made a few minor changes in Ailes's translation.

[210] William of Newburgh, *Historia*, p. 351.

[211] Ralph of Coggeshall, *Chronicon*, pp. 31-32.

[212] Ambroise, *Holy War*, II, p. 66.

[213] Ralph of Coggeshall, *Chronicon*, p. 32.

Marchiennes, despite his antipathy towards Richard, admits that the English king arrived in Acre 'with gold, silver and an abundance of other things' taken from Cyprus and, 'with the resources he brought with him, alleviated the poverty of the army of Christ, which had been distressed by famine for a long time during the siege of the city'.[214] Finally, the anonymous monastic author of Laon reported that with the peace settlement between Isaak and Richard on 11 May following the first defeats of the ruler of Cyprus – which the chronicler mistakenly thought of as a first conquest of Cyprus – the king of England imposed a tribute in grain, barley, wine and other provisions on Isaak in order to help the crusading army before Acre which was destitute of all necessaries of life.[215]

Apart from the immediate benefits, the capture of Cyprus had long-term positive effects on the crusader states of *Outremer*. As Gillingham aptly observes, 'in terms of military strategy in the service of the Holy Land the conquest of Cyprus turned out to be a master stroke'.[216] The enormous significance of the capture of Cyprus for the future of the crusader states was immediately recognised by Latin authors.[217] As we have seen, Ambroise and Richard de Templo were shrewd enough to realise that the island was *terrae Jerosolimitanae tam necessariam* and thus its subjugation was *ad rem publicam* or, as Ambroise puts it, *a oes Deu*.[218] The Latin chroniclers who appreciated the importance of Cyprus to the crusaders and the crusader states perceived Divine Providence to have been the moving force behind King Richard's coming to and capture of the island. Ambroise claims that 'God brought him [Richard] to shore before Cyprus near the land that God gave him in conquest'.[219] According to the author of the *Estoire*, the king of England was the instrument of God's will:

> Aveit Deus l'ovre destine
> Qu'il voleit que li reis feïst....[220]

After the author of *Estoire*, Richard de Templo records that the king of England was brought to the island by God (*Deo deductus*).[221] William of

[214] Andreas of Marchiennes, *Continuatio*, p. 429.

[215] Anonymous of Laon, *Ex Chronico Anonymi Laudunensis Canonici*, p. 708.

[216] GILLINGHAM, *Richard*, p. 153.

[217] Cf. HARRIS, *Byzantium*, p. 142. Harris maintained that 'it is likely from the western point of view... that the significance of the capture of Cyprus was not immediately appreciated'. This thesis, however, is not backed by the evidence.

[218] Richard de Templo, *Itinerarium peregrinorum*, p. 200; Ambroise, *Holy War*, I, pp. 33 (verse 2063), 34 (verses 2078-2079).

[219] Ambroise, *Holy War*, II, p. 50.

[220] 'God had ordained that the king [Richard] would do His will', Ambroise, *Holy War*, I, p. 23 (verses 1437-1438); *ibidem*, II, p. 51.

[221] Richard de Templo, *Itinerarium peregrinorum*, p. 188.

Newburgh maintains that *Dei ordinatissima provisione*, a storm compelled the crusading fleet to divert to Cyprus, while Ralph of Coggeshall alleges that Richard was landed onto the island by *Dei judicio*.[222] In the Latin East, the Lyon-Florence continuator of William of Tyre asserted that 'the King of Glory ... had brought King Richard thus far' in Cyprus.[223] In contrast to the Western accounts, the Lyon-Florence Continuation underlines the benefits that the conquest of the island had not for the crusaders and the crusaders states but for the Roman Church. Overall, from the Latins' viewpoint, the conquest of Cyprus was not simply justified. It was legitimated by divine order.

Conclusion

In 1191, the Christian island of Cyprus was conquered by the crusading expedition of King Richard I of England on its way to the Holy Land. It was the first Christian territory to be permanently conquered by a crusading army. The Greek ruler of Cyprus, Isaak Komnenos, having badly miscalculated the power of Richard, provoked him. As a result of his hostility to the king of England's crusading expedition, Isaak brought about his own ruin. He lost his kingdom and was imprisoned.

Isaak's hostility to Richard's expedition earned him the hatred of the crusaders in the following of the king of England. The enmity of Isaak was interpreted by Westerner crusaders as a sign of collusion with Saladin and the ruler of Cyprus was imagined to have exchanged blood with the sultan. A monstrous image of Isaak emerged during and immediately after Richard's campaign in Cyprus. This image, painted as a lurid mixture of treachery, inhuman cruelty, and extreme anti-Latin hatred, eventually found its way into several Latin chronicles. Isaak was indisputably perceived as a dastardly villain by the Western authors examined as well as the *revised Old French Continuation* in the Latin East. Nevertheless, a close examination of our sources reveals that, with the exception of the *revised Old French Continuation* and the even more anti-Greek Lyon-Florence Continuation, the Greeks of Cyprus were defamed by only a few writers and only when it came to the description of *indigenae*'s maltreatment of shipwrecked crusaders in Richard's army or conflicts between Cypriots and Western crusaders.

[222] William of Newburgh, *Historia*, p. 350; Ralph of Coggeshall, *Chronicon*, p. 31.
[223] *La Continuation*, pp. 118-119; Edbury, *Sources in Translation*, p. 103.

For Richard of England, a Christian ruler's hostility to the crusaders constituted a *casus belli* that justified and legitimised not only attack but also permanent conquest. This view is shared by the majority of the Latin chroniclers who deal with the king of England's expedition in Cyprus. Most of these authors added more arguments to lend further legitimacy to the conquest, such as Isaak Komnenos's usurpation of the imperial title and illegitimacy, his tyranny, his reign of terror against the Cypriots, his *magna superbia* and cruelty, his alleged alliance with Saladin, his purported hatred for the Latins, and his supposed unwillingness to provide assistance for the Franks of *Outremer* – an assistance which was to be, and proved to be, vital and positive once Cyprus came under Latin rule. This point takes us to the issue of Divine Providence. The Latin chroniclers who recognised the significance of Cyprus to the crusading cause and the crusader states shared the conviction that King Richard's landing onto and conquest of Cyprus had taken place under God's Providence. After all, however, to the medieval mind, everything that happened, good or even ill-fated, was part of God's plan for his human creation.

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Summary

This article investigates the image of Isaak Komnenos of Cyprus and the Cypriots in the Latin historiography composed in the fifty years following the Third Crusade, and examines how the conquest of Cyprus by King Richard of England was viewed and remembered in Latin narratives and accounts. A number of modern scholars have argued that, in order to exalt Richard and legitimise his takeover of Cyprus, Latin chroniclers demonised Isaak and portrayed him in the most negative way, making use of stereotypical images and *loci communes*; the Cypriots, attributed all the stereotypes conventionally associated with the 'Greek Other', were perceived as the counter-image of Self of the crusaders. The present article demonstrates that the true picture is less unanimous and much more complex, as well as rich and interesting, than several modern scholars have implied. A meticulous examination of the image of Isaak and the Cypriots in the contemporary Latin historiography of the Third Crusade reveals that it is more than a dry and conventional dichotomy between the self and the other, a portrayal of the Cypriots as an undifferentiated block of 'others', or a deliberate attempt to defame the ruler of Cyprus and his subject as icons of alterity because of their Greek identity.

ZUR HÖLLE MIT IHNEN
DIE KONSTRUKTION KULTURELLER IDENTITÄTEN UND ALTERITÄTEN AUF KRETA AM BEISPIEL VON WANDMALEREIEN DES 14. JAHRHUNDERTS IN KRITSA

Die orthodoxen Kreter 'aboriscono tanto (i) Franchi per rispetto di religione, che non tengono manco profana la pratica loro che quella de' Turchi o di Hebrei'.[1] Diese Phrase des venezianischen Provveditore Iacopo Foscarini aus dem 16. Jahrhundert erweckt die Vorstellung tiefer religiös-ideologischer Gräben zwischen den verschiedenen Bevölkerungsgruppen der Insel, vor allem aber zwischen den einheimischen 'Griechen'/'Romäern' und den zugewanderten 'Franken'/'Lateinern'. Zahlreiche zeitgenössische, häufig polemische Aussagen werden bis heute als Beleg für eine Konfrontation der Kulturen von Eroberern und Unterdrückten in der kretischen Gesellschaft zur Zeit der venezianischen Herrschaft (1211-1669) angesehen.[2]

Auch die kunsthistorische Forschung ist von dieser Sichtweise geprägt, wird doch die Kunst neben anderen Faktoren wie der griechischen Sprache und dem orthodoxen Glauben als Teil einer byzantinischen Kultur und Identität verstanden.[3] Ein Aufeinanderprallen von Identitäten auf Kreta hätte sich, so wäre die logische Schlussfolgerung, auch motivisch in der Bildkunst niederschlagen müssen. In diesem Sinne wird gerne etwa die

[1] Venedig, Archivio di Stato, Relazioni, Nr. 78, zitiert aus G. GEROLA, *Monumenti veneti nell'isola di Creta*, Venedig, 1908, Vol. II, S. 10. Mein besonderer Dank gilt Prof. Vasiliki Tsamakda und Prof. Peter Schreiner für zahlreiche Hinweise und überaus konstruktive Kritik. Ebenfalls danken möchte ich Dr. Georgia Moschovi und Dr. Athanasios Mailis für die Vermittlung der Abbildungen. Eine Vertiefung in die Materie ermöglichte mir ein Stipendium am DSZ Venedig.

[2] *Ibidem*, S. 7-14. Diese traditionell bipolare Geschichtsinterpretation ist heute noch insbesondere unter griechischen Autoren verbreitet, z. B. D. TSOUGARAKIS, *La tradizione culturale bizantina nel primo periodo della dominazione veneziana a Creta. Alcune osservazioni in merito alla questione dell'identità culturale*, in G. ORTALLI (ed.), *Venezia e Creta*. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi (Iraklion-Chanià, 30 settembre - 5 ottobre 1997), Venedig, 1998, S. 509-522; N. PSILAKIS, *Klöster und Byzantinische Kirchen auf Kreta*, Heraklion, 1998. S. dazu I. BOLANAKIS, *Εκκλησία και εκκλησιαστική παιδεία στην βενετοκρατούμενη Κρήτη [Kirche und religiöse Erziehung im venezianischen Kreta]*, Rethymnon, 2002. Vgl. aber zu neuen Ansätzen unten Anm. 70.

[3] Z. B. TSOUGARAKIS *La tradizione*, S. 521. Zur Frage der byzantinischen Identität zuletzt A. KALDELLIS, *Hellenism in Byzantium: The Transformations of Greek Identity and the Reception of the Classical Tradition*, Cambridge, 2007; G. PAGE, *Being Byzantine: Greek Identity before the Ottomans*, Cambridge, 2008.

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'westliche' Kleidung bzw. Rüstung von negativ konnotierten Soldatenfiguren in Passionsdarstellungen und Martyrienszenen auf (ehemals) byzantinischem Territorium gedeutet.[4] Welche Szene aber wäre für die Demonstration der Verwerflichkeit des venezianischen Anderen und zugleich dessen Bestrafung besser geeignet als diejenige der ewigen Verdammnis, welcher Ort wäre passender für die verhassten Eroberer als die Hölle?[5]

Entsprechend ist eine Höllendarstellung des 14. Jahrhunderts in Agios Ioannis Prodromos am Friedhof in Kritsa im Osten Kretas nahe der Lassithi-Hochebene (Bezirk Merambéllo, Nomós Lassithi) als Ausdruck 'of the Cretans' hostile attitude towards the Roman church and its representatives', als 'resentment and hostility among non-Catholics' gedeutet worden, befinden sich dort doch die Figuren lateinischer Kleriker und Ordensmitglieder im Höllenfeuer (Abb. 3).[6] Wirft man einen Blick auf die Entstehungsumstände der Wandmalerei, so scheint diese Interpretation zunächst überaus einleuchtend. Gerade die ersten beiden Jahrhunderte nach der venezianischen Eroberung Kretas waren von Unruhen und Aufständen geprägt, die von den ländlichen Gegenden ausgingen.[7] Eine führende Rolle nahmen kretische Adelsfamilien ein, die ihre Abstammung auf das byzantinische Kaiserhaus zurückführten. Mit ihnen rebellierten aber auch Geistliche und abhängige

[4] Vgl. dazu S. GERSTEL, *Art and Identity in the Medieval Morea*, in A. LAIOU - R. PARVIZ MOTTAHEDEH (eds.), *The Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World*, Washington, 2001, S. 263-285. Zu 'westlichen' Motiven in der kretischen Bildkunst s. S. PAPADAKI-OEKLAND, *Αυτικότροπες τοιχογραφίες του 14ου αιώνα στην Κρήτη. Η άλλη όψη μιας αμφίδρομης σχέσης; [Westliche Fresken des 14. Jahrhunderts auf Kreta; die andere Seite eine reziproken Beziehung?]*, in *Ευφρόσυνον. Αφιέρωμα στον Μανόλη Χατζηδάκη*, Vol. II, Athen, 1992, S. 491-516; K. GALLAS - K. WESSEL/M. BORBOUDAKIS, *Byzantinisches Kreta*, München, 1983, S. 116-119; M. VASSILAKIS-MAVRAKAKIS, *Western Influences on the Fourteenth Century Art of Crete*, in *JÖB*, 32, 5, 1982, S. 301-311. Vgl. auch A. LYMBEROPOULOU, *'Fish on a Dish' and its Table Companions in Fourteenth-Century Wall-Paintings on Venetian-Dominated Crete*, in L. BRUBAKER - K. LINARDOU (eds.), *Eat, Drink, and be Merry (Luke 12:19) – Food and Wine in Byzantium*, Aldershot, 2007, S. 223-232.

[5] Diesem Ansatz folgt auch das seit 2010 bestehende Projekt 'Damned in Hell in the Frescoes of Venetian-dominated Crete (13th-17th Centuries)' unter der Leitung von Prof. V. Tsamagda (Universität Mainz) und Dr. A. Lymberopoulou (Open University, Milton Keynes), online im Internet: http://www3.open.ac.uk/media/fullstory.aspx?id=19327 (Stand: 1.12.2010).

[6] VASSILAKIS-MAVRAKAKIS, *Western Influences*, S. 307, Anm. 2; A. DERBES - A. NEFF, *Italy, the Mendicant Orders, and the Byzantine Sphere*, in H. C. EVANS (ed.), *Byzantium. Faith and Power (1261-1557)*, New York, 2004, S. 449-461, hier S. 453. Entsprechend deutet auch M. BISSINGER, Art. *Kreta. Malerei*, in *RBK*, 4 (1990), S. 1001-1174, bes. S. 1045

[7] Zur Situation unter venezianischer Herrschaft s. P. LOCK, *The Franks in the Aegean, 1204-1500*, London, 1995, S. 151-154; N. TOMADAKIS, *La politica religiosa di Venezia a Creta verso i Cretesi ortodossi dal XIII al XV secolo*, in A. PERTUSI (ed.), *Venezia e il Levante fino al secolo XV*, Vol. I, II, Florenz, 1973, S. 783-797; ausführlich in S. MCKEE, *Uncommon Dominion. Venetian Crete and the Myth of Ethnic Purity*, Philadelphia, 2000.

Bauern. Ausschlaggebend scheinen nicht nur die weitgehende Entmachtung und Benachteiligung der einheimischen Bevölkerung, sondern ebenfalls religiöse und politische Faktoren zu sein, etwa die Beeinträchtigung und Enteignung der orthodoxen Kirche und die traditionelle Nähe zum byzantinischen Reich.

Die Vorstellungen von Orthodoxie und Kaiserreich entwickelten sich, so wird vermutet, zu einem Teil des Selbstverständnisses, der Identität der kretischen Griechen.[8] Zahlreiche Stifterinschriften in ländlichen Kirchen sind als Beweis für eine anhaltende Orientierung an Byzanz gedeutet worden, datieren sie doch die Entstehung nach dem jeweiligen byzantinischen Kaiser.[9] Ein solches byzantinisch-orthodoxes Selbstverständnis und eine entsprechend abwehrende Haltung allem 'Lateinischen' gegenüber wären demnach auch für die Einwohner des Dorfes Kritsa vorauszusetzen, das sich im 14. Jahrhundert in venezianischem Besitz befand.[10] Der hier zur Diskussion stehende Dekor von Agios Ioannis Prodromos wurde, wie eine Inschrift bekundet, unter Beteiligung von Ioannis Skordilis erstellt.[11] Bei diesem handelte es sich möglicherweise, darauf könnte zumindest sein Name schließen lassen, um ein Mitglied der besonders aufrührerischen kretischen Familie der Skordilis.[12] Noch dazu erfolgte die Stiftung im Jahr 1370, nur wenige Jahre nach dem sog. Hl. Titus-Aufstand (1363-64) gegen die venezianische Obrigkeit.[13] Auch wenn der Stifter der Wandmalereien nicht bekannt ist – vermutlich ein relativ wohlhabender orthodoxer

[8] C. MALTEZOU, *The Historical and Social Context*, in D. HOLTON (ed.), *Literatur and Society in Renaissance Crete*, Cambridge, 1991, S. 17-47, bes. S. 22; Vgl. F. THIRIET, *La Formation d'une conscience nationale hellénique en Romanie latine (XIIIe-XVIe siècle)*, in *Revue des études sud-est européennes*, 13 (1975), S. 187-196.

[9] S. dazu TSOUGARAKIS *La tradizione*; K. KALOKYRIS, *The Byzantine Wall Paintings of Crete*, New York, 1973, S. 180; PSILAKIS, *Klöster*, S. 14-15.

[10] Für das Jahr 1328 ist der Adelige Marco Cornaro als Eigentümer belegt. K. MYLOPOTAMITAKI, *Die Kirche der Panagia Kera in Kritsa*, Heraklion, 2005, S. 3.

[11] GALLAS - WESSEL - BORBOUDAKIS, *Byzantinisches Kreta*, S. 434-435; M. BORBOUDAKIS, *Panhagia Kera. Byzantinische Fresken in Kritsa*, Athen, o.J., o.S. bei Abb. 62.

[12] Vgl. F. THIRIET, *La Romanie vénitienne au moyen age. Le développement et l'exploitation du domaine colonial vénitien (XIIe-Xve siècles)*, Paris, 1959, S. 293. Die Skordilis siedelten aber im Westen Kretas, es würde sich demnach hier um einen entfernten Familienzweig handeln.

[13] Maderakis nennt das Jahr 1353/4, Borboudakis 1374, in den späteren Forschungsbeiträgen wird jedoch immer 1370 als Entstehungsjahr genannt. S. N. MADERAKIS, *Η κόλαση και οι ποινές των κολασμένων σαν θέμα της Δευτέρας Παρουσίας στις εκκλησίες της Κρήτης [Die Hölle und die Strafen der Verdammten als Thema der Zweiten Parusie in Kirchen Kretas]*, in Ὕδωρ εκ Πέτρας, II, 1978, S. 185-236; III/IV, 1979, S. 21-80; V/VI, 1981, S. 51-130, mit französischer Zusammenfassung auf S. 118-128, hier 1978, S. 212; M. BORBOUDAKIS, *Βυζαντινά και μεσαιωνικά μνημεία Κρήτης [Byzantinische und mittelalterliche Monumente Kretas]*, in *Αρχαιολογικον Δελτιον* 30 (1975), S. 352-360, hier S. 356. Vgl. BORBOUDAKIS, *Panhagia Kera*; GALLAS - WESSEL - BORBOUDAKIS, *Byzantinisches Kreta*, S. 434.

Dorfbewohner oder auch eine Gruppe von ihnen,[14] so wäre ein bildlich gefasstes negatives Statement den religiösen Vertretern der Besatzer gegenüber vor diesem lokalen und zeitlichen Hintergrund verständlich. Stehen wir also in Kritsa vor einem Bildbeleg für einen anti-lateinischen 'vivo senso d'identità collettiva fra gli abitanti di Creta'?[15]

Sehen wir uns zunächst die betreffende Darstellung in ihrem Umfeld an. Die Kirche wie ihre Bilddekoration fügen sich in die visuellen Usancen der Insel ein. Bei dem kleinen Sakralbau handelt es sich um eine der auf Kreta üblichen Einraumkapellen, die von einem lokalen Maler der byzantinischen Tradition und den Anforderungen eines orthodoxen Kirchenraumes folgend ausgeschmückt wurde.[16] Über orthodoxen Heiligen im unteren Bereich sind im Tonnengewölbe ein Christuszyklus und mehrere Szenen zur Vita von Johannes dem Täufer, dem Kirchenpatron, angeordnet. In der Apsis und am Triumphbogen befinden sich eine Deesis über Kirchenvätern mit dem Melismos und das Gastmahl Abrahams über einer Verkündigung und Diakonen.

Die westliche Eingangswand war ursprünglich oberhalb der Tür mit dem Jüngsten Gericht dekoriert, erhalten sind nur noch die Füße der Apostelreihe. Seitlich der Tür sind auf der Südseite die Personifikationen von Meer und Erde gezeigt, welche die Leiber der Menschen am Jüngsten Tag hergeben (Abb. 1). An diese Szenen schließen sich die Höllenstrafen an, ein besonders beliebtes Sujet in den kretischen Kapellen. Hierbei wird den nackten Sündern die dem jeweiligen inschriftlich festgehaltenen Vergehen entsprechende Strafe zuteil, etwa für Verleumdung, Meineid, Diebstahl, Gewichtsfälschung, Wucher, Mord etc.[17]

Nördlich des Eingangs ist die Westwand mit einer teilweise stark beschädigten Höllenszene bemalt (Abb. 2). In der Tradition des byzantinischen

[14] Inschriften in der nahen Panagia Kera belegen, dass die Fresken der dortigen Seitenschiffe von drei Hauptstiftern sowie der Dorfgemeinschaft finanziert wurden. MYLOPOTAMITAKI, *Die Kirche*, S. 3. Ein Stifter aus den Reihen der venezianischen Oberschicht, etwa der Familie der Cornaro, scheint im Falle von Agios Ioannes Prodromos unwahrscheinlich, da sich diese in ihren Stiftungen mit Vorliebe mit Wappen präsentierten, welche hier fehlen.

[15] So bezeichnet TSOUGARAKIS, *La tradizione*, S. 509, die Einstellung der einheimischen Bevölkerung der Insel.

[16] Zu den Usancen auf Kreta zuletzt A. SUCROW, *Byzantinische und nachbyzantinische Wandmalerei auf Kreta*, in *Kreta. Kunst und Kultur im Mittelalter*, E. HAUSTEIN-BARSCH - R. LILIE - A. SUCROW (eds.), Recklinghausen, 2007, S. 51-59. Zum Stil der Fresken M. BISSINGER: *Kreta. Byzantinische Wandmalerei*, München, 1995, S. 177. S. dort für weitere Literaturhinweise.

[17] S. dazu MADERAKIS *Η κόλαση*; M. GARIDIS, *Les Punitions collectives et individuelles des damnés dans le Jugement dernier (du XIIe au XIVe siècle)*, in *Zbornik za likovne umetnosti*, 18, 1982, S. 1-17; M. VASSILAKI, *Οι Πλούσιοι πάνε στην Κόλαση*, in C. MALTEZOU (ed.), *Ricchi e poveri nella società dell'oriente Grecolatino*, Simposio Internazionale (Biblioteca dell'Istituto Ellenico di Venezia 19), Venedig, 1998, S. 473-482.

Abb. 1: Ioannis Skordilis, *Personifikationen von Erde und Wasser am Jüngsten Tag* und *Höllenstrafen*, Westwand, Fresko, 1370, Kritsa, Agios Ioannis Prodromos (Eigentum von Gogo Moschovi)

Abb. 2: Ioannis Skordilis, *Höllendarstellung*, Westwand, Fresko, 1370, Kritsa, Agios Ioannis Prodromos (Eigentum von Gogo Moschovi)

Weltgerichtsbildes sind Elemente aus verschiedenen Textquellen kombiniert.[18] Im Vordergrund steht die Auseinandersetzung zwischen Teufel und Engeln. Von einem Felsvorsprung aus greifen zwei Engel mit ihrem Dreizack den schwarzen Hades/Satan an, der auf dem mehrköpfigen Untier im flammengefüllten Höllengrund thront und Judas in seinem Schoß birgt.[19] Hinter ihm drängen sich zahlreiche menschliche Figuren im Feuermeer, das inschriftlich als nie verlöschendes Feuer (ΤΟ ΠΥΡ ΤΟ ΑCΒΕΣΤΟΝ) bezeichnet ist.[20] Üblich für eine Höllendarstellung ist die nackte Figur des dürstenden reichen Prassers (*Lk. 16, 19-31*). Die übrigen Hölleninsassen sind durch ihre Kleidung als Zugehörige bestimmter gesellschaftlicher und religiöser Gruppen gekennzeichnet, die eine Bezugnahme auf die spezifische kretische Situation im 14. Jahrhundert nahelegen (Abb. 3-4). Sie sollen im Mittelpunkt der folgenden Überlegung stehen.

Direkt hinter dem Ungeheuer befinden sich mehrere hochrangige Repräsentanten der lateinischen Kirche.[21] Entsprechende Figuren kommen auch in der Höllendarstellung im Phanurios-Schiff des Klosters Balsamonero von 1431 vor und werden dort ebenfalls als 'konfessionelle Nadelstiche' interpretiert.[22]

In Kritsa schließen sich den lateinischen Klerikern durch Tonsuren und Kutten kenntliche Mitglieder westlicher Orden an. Zwei von ihnen in dunklen Kutten könnten Franziskaner sein.[23] Ähnliche Gestalten schmoren in

[18] Die gedrängte Raumsituation in den kleinen kretischen Einraumkapellen hat zumeist eine Kürzung der Zyklen zur Wiederkunft Christi zufolge. In Agios Ioannis wird beispielsweise auf die Darstellung des Paradieses verzichtet. Vgl. C. CAVARNOS, *Guide to Byzantine Iconography*, Boston, 1993, S. 96-105. Generell: B. BRENK, *Tradition und Neuerung in der christlichen Kunst des ersten Jahrtausend. Studien zur Geschichte des Weltgerichtsbildes*, Wien, 1966; V. PACE (ed.), *Alfa e Omega. Il giudizio universale tra Oriente e Occidente*, Mailand, 2006.

[19] Normalerweise treiben die Engel die Sünder in das Feuermeer, wie in der *Offenbarung des Paulus* beschrieben. Aber auch z. B. in Timios Stavros tou Hagiasmati bei Platanistasa auf Zypern sowie in Agioi Apostoloi in Kavoussi auf Kreta richten sich ihre Waffen gegen Satan. Zur Figur des Hades s. z. B. A. EASTMOND - L. JAMES, *Eat, Drink... and Pay the Price*, in L. BRUBAKER - K. LINARDOU (eds.), *Eat, Drink, and be Merry (Luke 12:19) – Food and Wine in Byzantium*, Aldershot, 2007, S. 175-189, hier S. 179-180.

[20] Die Entzifferung der Inschrift verdanke ich Prof. V. Tsamakda von der Universität Mainz. MADERAKIS, *Η κόλαση*, II, S. 212, liest das letzte Wort als 'ΑΣΒΕΣΤΟΝ'.

[21] BORBOUDAKIS, *Βυζαντινά και μεσαιωνικά μνημεία*, S. 356 und MADERAKIS, *Η κόλαση*, II, S. 215 bzw. V/VI, S. 120 beschreiben sie als katholische Päpste mit Tiara bzw. als Bischöfe und eventuell den katholischen Erzbischof von Kreta; GALLAS - WESSEL - BORBOUDAKIS, *Byzantinisches Kreta*, S. 435, sprechen von 'Heiligen' mit 'westlichen Bischofsmützen' – die Gestalten haben aber keinen Nimbus. VASSILAKIS-MAVRAKAKIS, *Western Influences*, S. 307, Anm. 2, bezeichnet sie als Kardinäle. DERBES - NEFF, *Italy, the Mendicant Orders*, S. 453, bleiben neutral bei 'Latin clerics'.

[22] So GALLAS - WESSEL - BORBOUDAKIS, *Byzantinisches Kreta*, S. 118, welche sie als Päpste identifizieren. Ebenso BISSINGER, *Kreta. Malerei*, S. 1045.

[23] So vermutet von MADERAKIS, *Η κόλαση*, II, S. 215; VASSILAKIS-MAVRAKAKIS, *Western Influences*, S. 307, Anm. 2; DERBES - NEFF, *Italy, the Mendicant Orders*, S. 453.

Abb. 3: Ioannis Skordilis, *Hölleninsassen*, Detail der *Höllendarstellung*, Westwand, Fresko, 1370, Kritsa, Agios Ioannis Prodromos (Eigentum von Gogo Moschovi)

Abb. 4: Ioannis Skordilis, *Hölleninsassen*, Detail der *Höllendarstellung*, Westwand, Fresko, 1370, Kritsa, Agios Ioannis Prodromos (Eigentum von Gogo Moschovi)

der Hölle in Agios Ioannis Theologos in Asfediles[24] und sind in einer vergleichbaren Szene im zyprischen Letimbou anzutreffen.[25] Eine Besonderheit auf Kreta besteht darin, dass hier nicht nur anonyme Mitglieder westlicher Mönchsorden in Höllendarstellungen vertreten sind, sondern in einigen kretischen Dorfkirchen im 14./15. Jahrhundert der Gründer des Franziskanerordens verbildlicht wurde. Die bekannteste Darstellung befindet sich interessanterweise ebenfalls in Kritsa, in der Panagia Kera, wo der stigmatisierte, mit einer Tonsur versehende und in eine Kutte mit geknoteter Kordel gekleidete Hl. Franziskus in die Reihe der orthodoxen Heiligen aufgenommen ist (Abb. 5). Auch die weiteren Beispiele in Sambas, Kato Astraki und Sklaverochori lassen ihn in der typischen Ordenskleidung und tonsuriert erscheinen.[26] Ist Franziskus in diesen Fällen sowie in kretischen Tafelbildern des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts positiv konnotiert und offenbar auch von den Gläubigen der orthodoxen Kirche akzeptiert, so kamen seine Nachfolger, zumindest könnten die Höllendarstellungen in Kritsa und Asfediles dies vermuten lassen, nicht überall so positiv an.

Die Figuren des Ordensheiligen und seiner Nachfolger im Umkreis der Lassithi-Hochebene deuten auf jeden Fall darauf hin, dass die Minoriten vor Ort präsent waren. Es ist zwar wenig über die frühe Zeit der Franziskaner auf Kreta bekannt, jedoch wissen wir, dass sie abgesehen von ihren städtischen Gründungen auch kleine Konvente auf dem Land unterhielten.[27] Laut dem Florentiner Humanisten Christoforo Bondelmonti, der Kreta 1417 bereiste, konnten Franziskaner sogar in den orthodoxen Landkirchen Gottesdienste feiern.[28] Von besonderer Bedeutung für Kritsa musste der nur

[24] Maderakis deutet sie als Franziskaner. MADERAKIS, *Η κόλαση*, II, S. 216, fig. 1 bzw. V/VI, S. 120.

[25] In einem Fresko von ca. 1500 in der Kirche der Agioi Kirykos und Ioulitta in Letimbou auf Zypern ist in der Darstellung des Pfingstgeschehens einer der zu konvertierenden Ungläubigen ohne Bart und mit Tonsur und weißer Mönchskutte gekennzeichnet. Derbes und Neff vermuten, dass es sich bei einer weiteren Figur um einen Franziskaner handelt. DERBES - NEFF, *Italy, the Mendicant Orders*, S. 453. Zwar trägt die Gestalt eine dunkle Kapuze, eine Tonsur oder sonstige Anzeichen mönchischen Lebens sind jedoch nicht zu erkennen, bei der Kopfbedeckung könnte es sich auch um eine Gugel handeln. Sicher als Mönch zu identifizieren ist daher nur die Figur in der weißen Kutte. Abb. in A. WEYL-CARR, *Byzantines and Italians on Cyprus. Images from Art*, in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, XLIX, 1995, S. 339-357, bes. S. 357, Fig. 23 a. Dazu A. STYLIANOU - J. STYLIANOU, *The Painted Churches of Cyprus. Treasures of Byzantine Art*, Nicosia, ²1997, S. 416-417.

[26] Zuletzt dazu E. HAUSTEIN-BARSCH, *Die kretische Ikonenmalerei*, in E. HAUSTEIN-BARSCH - R. LILIE - A. SUCROW (eds.), *Kreta. Kunst und Kultur im Mittelalter*, Recklinghausen, 2007, S. 61-77, bes. S. 62-63.

[27] Vgl. dazu G. GEROLA, *I Francescani in Creta al tempo del dominio veneziano*, in *Collectanea Franciscana*, II, 1932, S. 301-25, 445-461; N. TSOUGARAKIS, *The Western Religious Orders in Medieval Greece*, Diss. University of Leeds, 2008, S. 153-155.

[28] CHRISTOFORUS BONDELMONTIUS, *Descriptio Insulae Cretae*, in FLAMINIUS CORNELIUS, *Creta sacra sive de episcopis utriusque ritus graeci et latini in insula Cretae*, Venezia, 1755, Vol. 1, 77-109, hier S. 97.

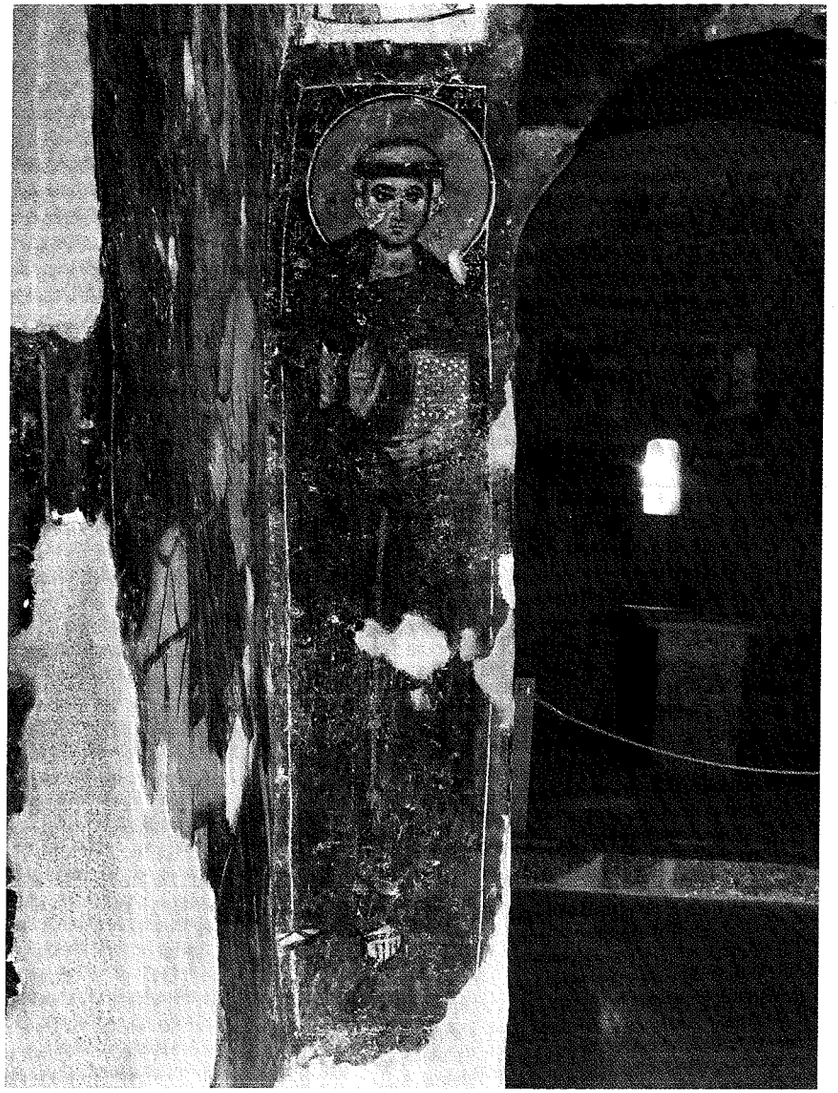

Abb. 5: *Hl. Franziskus*, Mittelschiff, Fresko, 1320-40, Kritsa, Panagia Kera (Eigentum von Margit Mersch)

ca. 25 km entfernte Konvent S. Antonio di Villanova/Neapolis sein. Dieser fungierte als Ausgangspunkt für einen der großen spirituellen Führungspersönlichkeiten der mittelalterlichen Kirche, für Petros Philargis (um 1340-1410), späterer Papst Alexander V., dessen Karriere den kretischen Minderbrüdern einen enormen Prestigegewinn bescherte.[29] Mit den Aktivitäten des Ordens in den Städten wie auf dem Land trat er notwendigerweise in Konkurrenz zu den orthodoxen Einrichtungen der Insel, was auch negative Reaktionen hervorgerufen haben mag. Üblich scheint deren Formulierung in Bildform, so gut man das bei dem erschreckend schlechten und sich rapide weiter verschlechternden Erhaltungszustand vieler Monumente überhaupt sagen kann, jedoch nicht gewesen zu sein.

Spricht demnach die Abbildung lateinischer Kleriker und westlicher Ordensmitglieder in der Hölle in einer orthodoxen Kirche auf den ersten Blick durchaus für Animositäten auf der griechischen Seite, so steht doch die Seltenheit solcher Darstellungen auf Kreta zumindest einer allgemeinen Gültigkeit dieser Aussage entgegen. Die affirmativen Abbildungen des Ordensgründers gerade in Kritsa und Umgebung lassen sogar eher an eine besondere Akzeptanz des Heiligen und somit auch seiner Nachfolger in dieser Region denken. Auch die bereits Anfang des 15. Jahrhunderts bezeugte allgemeine Verehrung des Heiligen an seinen Festtagen sowie die Verbreitung seines Namens auf der Insel sprechen für einen großflächigen und grenzüberschreitenden Erfolg der Franziskaner.[30]

Wenden wir uns der nächsten Figurengruppe im Höllenfresko in Kritsa zu. Hier steht hinter den westlichen Ordensleuten eine Reihe von bartlosen Männern mit kurzen Haaren und verschiedenartigen Hüten. Kopfbedeckungen können in der byzantinischen Kunst eine bestimmte Herkunft signalisieren. So kommen auffällige, in diesem Fall als 'westlich' identifizierte Hüte auch in der oben erwähnten Pfingstszene in Letimbou vor.[31] Im Falle z. B. von Darstellungen des Kaisers Konstantin oder in Stifterbildern dienen sie als Kennzeichen einer königlichen bzw. adeligen Abstammung. In Kritsa wird mit diesen Details klargestellt, dass es sich bei den Figuren nicht um Kleriker oder Mönche, aber auch nicht um einfache Leute handelt. Das Fehlen von Bärten und langen Haaren verweist zudem auf eine westliche Herkunft.[32] Vermutlich sollten mit diesen Charakteristika lateinische Adelige beschrieben werden.

[29] GEROLA, *I Francescani in Creta*, S. 455; TSOUGARAKIS, *The Western Religious Orders*, S. 152-153.

[30] GEROLA, *I Francescani in Creta*, S. 301-303; TSOUGARAKIS, *The Western Religious Orders*, S. 145-146.

[31] Vgl. WEYL-CARR, *Byzantines and Italians*, bes. S. 357.

[32] 'Hair was an important ethnic marker. The Latins were beardless and wore their hair cropped short'. LOCK, *The Franks*, S. 275.

Scheint bis zu diesem Punkt die Interpretation der Höllenszene als Ausdruck einer negativen Einstellung gegenüber Angehörigen der lateinischen Sphäre noch nachvollziehbar, so lassen die übrigen Figuren endgültig Zweifel an einer solchen Deutung aufkommen, entstammen sie doch überwiegend dem 'eigenen' kulturellen Bereich (Abb. 4). In der obersten Gruppe befinden sich drei Männer mit einer auffälligen Kopfbedeckung ('Skiadion'), die für die obersten Beamten des byzantinischen Hofes bzw. für den Kaiser überliefert ist. Solche Figuren, dargestellt beispielweise auch im Kloster Balsamonero, werden traditionell als die orthodoxe Kirche verfolgende Kaiser interpretiert, auf jeden Fall handelt es sich um sündige Repräsentanten der byzantinischen Herrschaft.[33]

Die mittlere Gruppe wiederum besteht aus Männern mit langen weißen Haaren und Bärten in faltenreichen, hellen Gewändern. Um ihre Schultern geschlungen tragen sie lange, über der Brust umgeschlagene Bänder, die an das orthodoxe Omophorion erinnern. In diesem Fall würde es sich um Bischöfe der orthodoxen Kirche handeln. Dass diese Deutung im Bereich des Möglichen liegt, zeigt die vergleichbare, leider stark zerstörte Darstellung des Themas in Agioi Apostoloi in Kavoussi, wo sich weißbärtige Gestalten in weißen, mit schwarzen Kreuzen geschmückten Gewändern zwischen den Hölleninsassen befinden.[34] Die Verortung orthodoxer Kleriker in der Hölle verwundert nicht, hält man sich vor Augen, dass in der *Offenbarung des Paulus*, eine der die Höllenszenen inspirierenden Schriftquellen, sündhafte Bischöfe, Diakone und Priester in den Flammen beschrieben werden.[35] Ergänzt wird die Ansammlung von orthodoxen Klerikern in Kritsa durch zwei Männer mit dunklen, über die Köpfe gezogenen Tüchern. Eventuell sollten orthodoxe Mönche abgebildet werden – ebenfalls übliche Insassen der byzantinischen Hölle.[36]

[33] GALLAS - WESSEL - BORBOUDAKIS, *Byzantinisches Kreta*, S. 435, sprechen von 'Königen'. Bereits im vatikanischen Exemplar grec. 394 der Himmelleiter des Johannes Klimakos auf fol. 12v befindet sich eine Figur mit prächtiger Kopfbedeckung in der Hölle. S. BRENK, *Tradition und Neuerung*, Abb. 28. Mit solchem Kopfschmuck sind zwar auch die Kaiser der Christenverfolgungen (z. B. Decius, Diokletian) oder auch der Häretiker Julian Apostata in Höllenszenen versehen. In Kritsa sind die Figuren jedoch nicht inschriftlich identifiziert.

[34] Zu den Fresken vom Anfang des 15. Jahrhunderts in Agioi Apostoloi in Kavoussi s. GALLAS - WESSEL - BORBOUDAKIS, *Byzantinisches Kreta*, S. 470-471. Auch in den Höllendarstellungen in Kalopanagiotis und Moutoullas auf Zypern sind orthodoxe Kleriker dargestellt. STYLIANOU - STYLIANOU, *The Painted Churches*, S. 311 und S. 323-339. Vgl. Anm. 64.

[35] *The Apocryphal New Testament*, übersetzt v. M. R. JAMES, Oxford, 1924, Apocalypse of Paul, Abschnitt 34-36. Dargestellt ist ein Geistlicher bereits im vatikanischen Exemplar grec. 394 der Himmelleiter des Johannes Klimakos auf fol. 12v. (vgl. Anm. 41). In anderen Höllendarstellungen können sie inschriftlich als die großen Häretiker der frühchristlichen Zeit, z. B. als Arius oder Makedonius, gekennzeichnet sein. Dies ist hier jedoch nicht der Fall.

[36] So vermutet auch von MADERAKIS, *Η κόλαση*, II, S. 215. Das Tuch fällt über die Schultern nach vorne auf die Brust und lässt den Kopf sehr voluminös wirken. Solche Kopfbedeckungen sind bei Darstellungen von Mönchen üblich, vergleichbar ist z. B. der Hl. Johannes Damaszenos im Kloster Balsamonero.

Demnach sind politische wie religiöse Repräsentanten der lateinischen und byzantinischen Welt wiedergegeben, womit das Alteritätspotential der Darstellung aber keineswegs erschöpft ist. Ferner sind Figuren mit einer turbanartigen, um den Hals geschlungenen Kopfbedeckung vorhanden. Wahrscheinlich sind die Gestalten auf diese Weise als Muslime charakterisiert, welche gleichfalls zum gewöhnlichen Höllenpersonal gehören. Sie kommen beispielsweise auch in der entsprechenden Darstellung in der Panagia tou Moutoulla in Zypern vor.[37]

Sind demnach in Kritsa die römische und die orthodoxe Kirche sowie der Islam vertreten, so fehlt noch die dritte große Glaubensrichtung, das Judentum. Auffällig ist nun, dass zwei der zuvor bereits angesprochenen, hinter den westlichen Ordensangehörigen stehenden Männer spitze Hüte tragen (Abb. 3). Zudem ist die Physiognomie des vorderen Mannes, der als einziger der Gruppe bärtig zu sein scheint, entstellt. Befände sich die Darstellung in Westeuropa, wäre davon auszugehen, dass hier ein Jude verbildlicht werden sollte.[38] In der byzantinischen Tradition ist ein solcher spezifischer Darstellungstypus zwar nicht allzu verbreitet, es existieren jedoch durchaus negative Stereotypen mit dämonisierenden Zügen.[39] In Höllendarstellungen können Judenfiguren als abschreckendes Modell der Starrköpfigkeit und Blindheit gegenüber der christlichen Wahrheit fungieren. Eine Inschrift der Höllenszene im Narthex von Agios Ioannis Lampadistis im zyprischen Kalopanagiotis von kurz nach 1453 beschreibt die Sündertypen laut Stylianou-Stylianou als 'half-priests, the fighters against the Holy Spirit and the faithless, the truthless, the Jews and Pharisees, the bad Kings and the Tyrants'.[40] In Kritsa ist also neben der Darstellung von sündigen Geistlichen, Herrschern, Adeligen, 'ungläubigen' Muslimen und 'häretischen' Katholiken auch diejenige von Juden durchaus denkbar.[41]

[37] Die mehrschichtigen Fresken der Kirche sind zwischen 1280 und das 15. Jahrhundert datiert worden. GARIDIS, *Les Punitions collectives*, S. 10-11; STYLIANOU - STYLIANOU, *The Painted Churches*, S. 323-339.

[38] Vgl. z. B. J.-F. FAÜ, *L'Image des Juifs dans l'art Chrétien médiéval*, Paris, 2005.

[39] Vgl. E. REVEL-NEHER, *The Image of the Jew in Byzantine Art*, Oxford, 1992, S. 50-83; und dazu die kritische Rezension von D. JACOBY in *BZ*, 88, 1995, S. 174-177. Es existiert durchaus eine antijüdische Bildsprache in der byzantinischen Kunst, vor allem in den sog. Randpsalterien. S. dazu K. CORRIGAN, *Visual Polemics in the Ninth Century Byzantine Psalters*, Cambridge, 1992.

[40] STYLIANOU - STYLIANOU, *The Painted Churches*, S. 311. Vgl. A. SCHNEIDER, *Zypern. Archäologische Schätze, byzantinische Kirchen und gotische Kathedralen im Schnittpunkt der Kulturen*, Köln, 2002, S. 211.

[41] Auch in der *Offenbarung des Paulus* finden sich 'Wucherer' in der Hölle: *The Apocryphal New Testament*, Abschnitt 37. Waren die kretischen Juden vor allem als Geldverleiher tätig, so ist ihre Darstellung hier durchaus möglich. In Agios Ioannis Lamapadistis sind

Die Vergleichsbeispiele machen deutlich, dass die Vertreter verschiedener Religionen und Völker bereits im Spätmittelalter zum üblichen Personal der Höllenszenerie gehören und ihre Anwesenheit dort somit keineswegs von konkret feindlichen Intentionen motiviert sein muss, was andererseits natürlich ebenso wenig als Beleg für ein harmonisches Miteinander zu verstehen ist.[42] Auch in 'westlichen' Höllen kann selbst die Präsenz bestimmter negativ belegter Personen, wie z. B. des Propheten Mohammed, nicht zwingend auf bestehende Animositäten schließen lassen.[43] Im Rahmen einer Gerichtsdarstellung sind die Mitglieder einer anderen Glaubensrichtung, kenntlich gemacht notwendigerweise mit Hilfe der traditionellen Stereotypen, vor allem in ihrer Eigenschaft als Häretiker und Ungläubige von Interesse. Sie dienen als abschreckendes Exempel für die auf eine Abweichung von der rechten Lehre folgende Bestrafung. Dass auch in Kritsa die Darstellung des Anderen in der Hölle nicht auf eine konkret feindliche Absicht zurückzuführen ist, wird durch das Vorhandensein von Vertretern des eigenen Glaubens, der eigenen Kultur in der Hölle bestätigt.

An diesem Punkt stoßen wir auf ein generelles Problem der antilateinischen Deutung byzantinischer Höllenszenen, das in dem ungleichen Verständnis der Figuren besteht. Einerseits werden sie als sündhafte Individuen angesehen, so etwa der die Rechtgläubigen verfolgende byzantinische Kaiser Decius oder bestimmte vom Glauben abgefallene orthodoxe Geistliche. Andererseits aber werden die Gestalten als Stellvertreter für einen bestimmten Stand oder eine Religion, etwa den lateinischen Adel oder die römische Geistlichkeit gewertet.[44] Diese selektive Vorgehensweise ist jedoch nur bei einem Vorhandensein entsprechender Inschriften gerechtfertigt. Da diese in Kritsa fehlen und die orthodoxen Mönche und Geistliche kaum als generelle

bärtige Personen mit einer auffälligen schwarzen, breiten Kopfbedeckung im Feuerfluss dargestellt. Denkbar wäre, dass diese Figuren Juden darstellen sollen. Eine Kennzeichnung durch ein gelbes Zeichen bzw. später einen gelben oder schwarzen Hut wurde erst im 15. Jahrhundert verlangt. S. D. JACOBY, *Venetian Jews in the Eastern Mediterranean*, in G. COZZI (ed.), *Gli Ebrei e Venezia. Secoli XIV-XVIII*. Atti del Convegno internazionale organizzato dall'Istituto di storia della società e dello stato veneziano della Fondazione Giorgio Cini (Venezia, Isola di San Giorgio Maggiore, 5-10 giugno 1983), Mailand, 1987, S. 29-58, bes. S. 36-37; M. GEORGOPOULOU, *Venice's Mediterranean Colonies: Architecture and Urbanism*, Cambridge, 2001, S. 192-200.

[42] Die Lateiner erscheinen zwar nur in Höllendarstellungen in den eroberten byzantinischen Territorien, ihre dortige Präsenz lässt jedoch nicht automatisch auf eine feindliche Bewertung schließen. Vielmehr wurden sie dort zu einem wichtigen Teil der Gesellschaft und als solcher gemeinsam mit anderen bedeutenden Kräften auch Thema der Höllenszene.

[43] Vgl. dazu M. MERSCH - U. RITZERFELD, *Differenzwahrnehmung in Architektur und Malerei der Franziskanerkirche S. Caterina in Galatina (Apulien)*, in M. BORGOLTE *et al.* (eds.), *Mittelalter im Labor. Die Mediävistik testet Wege zu einer transkulturellen Europawissenschaft*, Berlin, 2008 (Europa im Mittelalter, Vol. X), S. 50-83, bes. S. 71-81.

[44] Vgl. MADERAKIS, *Η κόλαση*, II.

Repräsentanten ihres Standes zu verstehen sein dürften, sondern vielmehr als gefallene Einzelpersonen, können auch die lateinischen Geistlichen, Mönche und Adeligen nicht als allgemeine Vertreter ihrer Klasse interpretiert werden. Festzuhalten bleibt jedoch, dass die Szene dem Betrachter damals wie heute eine große Offenheit in der Deutung bot bzw. bietet, die sich in den unterschiedlichen Interpretationen in der Forschung spiegelt. Nichtsdestotrotz können wir schließen, dass die Wandmalereien in Kritsa zumindest nicht hauptsächlich als 'konfessionelle Nadelstiche' gegen die lateinischen Besatzer intendiert waren. Vielmehr dient die dargestellte Alterität der Unterstreichung der Bildaussage: die Bestrafung aller sündhaften, nicht dem rechten Glauben folgenden bzw. von diesem abweichenden Menschen.

Auch die Entstehungsumstände der Darstellung lassen bei genauerem Hinsehen von einem bipolaren Verständnis der Höllenszene Abstand nehmen, ist doch eine sehr viel komplexere historische Situation zu konstatieren. Selbst wenn neben dem Priester und eventuell dem Stifter der Malereien oder Besitzer der Kirche ein Mitglied der traditionell aufrührerischen Skordilis-Familie als Maler mitverantwortlich für die Gestaltung gewesen sein sollte, kann aus diesem Umstand nicht unbedingt auf eine anti-lateinische Tendenz geschlossen werden. So waren z. B. beim Titus-Aufstand kurz vor Entstehung des Freskos nicht nur die orthodoxen Kreter beteiligt. Vielmehr erhoben sich auch venezianische Feudalherren, angeführt von den Gradenigo und Venier, in Allianz mit einigen Griechen gegen die hohe Besteuerung und planten einen von Venedig unabhängigen Staat. Gleichzeitig traten auch kretische Griechen als Verteidiger der bestehenden Ordnung in Aktion.[45]

Testamente des 14. Jahrhunderts wiederum bekunden, dass die Einwohner gleich welcher Kirchenzugehörigkeit sowohl orthodoxe als auch katholische Einrichtungen bedachten.[46] Die Präsenz katholischer Inselbewohner bei orthodoxen Gottesdiensten ist für das beginnende 15. Jahrhundert bezeugt, aber auch für die Zeit davor anzunehmen.[47] Kleriker wie Laien beider Kirchen traten bereits im 14. Jahrhundert auf Anordnung der Obrigkeit bei den wichtigen Festen und Prozessionen gemeinsam auf, z. B. zur Feier des von den Einheimischen übernommenen Hl. Titus als Schutzpatron

[45] S. dazu F. THIRIET, *Sui dissidi sorti tra il Comune di Venezia e i suoi feudatori di Creta nel Trecento*, in *Archivio storico italiano*, CXIV, 1956, S. 699-712.

[46] MCKEE, *Uncommon Dominion*, S. 107-115.

[47] Diese Tendenz ist belegt in einem *Ducale* von 1418, das auf die Verbesserung der Situation des lateinischen Klerus in den *Castelli* zielte. FLAMINIUS CORNELIUS, *Creta sacra sive de episcopis utriusque ritus graeci et latini in insula Cretae*, Venedig, 1755, Vol. II, S. 373.

der Insel sowie bei der wöchentlichen Prozession mit der Ikone der Mesopanditissa, die an den lateinischen wie griechischen Kirchen station machte.[48]

Diese Umstände lassen erkennen, wie problematisch eine strikte kulturelle Grenzziehung sowie die Rekonstruktion einer kontrastierenden kollektiven byzantinisch-orthodoxen bzw. kretisch-venezianischen Identität zu diesem Zeitpunkt ist, hatten sich doch die einheimische Bevölkerung und die Zuwanderer einander bereits angenähert und war das Handeln der Adeligen, und so auch die von ihnen initiierten Aufstände, vor allem von Eigeninteressen motiviert.[49] Gemeinsamkeiten bestanden nicht nur in politischen und wirtschaftlichen Interessen, sondern hatten sich auch im täglichen Leben, z. B. in zahlreichen unehelichen wie ehelichen Verbindungen, auf allen gesellschaftlichen Ebenen entwickelt.[50] Sie resultierten u. a. auch in einer religiösen Annäherung. Dabei stellte sich vor allem die Minderheit der venezianischen Siedler auf die Usancen der orthodoxen Mehrheit ein.[51] Aber auch die einheimische Bevölkerung trat, vor allem in den Städten, mit den von den Venezianern eingeführten Ritualen in Kontakt. Es kann also für das 14. Jahrhundert keineswegs von absolut getrennten ethnisch-religiösen Fraktionen und einem ausschließlich ideologisch bedingten Handeln ausgegangen werden.[52]

Bedenkenswert ist zudem die Tatsache, dass gerade beim Ort Kritsa, in der Panagia Kera, eine der kretischen Freskendarstellungen des Ordensgründers der Minoriten aus dem zweiten oder dritten Jahrzehnt des 14. Jahrhunderts zu finden ist (Abb. 5).[53] Nun zeichnete sich die bedeutende venezianisch-kretische Feudalfamilie der Cornaro, in deren Einflussbereich sich das Dorf im 14. Jahrhundert befand,[54] durch eine enge Verbindung mit den Franziskanern aus. Dies gilt für die Zweige der Familie in Venedig wie für diejenigen auf Kreta, wo sie zu den wichtigsten Förderern des Ordens

[48] A. PAPADAKI, *Cerimonie religiose e laiche nell'isola di Creta durante il dominio veneziano*, Spoleto, 2005, bes. S. 51-54, S. 145-158. Zu Polemiken wie integrativen Phänomenen s. GEROLA, *Monumenti veneti*, Vol. 2, Parte III, S. 7-15.

[49] Die griechischen Adeligen rebellierten vor allem für Privilegien und Landbesitz, den sie sich auf diese Weise mit der Zeit aneignen konnten. MALTEZOU, *The Historical and Social Context*, bes. S. 22-25.

[50] S. dazu MCKEE, *Uncommon Dominion*, S. 55-99.

[51] Vgl. TOMADAKIS, *La politica religiosa*, S. 795-796; MALTEZOU, *The Historical and Social Context*, bes. S. 32-35.

[52] Auch Sally McKee kommt zu diesem Schluss. MCKEE, *Uncommon Dominion*, S. 99.

[53] Dazu GALLAS - WESSEL - BORBOUDAKIS, *Byzantinisches Kreta*, S. 111-112, 117-118. Außerdem K. LASSITHIOTAKES, *'Ο 'Αγιος Φραγκίσκος καὶ ἡ Κρήτη*, in *Πεπραγμένα του Δ' Διεθνούς Κρητολογικού Συνεδρίου* 2, Athen 1981, S. 146-154; S. PAPADAKI-OEKLAND, *'Η Κερά τῆς Κριτσας. Παρατηρήσεις στή χρονολόγηη τῶν τοιχογραφιῶν της [Die Kera-Kirche von Kritsa. Bemerkungen zur Datierung ihrer Fresken]*, in *Archaiologikon Deltion* 22, 1967, S. 87-111.

[54] S. oben Anm. 10.

gehörten. Im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert sind reiche Stiftungen an den Konvent von S. Francesco in Candia/Heraklion belegt.[55] Auf ein besonderes Verhältnis zu den Mendikanten lässt auch ein einzigartiges Tafelbild des 15. Jahrhunderts von Andreas Ritzos im Besitz der Familie schließen. Dieses füllt das von Bernardino da Siena erfundene IHS-Kürzel mit den Szenen von Kreuzigung, Auferstehung und Anastasis und kombiniert sie mit einer griechischen Inschrift, die einen bei der sonntäglichen orthodoxen Liturgie gelesenen Text wiedergibt, bezieht also das mendikantische Schema auf die orthodoxe Liturgie.[56]

In den Territorien in Familienbesitz könnte diese traditionelle Nähe der Cornaro zu den Minoriten eine aktive oder passive Propagierung des Ordensgründers bei der einheimischen Bevölkerung zur Folge gehabt haben, aus der möglicherweise auch die Abbildung des Hl. Franziskus in der Panagia Kera von Anfang des 14. Jahrhunderts resultierte. Es ist festgestellt worden, dass vor allem die oberen Klassen der einheimischen Griechen, die sich offenbar mit Vorliebe durch Eheschließungen mit den mächtigen venezianischen Familien verbanden,[57] 'westliche' Praktiken und Luxusprodukte der venezianischen Nobilität übernahmen. Dabei handelte es sich z. B. um importierte Kleidung und Glaswaren. Solche Produkte konnten in den finanzierten Kirchenfresken, etwa in Stifterdarstellungen oder biblischen Szenen explizit vorgeführt werden.[58] Dass die Archonten mit Hilfe der bereits erwähnten inschriftlichen Datierungen nach den byzantinischen Kaisern ihre Kirchen als Orte der Zurschaustellung und Konsolidierung des eigenen, auf die Abstammung aus Byzanz zurückgeführten Autoritätsanspruchs nutzten, hat bereits Chryssa Maltezou betont.[59] Ein Anspruch auf Führungsposition und Einfluss konnte unter der neuen Herrschaft aber ebenfalls über venezianische Luxusprodukte und Modewaren vermittelt werden.

Vorstellbar wäre, dass dieser Drang zur Präsentation von sozialem Status und Reichtum im kirchlichen Rahmen in einer Imitation der Usancen der mächtigsten Familien der Insel auch in einer Übernahme des von diesen

[55] TSOUGARAKIS, *The Western Religious Orders*, S. 185-186.

[56] Diese Tafel, heute im Byzantinischen Museum in Athen, beschreibt Andrea Cornaro in seinem Testament (1611) als 'cosa pretiosa per pittura greca'. M. CHATZIDAKIS, Essai sur une école dite 'Italogrecque' précédé d'une note sur les rapports de l'art vénitien avec l'art crétois jusqu'à 1500, in A. PERTUSI (ed.), *Venezia e il Levante fino al secolo XV*, Vol. II, Firenze 1974, S. 69-125, hier S. 100.

[57] MCKEE, *Uncommon Dominion*, S. 58-83.

[58] LYMBEROPOULOU, *'Fish on a Dish'*, bes. S. 226-227.

[59] C. MALTEZOU, *Byzantine 'consuetudines' in Venetian Crete*, in *DOP*, XLIX, 1995, S. 269-280, bes. S. 279. Vgl. aber TSOUGARAKIS, *La tradizione*.

besonders verehrten Ordensgründers resultierte.[60] Entsprechend argumentiert Sally McKee auf Grundlage der Tatsache, dass die von ihr untersuchten Testamente griechischer Feudalherren auch lateinische Kirchen bedachten, dass 'adherence to the rites of the Latin church was an important measure of a Greek nobleman's incorporation into the Candiote feudatory group' – beispielsweise mit dem Ziel, einen Sitz im Großen Rat von Candia zu erlangen.[61] Demnach wäre, zusätzlich zu der von den Minoriten selbst durchgeführten Propagierung ihres Ordensheiligen vor Ort, das Verlangen der orthodoxen Stifter nach Sozialprestige (mit)ausschlaggebend für eine zumindest in einigen wenigen Punkten stattfindende Loslösung vom traditionellen Dekorationskanon in den orthodoxen Kirchen.

Ist die Deutung des Freskos in Agios Ioannes Prodromos in Kritsa als Beleg einer byzantinisch-orthodoxen, allem 'Lateinischen' feindlichen Identität bereits in Anbetracht der geschilderten komplexen historischen Situation auf Kreta bedenklich, so wird eine solche Intention der Malereien angesichts der spezifischen Voraussetzungen in Kritsa zunehmend unwahrscheinlich. Statt von einer religiös-ethnisch motivierten strikten Gegenüberstellung der Bevölkerungsgruppen auszugehen, scheint es an diesem Punkt vielmehr angebracht, Nicolas Karapidakis zu folgen, der die gesellschaftliche Situation auf der Insel unter der Perspektive der verschiedenen Machtkonstruktionen und -traditionen als soziales Phänomen analysiert und zu dem Schluss kommt, dass die 'coesistenza [fra governanti e governati] va per di più ben oltre la semplice forma di uno schema filoveneziano e di uno non filoveneziano a Creta, in quanto essa riproduce in sostanza tutti i contrasti presenti nei governati.'[62]

In diesem Licht befragt, geben die Wandmalereien in Kritsa durchaus Hinweise. Rekapitulieren wir: In Weiterentwicklung und Aktualisierung der bestehenden Bild- und Schrifttradition werden vor Ort bekannte Konfessionen und deren Vertreter sowie weltliche Machthaber, also verschiedene religiöse und politische Kräfte visualisiert, in deren Einflusssphäre sich Kreta befand. Auf diese Weise sind auch innergesellschaftliche Unterschiede angesprochen, die im Rahmen einer kretischen Dorfkirche von Bedeutung gewesen sein können, waren doch auf Kreta generell und vor allem unter den Griechen sowie den Bewohnern von Stadt und Land die

[60] Vgl. S. BURKHARDT - M. MERSCH - U. RITZERFELD - S. SCHRÖDER, Hybridisierung von Zeichen und Formen durch mediterrane Eliten, in M. BORGOLTE *et al.* (eds.), *Integration und Desintegration der Kulturen im europäischen Mittelalter*, Berlin, 2011, S. 477-568.

[61] MCKEE 2000, *Uncommon Dominion*, S. 111.

[62] N. KARAPIDAKIS, *I rapporti fra i governanti e governati nella Creta Veneziana: Una questione che può essere riaperta*, in G. ORTALLI (ed.), *Venezia e Creta*, Venezia, 1998, S. 233-244, hier S. 243-244.

sozialen Unterschiede besonders ausgeprägt.[63] Beziehen sich die südlich der Kirchentür gezeigten Höllenstrafen auf spezifische sündhafte Taten, so erweitert der hier diskutierte Bereich den Fokus und führt die Hierarchie-übergreifende Spannweite des Gerichts vor Augen, die für alle Menschen ungeachtet ihrer Herkunft und ihres gesellschaftlichen Standes geltende Bestrafung – eine Darstellung, mit der die nicht privilegierten und aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach armen Gläubigen in Kritsa ihre existentiellen Probleme sublimieren und auf Gerechtigkeit im Jenseits hoffen konnten. Ein wohlhabender oder sogar adeliger Stifter wurde seinerseits zu Demut gemahnt. Zentrale Aussage der Höllendarstellung ist demnach, entsprechend der religiösen Botschaft im Sakralraum, die Mahnung an die göttlichen Gebote und die drohenden Strafen über alle religiösen und gesellschaftlichen Schranken und Hierarchien hinweg.

Diese jenseitsorientierte, in sozialer wie religiöser Hinsicht durchaus grenzüberschreitende, ja vereinheitlichende Funktion des Endgerichts wird nun aber in der Szene selbst wieder aufgebrochen, und zwar durch die Gruppierung der Figuren. Lateinische Kirchenvertreter und Mönche zusammen mit Vertretern des venezianischen Adels und des jüdischen Glaubens sind nächst dem Höllenungeheuer angesiedelt – zwei der Gestalten gehen bereits im Flammenmeer unter. Von dieser Gruppe deutlich abgesetzt befinden sich die unwürdigen Vertreter der orthodoxen Kirche. Nur einer von ihnen (ein Überläufer?) steht zwischen den beiden Gruppen. Von diesen etwas entfernt, aber doch nicht ganz getrennt sind die Mitglieder des byzantinischen Adels zusammen mit Muslimen angeordnet. Selbst in der Hölle bleiben demnach bestimmte Distinktionen bestehen. Haben wir gesehen, dass es *in realiter* keine so klaren Grenzen innerhalb der kretischen Gesellschaft des 14. Jahrhunderts gab, so stellt sich die Frage, warum die Darstellung solche suggeriert.

Zunächst ist hervorzuheben, dass es sich um eine nach bestimmten Ordnungsprinzipien gestaltete bildliche Präsentation handelt. Das sich an ein breites Publikum richtende Fresko dient dazu, die religiöse Bildbotschaft – die Gültigkeit des göttlichen Gerichts für verschiedene 'Sündertypen' – in ein eingängiges und darum notwendigerweise vereinfachendes und schematisierendes Bild zu fassen.[64] Eine solchermaßen strukturierende

[63] Privilegierte und mit Landbesitz versehene lateinische Adelige und griechische Archontes sowie wohlhabende jüdische Geldverleiher standen vor allem der Masse an armen Unfreien und Freien auf dem Land gegenüber. MALTEZOU, *The Historical and Social Context*, S. 25-26, 41-43. Sozialkritische Tendenzen in Höllendarstellungen stellt auch B. BRENK, Art. '*Weltgericht*', in *LchI*, IV, 1994, S. 513-523, hier S. 522 fest. Dazu ausführlich GARIDIS, *Les Punitions collectives*.

[64] Während sie in den gedrängten und figurenreichen Gerichtsdarstellungen in Moutoullas und Kalopanagiotis in einer Gruppe angeordnet sind, sind in Kavoussi, wo viel Platz zu Verfügung steht, verschiedene Sünder-Gruppen vereinzelt gezeigt. Vgl. s. GALLAS - WESSEL -

Vorgehensweise erweckt den Eindruck einer gesellschaftlichen Auftrennung, einer Polarisierung der verschiedenen Gruppen, obwohl sie nicht inhaltlich bedingt sein muss, sondern nur um eine verständliche Darstellung und Füllung der Fläche bemüht sein kann. Für ein bewusstes, inhaltlich motiviertes Vorgehen spricht wiederum die Tatsache, dass nicht nur Figurengruppen getrennt, sondern gleichzeitig auch verschiedene Figurentypen miteinander vereint sind, was sich weder durch vorbildliche Schriftquellen, noch durch eine Bildtradition oder -ordnung erklären lässt. Beginnen wir mit der unteren Gruppe, deren Positionierung direkt in Reichweite des Höllenungeheuers als Verurteilung verstanden werden kann. Die Kombination von Lateinern mit Juden würde diese beiden Häretiker-Gruppen auf eine Stufe stellen, offenbar sollen sie als miteinander verbunden wahrgenommen werden.[65] Warum aber sind die Muslime in der Nähe der byzantinischen Adeligen/Herrscher und zugleich weit weg vom Höllenuntier untergebracht? Wurden hier einfach nur geographisch entfernte Mächte nebeneinander gestellt oder gibt es eine spezielle Motivation für diese Zuordnung der den Kretern als Eroberer, aber auch als Händler und Sklaven bekannten Muslime?[66]

Ist über die spezifischen Beweggründe für die jeweilige Positionierung der Religionsgruppen nur zu spekulieren, so werden in ihr doch unterschiedliche Einstellungen zu dem kulturell und religiös Anderen sichtbar

BORBOUDAKIS, *Byzantinisches Kreta*, S. 470-471; STYLIANOU - STYLIANOU, *The Painted Churches*, S. 311 und S. 323-339.

[65] Die wie die Lateiner hauptsächlich in den Städten ansässigen und teilweise sehr wohlhabenden kretischen Juden befanden sich in einer schwierigen Situation zwischen den venezianischen Eroberern und den Einheimischen. Sie schlossen sich nicht generell einer der beiden Parteien an, sondern versuchten in unterschiedlicher Weise, Hab, Gut und Leben zu schützen. Sie unterstützten teils die Griechen, mussten sie sich ihnen doch als Einwohner der Insel mit derselben Sprache und Geschichte verbunden fühlen, teils die Lateiner, von denen sie sich Schutz und Vergünstigungen erhofften. Trachteten die Venezianer durch Steuern und Abgaben von ihnen zu profitieren, so begegneten ihnen die Griechen vielfach mit Misstrauen und in einigen Fällen auch mit Gewalt. Vgl. J. STARR, *Jewish Life in Crete under the Rule of Venice*, in *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research*, XII, 1942, S. 59-114; JACOBY, *Venetian Jews*.

[66] Die mittelalterliche Geschichte Kretas zeugt von einem fortwährenden, ob durch Krieg oder Handel geprägten Kontakt mit der muslimischen Welt. Die Insel war bis zur Rückeroberung durch Nikephoros Phokas im Jahre 961 von den Arabern besetzt. Ihre Nähe zur afrikanischen Küste, der intensive Handel mit dem Orient und türkische Sklaven vor Ort garantierten eine anhaltende Begegnung. Mitte des 14. Jahrhundert begannen die Türken, gerade die Ost-Küsten zu überfallen. Die Landbevölkerung scheint die Invasoren dabei als potentielle Verbündete gegen Venedig eingeschätzt zu haben. 'From 1341 the Turks of western Anatolia were a possible source of aid. It was said in 1666 in the bitter sieges of Candia (Heraklion) and Chanea that the countryside was firmly for the Turks.' LOCK, *The Franks*, S. 154. Muslime waren demnach durchaus nicht immer negativ konnotiert. Ihre Gruppierung mit den Byzantinern könnte sogar an Koalitionswünsche denken lassen.

gemacht. Damit thematisiert das Gerichtsfresko in Kritsa innerhalb des vorgegebenen und zugleich aktualisierten, die Alterität der Figuren für die inhaltliche religiöse Aussage nutzenden Modells verschiedene Komponenten der kretischen Gesellschaft des 14. Jahrhunderts bzw. auf diese Einfluss nehmende Größen wie auch sie durchziehende 'Gräben' sozialer, religiöser, machtpolitischer und kultureller Art. Eine enge, bipolar ausgerichtete Interpretation als Beleg für eine kollektive griechisch-orthodoxe, den Lateinern feindlich gesinnte Identität wird somit weder den tatsächlichen Verhältnissen noch der Komplexität der Darstellung gerecht. Zu erahnen ist vielmehr gerade die Veränderlichkeit von Fraktionierungen, Gruppierungen und Grenzen und somit die Bildung von Identitäten nicht nur durch Abgrenzung, sondern auch durch Addition und Koalition, durch intentionale wie nicht intentionale Mischungen sowie die Möglichkeit multipler Identitäten.

Dabei ist hervorzuheben, dass die Darstellung keineswegs als Beweis einer Identität gelten kann, vielmehr wird hier mit bildlichen Mitteln eine (von vielen möglichen) Wahrnehmungsweise(n) öffentlich propagiert. Wie im Falle der oben genannten Referenzen auf byzantinische Kaiser in kretischen Kirchen[67] ist jeweils nach dem Grund einer solchen schriftlichen oder bildlichen, Alterität und Identität konstruierenden Präsentation zu fragen. So konnten die Bilder im Sakralraum den Stiftern wie der orthodoxen Kirche als Instrument zur Verbreitung bestimmter (auch ideologischer) Botschaften dienen, wenn zum Beispiel laut Nicolaos Tomadakis 'un feudatario Greco voleva effettuare una rivoluzione anche se non aveva l'intenzione di migliorar la posizione dei poveri villani ortodossi doveva incitare il loro fanatismo contro i Veneziani. E il fanatismo era religioso, e veniva eccitato mediante il clero Greco'.[68] Konstantin Kalokyris seinerseits unterstreicht, dass ohne Zweifel mit Hilfe der Malereien 'the national conscience was sustained and nurtured'.[69]

Aus solcherlei sowie den eingangs genannten Zitaten geht hervor, dass über die Bildkunst hinaus, ob in zeitgenössischen Berichten oder aktuellen Forschungsbeiträgen, damals wie heute (Re-)Konstruktionsversuche von Identitäten auf persönliche, familiäre, städtische oder national(istisch)e Interessen gründen können, wobei gerne mit dem Kontrast des religiös/ethnisch/kulturell/künstlerisch Anderen gearbeitet, also eine interessengeleitete kulturelle Profilierung in der Abgrenzung von Eigen- und Fremdkultur

[67] Maltezou führt diese unter anderem auf das Bedürfnis der Archonten zurück, ihre Autorität zu konsolidieren. MALTEZOU, *Byzantine 'consuetudines'*, bes. S. 279. Vgl. aber TSOUGARAKIS, *La tradizione*.

[68] TOMADAKIS, *La politica religiosa*, S. 788.

[69] KALOKYRIS, *The Byzantine Wall Paintings*, S. 179.

vorgenommen wird.[70] Es scheint angebracht, solchen in Bild oder Schrift präsentierten Identitätsbehauptungen mit Skepsis zu begegnen, geben sie doch *per se* keine Gewissheit über die tatsächliche Existenz bzw. die allgemeine Verbreitung entsprechender Empfindungen. Sally McKee kommt zu dem Schluss, dass 'the attempt to describe the construction of Byzantine or Latin identities in the past is tantamount to dissecting the anatomy of a chimera [...] we may have created a category, or at least reinforced one, that has taken on a greater life in print than it had in reality.'[71]

Erfolgversprechender als ein solchermaßen generalisierender, homogenisierender und zugleich separierender und einen Zustand kristallisierender Zugriff ist dagegen gerade im Fall von Situationen intensiver kultureller Begegnung wie derjenigen auf Kreta im späten Mittelalter die Frage nach transkulturellen Verflechtungen und Vermischungen. Dieser Ansatz bringt nicht nur den besonderen Variantenreichtum in einer solchen Gesellschaft zur Geltung, sondern lässt zugleich die durch steten Wandel gekennzeichnete Beweglichkeit kultureller Prozesse auch im Verständnis von dem Eigenen und dem Anderen, von Selbst- und Fremdbild hervortreten.[72]

Ulrike RITZERFELD

SUMMARY

Highly polemical pronouncements from the time of the island's Venetian rule (1211-1669) suggest the existence of deep religious-ideological trenches between Crete's different population groups, particularly between the native 'Greeks'/'Romans' and the immigrant 'Franks'/'Latins.' As in the case of a fresco in Agios Ioannis Prodromos in Kritsa numerous representations of hell in orthodox churches are taken as proof of a cultural confrontation between conquerors and the conquered. Art historical research is itself stamped by this perspective – together with other elements such as the Greek language and Orthodox faith, the art here in question is considered part of Byzantine culture and identity. And which scene would be better suited for presenting both the abjection and punishment of the Venetian other

[70] Zu erwähnen ist in diesem Zusammenhang die 2007 im Benaki Museum in Athen abgehaltene Konferenz 'Antiquity, Archaeology and Greekness', aus der ein Jahr später der Tagungsband 'A Singular Antiquity. Archaeology and Hellenic Identity in twentieth-Century Greece' hervorging. In exemplarischer Weise wird hier der Einsatz von Literatur, Architektur und Bildkunst für ideologische Zwecke diskutiert, ob für die Legitimierung von kolonialen Regimen oder Nationalstaaten.

[71] MCKEE, *Uncommon Dominion*, S. 177.

[72] Vgl. dazu M. BORGOLTE, *Migrationen als transkulturelle Verflechtungen im mittelalterlichen Europa. Ein neuer Pflug für alte Forschungsfelder*, in *Historische Zeitschrift*, CCLXXXIX, Heft II, 2009, S. 261-286.

than that of eternal damnation – what place more fitting for the hated conqueror than hell?

On the other hand the representatives of various religions and peoples belonged to hell's usual personnel, their presence there not necessarily being motivated by hostile intentions. In the context of a depiction of the Last Judgment, followers of a foreign religion are above all interesting on account of their status as heretics and non-believers. Therefore the depicted alterity serves to underscore the pictorial statement – the punishment of all sinful human beings. Furthermore, for the fourteenth century, it is impossible to presume absolutely separated ethnic-religious factions and behavior determined by ideology alone on Crete. In light of a very complex reality, interpreting the Kritsa fresco as proof of a Byzantine Orthodox identity hostile to everything 'Latin' is problematic.

What becomes clear is that beyond pictorial art, whether in contemporary reports or present-day scholarly articles, efforts at (re-)constructing identities can be based on personal, familial, urban, or national(istic) interests, in which case ready use is made of contrasts with the religious, ethnic, cultural, or artistic other. In other words, what is at work is an interest-steered cultural profiling through a demarcation between one's own and an alien culture. It seems appropriate to respond to such textual and pictorial claims to identity with skepticism, since *per se* they offer no certainty regarding the actual existence or general extent of corresponding sentiments.

THE MANUSCRIPTS OF THE *CHRONICLE OF 1570*

In the chapter of his *Geschichte der Byzantinischen Litteratur* entitled 'Vulgärgriechische Chroniken, Paraphrasen, Chroniken aus der Türkenzeit', Krumbacher listed a collection of Byzantine-style chronicles of a seemingly disparate nature.[1] It in fact turns out that most of these items are examples of one of two works, each of which is a distinct literary product in itself, and each of which deserves, given its prevalence, a separate place in that history, more so than many other works accorded a place there.[2]

The two chronicles, taken together, constitute the center-point of Byzantine chronography from late Byzantine times onwards. One is a consistently anonymous world chronicle, of unknown date of authorship, which in its fullest form begins with Creation and proceeds until near the end of the eleventh century. Given the want of a more distinctive title, Moravcsik accorded it the designation *Historia Imperatorum*.[3] The other is a mostly anonymous world chronicle, whose earliest form dates from the year 1570, the source of Preger's obvious designation of it as the *Chronicle of (the year) 1570*.[4] In its fullest forms, it begins with Creation and it proceeds, across its manuscript tradition, until various points up to around the mid-seventeenth century, and in its printed form to near the end of the eighteenth. This *Chronicle* is the work of the well-known Constantinopolitan *literatus* Manuel Malaxos, better known as author of the highly popular post-Byzantine *Nomocanon*, as has long been suggested, as we have recently confirmed, and as we shall demonstrate fully on another occasion.[5]

[1] KRUMBACHER, *Geschichte der Byzantinischen Litteratur*, pp. 399-402 (chapter 167).

[2] All but six of the items included in the said chapter represent the chronicles in question; indeed one could say that this applies to all but five, as a manuscript of the *Ecthesis Chronica*, which is closely associated with one of these chronicles and on which we shall comment below, is included here. In addition, Krumbacher included some lines on one of these chronicles, namely the *Historia Imperatorum*, in his chapter on Constantine Manasses. Further, in the chapter entitled 'Chronikenauszüge, geschichtliche Tabellen und Verwandtes', two items are included that are cases of the other chronicle in point, namely the *Chronicle of 1570*, *ibidem*, pp. 377, 397, from ch. 155 and ch. 165 respectively. The listings included much, though not all that was to be found in the relevant literature. Krumbacher accorded separate chapters to the *Chronicles* of Joel, Ephraem and Panaretos, which had an extremely limited circulation.

[3] G. MORAVCSIK, *Byzantinoturcica 1. Die byzantinischen Quellen der Geschichte der Türkvölker*, Berlin[2] 1958 (reprint Leiden 1983), vol. 1, p. 295.

[4] Th. PREGER, *Die Chronik vom Jahre 1570 ('Dorotheos' von Monembasia und Manuel Malaxos)*, in *BZ*, 11 (1902), pp. 4-15.

[5] Ch. PAPADOPOULOS, *Περὶ τῆς ἑλληνικῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς χρονογραφίας τοῦ ις' αἰῶνος*, in *Ἐκκλησιαστικὸς Φάρος* 9 (1912), pp. 410-454, esp. pp. 412-413; D. SAKEL, *Some*

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The two chronicles are integrally different works, though they have frequently been confused and identified with each other in the past. This is attributable to their complete or near complete anonymity, as well as to their similar, though not identical language, which is a form of the vulgate that includes literary forms and that in the case of the *Historia Imperatorum* in particular varies markedly across its manuscript tradition. In addition, both chronicles, and the *Chronicle of 1570* in particular, display a widely divergent content outside a distinctive core. A final point is that the *Historia Imperatorum* was used as a source in the *Chronicle of 1570*, indeed through more than just one variant.

The manuscript tradition of neither work was well documented until recently, when in a review of an edition of the *Historia Imperatorum*, I gave a comprehensive list of its surviving manuscripts, which number no fewer than thirty-three separate items.[6] More serious attempts have been made at listing the manuscripts of the *Chronicle of 1570*, first by Preger very soon after Krumbacher's review, followed by Moravcsik, Irina Lebedeva and Stanitsas.[7] No study however gave anything close to a complete list, and all listings are notable for their mistaken entries. In what follows we shall make an exhaustive presentation of the manuscript tradition of the work, looking progressively at past studies, followed by the introduction of still unnoted cases. I refer to manuscripts as they are designated in the literature under discussion, and readers may consult the appropriate work for details on the precise content, history and present whereabouts of particular manuscripts.[8] We begin with Preger, who listed the following manuscripts:

Atheniensis, National Library 1205
Athous, Andreas Skètè 109
Athous, Dionysiou 352
Athous, Iviron 167

Matters Concerning the Printed Edition of the 'Chronicle of 1570', in M. KOUMANOUDI and Ch. MALTEZOU (eds), *Dopo le Due Cadute di Costantinopoli (1204, 1453): Eredi Ideologici di Bisanzio*, Venice, 2008, pp. 147-171, esp. 163-164.

[6] *Review of 'Anonymi, Historia Imperatorum, Parte Prima, Introduzione, testo critico, versione italiana, note e indici a cura di Francesca Iadevaia*, EDAS, Messina, 2000', in *BZ*, 102 (2009), pp. 242-245. Previously, the basic study had been that of Praechter, rudimentary in terms of manuscript information (and only partly improved later by Moravcsik), who wrote soon after the appearance of Krumbacher's *History*, and where only three manuscripts are cited. K. PRAECHTER, *Eine vulgärgriechische Paraphrase der Chronik des Konstantinos Manasses*, in *BZ*, 4 (1895), pp. 272-313.

[7] PREGER, *op. cit.*; MORAVCSIK, *op. cit.*, pp. 412-414; I. N. LEBEDEVA, *Pozdnie grečeskie chroniki i ich russkie i vostočnye perevody*, in *Palestinskij sbornik*, 18 [81] (1968), pp. 31-70; S. STANITSAS, *Τὸ Χρονικὸ τοῦ 1570 καὶ οἱ παραλλαγές του - Τὰ Χρονικὰ Ψευδο-Δωροθέου καὶ Μανουὴλ Μαλαξοῦ*, in *Πελοποννησιακά* 16 (1986), pp. 593-635.

[8] Namely through J.-M. OLIVIER, *Répertoire des Bibliothèques et des Catalogues de Manuscrits Grecs de Marcel Richard*, Turnhout[3] 1995.

Athous, Iviron 170
Athous, Iviron 171
Athous, Iviron 181
Athous, Iviron 694
Athous, Koutloumousiou 213
Athous, Koutloumousiou 217
Athous, Koutloumousiou 220
Athous, Panteleèmonos 266
Athous, Vatopedi 601 (later 753)
Athous, Xeropotamou 248
Constantinopolitanus, Metochii Sancti Sepulchri 462
Hierosolymitanus, Sanctae Crucis 28
Hierosolymitanus, Sabbaiticus 197
Hierosolymitanus, Sabbaiticus 534
Londinensis, Harleianus 5632
Londinensis, Harleianus 5742
Mosquensis, Bibliotheca Synodalis 263 (Vladimir 408)
Oxoniensis, Bodleianus, Canonicus gr. 67
Parisinus gr. 1790Parisinus Suppl. gr. 112
Trapezuntensis, Soumela Monastery 10

In addition Preger suggested, correctly, that *Constantinopolitanus, Metochii Sancti Sepulchri* 358 was a witness of the *Chronicle of 1570*. Further, he thought that *Athous, Iviron* 494 was probably derived partially from the *Chronicle of 1570*, though this is indeed a fully legitimate case of the work. Preger suggested, wrongly, that *Athous, Dionysiou* 341 may have made use of the *Chronicle of 1570*, though it is in fact a manuscript of the *Historia Imperatorum*. Further, in line with the claims in the relevant manuscript catalogue, he pointed out that *Athous, Esphigmenou* 296, which is another case of the *Historia Imperatorum*, was possibly a witness of the *Chronicle of 1570*. Nonetheless, in respect of *Athous, Iviron* 170, Preger did make the valid point that only the second part of the chronicle here present was a form of the *Chronicle of 1570*.

Four decades after Preger, Moravcsik presented the following list of manuscripts for the *Chronicle of 1570*. Several publications of interest had since intervened, in particular the publication of the Lambros papers, as well as a notable study by Amantos, and Moravcsik made good use of their findings. Apart then from what had been included by Preger, Moravcsik added the following witnesses of the *Chronicle of 1570*:

Ancyranus, Museum Castri 22
Atheniensis, Amantos Private Library (sine numero)
Atheniensis, Lambros Library 14
Athous, Lavra 1526
Athous, Lavra 1533
Athous, Vatopedi 754

Athous, Vatopedi 757
Chiacus, Koraès Library 161
Chiacus, Koraès Library 162
Constantinopolitanus, Megalè tou Genous Scholè 64
Dresdensis, Sächsische Landesbibliothek Da 33
Londinensis, Lambecianus 1199
Meteorensis [unnumbered, 'eine Meteora-Handschrift']
Parisinus, Suppl. gr. 87
Parisinus, Suppl. gr. 467
Stuttgartensis, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Historicus N. 129
Tyrnavensis, Library of the Middle School 1

In Moravcsik's list, the Soumela manuscript has been double-catalogued, under the designation given by Preger (and well identified with a subsequent numbering given it at Ankara, namely Ankara No. 46), yet also according to a later cataloguing, namely as *Ancyranus, Museum Castri* 22. This is also the case for *Athous, Vatopedi* 601, which is identical to manuscript 753 of the same library, this being the number accorded in the library's formal manuscript catalogue. The Meteora codex, *Metamorphoseos* 409, has been included by Moravcsik without any number. *Constantinopolitanus, Metochii Sancti Sepulchri* 358 and *Athous, Iviron* 494 were rightly listed as manuscripts of the *Chronicle of 1570*. By contrast, *Athous, Esphigmenou* 296, the Stuttgart codex, *Londinensis, Lambecianus* 1199 and *Athous, Vatopedi* 754 are wrongly included as valid manuscripts of the *Chronicle*, being all four in fact witnesses of the *Historia Imperatorum*. This work is also in fact present in *Athous, Dionysiou* 341, which Moravcsik had rightly not included in his list, despite Preger's equivocation, as well as in the earlier part of *Athous, Iviron* 170, as Preger had well noticed.

Two manuscripts in Moravcsik's list represent special problems. One is the manuscript which has belonged to the collection of Constantine Amantos and contains a copy of the *Ecthesis Chronica*, yet with an extension that is in fact a section of the *Chronicle of 1570*. The *Ecthesis Chronica*, a chronicle-style text beginning with events of the late fourteenth century and usually concluding with the early sixteenth, has been in large part visibly incorporated into the *Chronicle of 1570*, albeit with alterations and additions. However in the Amantos manuscript, the extension from the *Chronicle of 1570* notwithstanding, the work is present in its original form, though there is no visible point of separation from its subsequent addition.

This situation is similar to *Athous, Iviron* 170, in the sense that the *Chronicle of 1570* represents only part of the chronicle that this manuscript contains. However, in *Athous, Iviron* 170, there is a noticeable point of conclusion for the first part, being the text of the *Historia Imperatorum*, while a new heading and a new folio begins the next part of the *Chronicle*, which is a section of

the *Chronicle of 1570*. Without such an obvious break in evidence however in the case of the Amantos codex, one is left having to decide whether to class the section of the *Chronicle of 1570* here as a legitimate witness of this work or as a later reuse.

The other manuscript in Moravcsik's list that presents a special problem, is *Parisinus Suppl. gr.* 87; this contains a section from one of the forewords of the printed *World Chronicle*.[9] Not only then does this manuscript not contain a form of the *Chronicle of 1570* as it occurs in the 'authentic' manuscript tradition – being the manuscript tradition without contamination with the printed *World Chronicle* –, but it does not even contain a portion of the *World Chronicle* at all. Nonetheless, in having served as an introduction to the *Chronicle* for its readers, this text does form part of the history of the work. We shall return to it later, when assessing manuscripts derived from the printed tradition of the *Chronicle*.

The next scholar to provide a list of manuscripts of the *Chronicle of 1570* was Irina Lebedeva. Lebedeva rightly points out that Moravcsik had double-listed *Athous, Vatopedi* 753, and had wrongly included three manuscripts of the *Historia Imperatorum*, namely *Athous, Esphigmenou* 296, the Stuttgart codex and *Athous, Vatopedi* 754. Nonetheless Lebedeva herself still includes *Londinensis, Lambecianus* 1199 as a manuscript of the *Chronicle*, though for good reason. This is because she, like Moravcsik before her, had relied exclusively on the Lambros Papers, edited posthumously by Lambros' students, for knowledge of this particular manuscript. The greater part of the description there for this manuscript is, in fact, that of the *Historia Imperatorum*. However, the description goes on to give texts that visibly belong to the *Chronicle of 1570*. Clearly, there must have been a mix-up with some of Lambros' notes, with part of the description of some manuscript of the *Chronicle of 1570* (possibly that of Oxford) being wrongly associated with this manuscript of the *Historia Imperatorum*. The aged catalogue of the Lambeth collection was of no help in this regard, and consultation of the manuscript itself was necessary to discern the error.

A notable peculiarity in Lebedeva's assessment is that she numbers Moravcsik's previously unnumbered *Metamorphoseos* manuscript as 405, when the literature in fact gives no such figure. Elsewhere in her review, she makes the valuable point of drawing attention to *Petropolitanus, Bibliotheca Publica* 478, which is made up of two folios that had previously been removed

[9] On the (editio princeps of the) *World Chronicle*, the *Vivlion Istorikon* according to its own title, see É. LEGRAND, *Bibliographie Hellénique ou description raisonnée des ouvrages publiés par des Grecs au dix-septième siècle*, vol. 1, Paris, 1894 (reprint Bruxelles 1963), pp. 290-298.

from *Hierosolymitanus, Sancti Sabae* 63 (which later became known as *Hierosolymitanus, Sanctae Crucis* 28). Lebedeva also gives a further nine manuscripts of the *Chronicle*. Some of these had appeared in recent catalogues of Soviet collections, while others were the result of a more extensive review of the existing literature. The manuscripts are the following:

Atheniensis, National Library 364
Athous, Lavra 1364
Athous, Lavra 1569
Elassonensis, Olympiotissa Monastery 3
Leningradensis, Library of the Academy of Sciences, Department of Foreign Manuscripts F 240
Leningradensis, Library of the Academy of Sciences, Russian Archaeological Institute of Constantinople 150
Michiganensis, Ann Arbor 215
Mosquensis, State Library, Norov Collection 27
Yerevanensis, Matenadaran Institute, Department of Foreign Manuscripts 25

The list stands up to criticism, other than for Lebedeva's wrongful inclusion of a manuscript of the *Historia Imperatorum*, namely *Athous Lavra* 1569.

The next and final review of the manuscripts of the *Chronicle of 1570* was by Stanitsas. Stanitsas corrects the double-cataloguing of the Soumela manuscript, yet he includes not only *Athous, Lavra* 1569, but also *Athous, Vatopedi* 754 that had been removed by Lebedeva. Further, the error involving *Londinensis, Lambecianus* 1199 persists. Stanitsas also includes the following manuscripts of the *Chronicle*, based chiefly on the intervening cataloguing of the Meteora holdings:

Hierosolymitanus, Sancti Sepulchri 111
Kalamatensis, Archaeological Museum 1
Meteorensis, Barlaam 204
Meteorensis, Hagiou Stephanou 85
Meteorensis, Metamorphoseos 403
Meteorensis, Metamorphoseos 409
Meteorensis, Roussanou 20

Of these, the Jerusalem manuscript does not contain the *Chronicle of 1570*, as the catalogue description makes abundantly obvious. The reason for its introduction here is the identity of its scribe, namely Hierotheos, Metropolitan of Monemvasia, a figure connected with the history of the published *World Chronicle*. *Meteorensis, Metamorphoseos* 403 has nothing to do with the *Chronicle of 1570*, and one would want to explain the reasons behind its inclusion. Now Stanitsas also lists *Meteorensis, Metamorphoseos* 405, as had Lebedeva before him. However the description in the Meteora catalogue which had since appeared, and which indeed gives for this number a

manuscript of the *Chronicle of 1570*, does not match the item originally cited by Moravcsik and later numbered 405 by Lebedeva. Rather, the only manuscript in this catalogue matching that description is *Meteorensis, Metamorphoseos* 409. It may be however that *Meteorensis, Metamorphoseos* 403 was somehow wrongly associated with what Lebedeva had given as *Meteorensis, Metamorphoseos* 405. As for *Meteorensis, Roussanou* 20, it does not contain the *Chronicle of 1570*, though Stanitsas makes the point that his information was derived from a catalogue in the process of formulation (though the same source did correctly identify *Meteorensis, Hagiou Stephanou* 85 as witness of the *Chronicle*).

Turning now to our own assessment of what else the available literature holds, we arrive at the following further manuscripts of the *Chronicle*:

Alexandrinus, Bibliotheca Patriarchalis 97
Alexandrinus, Bibliotheca Patriarchalis 149
Atheniensis, Byzantine Museum 41
Atheniensis, Gennadeios Library, Volidès Collection 2
Atheniensis, National Library 1348
Atheniensis, National Library 1564
Atheniensis, National Library 2501
Atheniensis, National Library 3072
Atheniensis, Pollanès Private Library 39
Athous, Iviron 383
Athous, Iviron 689
Athous, Lavra 1730
Bucurestiensis, Bibliotheca Academiae Dacoromanae gr. 969
Dimitsanus, Bibliothèkè Scholès 64
Kalavrytensis, Megalou Spèlaiou 105
Londinensis, British Library, Add. 41584
Manchesteriensis, John Rylands Library 22
Meteorensis, Barlaam 191
Meteorensis, Metamorphoseos 89
Naxensis, Emm. Dryllès Private Library 2
Patmiacus 287
Petropolitanus, Bibliotheca Publica 1602
Serdicensis, Centre Ivan Dujčev 307
Sinaiticus gr. 1664
Sinaiticus gr. 1889
Sinaiticus gr. 2122
Vaticanus, Barberinianus gr. 111
Vaticanus, Barberinianus gr. 596
Venetus, Marcianus gr. VII 43

Some words are necessary about certain cases. The *Megalou Spèlaiou* codex has of course been irretrievably lost, but it had been described sufficiently well for it to be meaningfully used in any study of the *Chronicle*. At this point we ought to note that two previously well catalogued manuscripts,

namely *Athous, Andreas Skètè* 109 and *Elassonensis, Olympiotissa* 3, have since been lost, the first probably irretrievably. The *Patmiacus* contains a section of the *Chronicle* that serves as extension mostly to a series of extracts from the *Chronicle* of George the Monk, though as in the case of *Athous, Iviron* 170, a clear physical break between them allows its definite inclusion as an integral case of the *Chronicle*.[10] *Sinaiticus gr.* 1889, in addition to including the *Chronicle's* recognisable emperor list, includes, at a different point, the later sections of the same list as an extension to the *Chronographicon Syntomon* of Patriarch Nicephorus. It is on account of the former case that this manuscript definitely ought to be included here, though previously we did justify the inclusion of the Amantos codex, so the matter is tenuous at best.

There are further witnesses requiring explanation. *Vaticanus, Barberiniani gr.* 111 and 596, taken together, contain an Ottoman history which in small part coincides with the *Chronicle of 1570,* which is almost certainly the work of Manuel Malaxos, and as such has to be considered part of the wider *Chronicle of 1570*.[11] *Atheniensis, Gennadeios Library, Volidès Collection* 2, despite containing much chronicle text that is not that of the standard chronicle, also contains very much that is, while its structure is more recognisably that of the *Chronicle of 1570*.[12]

What constitutes a *Life* of an emperor or a saint or even of an emperor-saint, rather than just a section of a chronicle, becomes a real problem when applied to our highly multifarious *Chronicle*. *Atheniensis, Byzantine Museum* 41 represents perhaps the most extreme case in point, where as a follow-up to the *Nomocanon,* one finds a *Life* of John Chrysostom that mostly coincides with the relevant sections of the *Chronicle* (being the reigns of Arcadius and Theodosius II), but has much further material besides and is replete with a lengthy title testifying to it being an all-you-ever-wanted-to-know *Life* of the Saint. To add further to the complexity of the situation, this *Life* is also present, though in less extensive and differing form, in *Athous, Iviron* 383, now as a follow-up to identifiable sections of the *Chronicle* that themselves basically add up to *Lives* of the Biblical prophets Jeremiah and Daniel.

[10] On this manuscript, see my article: *Algunos casos más de la tradición fragmentaria de Jorge el Monje*, in *Erytheia. Revista de Estudios Bizantinos y Neogriegos*, 30 (2009), pp. 55-57.

[11] D. SAKEL, *A probable solution to the problem of the Chronicle of the Turkish Sultans*, in J. BURKE (ed.), *Byzantine Narrative, Essays for Roger Scott*, Melbourne, 2006, pp. 204-220.

[12] On this manuscript, see: O. GRATZIOU, *Αναμνήσεις από τη χαμένη βασιλεία. Σελίδες εικονογραφημένης χρονογραφίας του 17ου αιώνα*, Athens, 1996.

Material attached to the end of Malaxos' *Nomocanon* is another problem one meets, indeed frequently, given that Manuel Malaxos was author of both works. *Atheniensis, Byzantine Museum* 41 is one case of *Chronicle* material being added to the *Nomocanon,* though not as one of its chapters, and after a visible break from the principal work, while *Londinensis, British Museum Add.* 41584 is another. There are however many cases where the *Chronicle* material at the end of the *Nomocanon* is seen as part of that work. Cases include the Athos codices *Docheiariou* 298, *Koutloumousiou* 195 and *Lavra* 1848. Present in the first are the *Chronicle's* emperor and patriarch lists, while in the second and third there is recognisable narrative text from the *Chronicle* (respectively, on the Ottomans' rise and the fall of 1453, and an account of some length on the Council of Ferrara-Florence). This material represents usage of the *Chronicle* rather than constituting original sections of the work, be it from the writer (or circle of writers) of the *Chronicle.*

Usage from outside the environment of production of the *Chronicle* may also not be without its problems. Material similar to that in *Athous, Koutloumousiou* 195, is to be found in *Scopelensis, Timiou Prodromou Monastery* 1, where it in effect forms part of a new work, namely by the eighteenth-century prominent literary figure of Caesarion Dapontès.[13] Here of course we have a name, but other cases are not so clear-cut, and what constitutes 'use', albeit as part of the wider circulation of the *Chronicle*, and what may be part of the genuine manuscript tradition of the original work, remains a problem.

The most pertinent case is perhaps *Parisinus gr.* 1389, which contains a short chronicle, namely *Short Chronicle 70*, which is almost entirely made up of extracts from the *Chronicle of 1570*.[14] One could claim that what is at hand here is the briefest version of the *Chronicle*, a form as legitimate as versions where an even more limited portion by volume of the *Chronicle* is present. Whether however this *Short Chronicle* derives from the environment of authorship of the original *Chronicle of 1570* is another problem. Further, this case is distinct from 'use' in the fuller sense, meaning additions from the *Chronicle of 1570* to a new work. One such case of a 'short chronicle' in fact exists, namely *Short Chronicle 79*, present in *Athous, Koutloumousiou* 220, a manuscript that elsewhere contains an 'original' section of the *World Chronicle*.[15]

[13] On this work, see: G. A. GALITÈS, *Ἄγνωστος αὐτόγραφος κῶδιξ τοῦ Κωνσταντίνου-Καισαρίου Δαπόντε*, in *Ἐπετηρὶς τῆς Θεολογικῆς Σχολῆς τοῦ Πανεπιστημίου Θεσσαλονίκης*, 20 (1975), pp. 5-45; see p. 15.

[14] P. SCHREINER, *Die Byzantinischen Kleinchroniken*, vol. 1, Vienna 1975, pp. 542-550.

[15] *Ibidem*, pp. 579-587.

Further in respect of our list of witnesses, it does not include two cases of manuscripts which have been lost, and which indeed were lost prior to their satisfactory description. One is a copy of the *Chronicle* that does not match any known manuscript and was at one time to be found at Vacareşti Monastery, according to a catalogue of its library now preserved at the Romanian Academy.[16] What may have been another copy of the *Chronicle* not matching any surviving manuscript, is known from a note in a now lost eighteenth-century Constantinopolitan manuscript.[17] Finally, in respect of the manuscript from which the *Chronicle* was printed, it contained a version of the work that is not contained in any surviving manuscript, and so must have been discarded or lost after publication.

Our additions until now did not include manuscripts noticeably derived from the printed form, the *Vivlion Istorikon*. Apart from *Parisinus Suppl. gr.* 87, to which we have referred and which is not a copy proper of the *Chronicle*, there are also:

Athous, Iviron 493
Florentinus, Mediceus-Laurentianus, Scoppianus 25
Serdicensis, Library of Cyril and Methodius graecus 147

Also absent from the list are cases of the *Patriarchal History of Constantinople*. Moravcsik was in fact the only scholar to have accorded a place in the literature for this variant of the *Chronicle of 1570*, though he did so separately from the mainstream *Chronicle*.[18] Moravcsik gives the following two manuscripts as cases of the *Patriarchal History*:

Londinensis, Harleianus 5632,
Parisinus gr. 1152.

[16] D. Russo, *Studii Istorice Greco-Romane*, Bucharest, 1939, p. 84: 'Σύνοψις ἱστοριῶν διαφόρων ἤτοι χρονογράφος εἰς φράσιν ἁπλῆν 1628'. Σύνοψις ἱστοριῶν are the standard opening words of the title of our *Chronicle* in its full-length form from Creation, of which no copy exists in any Romanian library.

[17] The note was to be found in *Constantinopolitanus, Chalke College* 85. It reads: ''Ἐκ τοῦ χρονικοῦ Μανουὴλ τοῦ Μαλαξοῦ ἀπὸ κτίσεως κόσμου ἕως τοῦ Σουλτὰν Μουράτου. Περὶ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Κομνηνοῦ· Ἰωάννης Κομνηνὸς υἱὸς αὐτοῦ (Ἀλεξίου) χρόνους κδ', μῆνας ζ' (ἐβασίλευσεν)· αὐτὸς ἔκτισε τὸν ναὸν τῆς Παμμακαρίστου, τὸ νῦν πατριαρχεῖον.' See X. Sideridès, *Περὶ τῆς ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει μονῆς τῆς Παμμακαρίστου καὶ τῶν κτιτόρων αὐτῆς*, in *Ὁ ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει Ἑλληνικὸς Φιλολογικὸς Σύλλογος*, 29 (1907), pp. 265-273; see p. 272. No existing manuscript of the *Chronicle* makes the statement that John Comnenus built the Pammakaristos. The reference to the Pammakaristos as 'the present Patriarchate' indicates that the manuscript, or at least its original, dated from before 1588, when the Pammakaristos was converted into a mosque. Nonetheless, the Constantinopolitan manuscript entry did claim three further things about the Pammakaristos, of which the first was wrongly attributed (namely to Meletius of Athens' *Geography*), while no source was given for the other two. This led Sideridès to suggest that all four items derived from the *Chronicle of 1570*, which itself cannot be correct. There is however nothing in the first note to suggest that it is fictitious.

[18] Moravcsik, *op. cit.*, p. 296.

The latter contains in fact not the *Patriarchal History*, but the *Political History of Constantinople*, which was published together with the *Patriarchal History* in 1584 (the two together being the most prominent parts of the *Turcograecia*).[19] The *Political History* in fact constitutes Theodosius Zygomalas' review of the *Ecthesis Chronica*, which we have noted to be a separate work, though not unrelated to the *Chronicle of 1570*, indeed in several ways.[20]

There are in fact many more manuscripts of the *Patriarchal History*, some of which we have already noted, given that they also contain the more recognisable *World Chronicle*. These witnesses are: *Athous, Andreas Skètè* 109, *Constantinopolitanus, Metochii Sancti Sepulchri* 462 and *Patmiacus* 287 (to add to the *Londinensis, Harleianus* 5632 already noted by Moravcsik). The *Patriarchal History* is also present in the following manuscripts:

Atheniensis, National Library 3006
Athous, Iviron 205
Athous, Panteleèmonos 669
Sinaiticus gr. 1964
Tubingensis Mb. 18
Tubingensis Mb. 37
Vaticanus, Archivio di San Pietro C 152

Of these, *Athous, Andreas Skètè* 109 and *Vaticanus, Archivio di San Pietro* C 152 evidently derive from the printed work. *Tubingensis Mb.* 18 represents the original manuscript of the *Patriarchal History*, while *Tubingensis Mb.* 37 constitutes its immediate copy, and perhaps the form in which the *Patriarchal History* was prepared for publication.

Finally, we ought to note three instances where an item has been wrongly noted to contain the *Chronicle of 1570* or some work associated with it. This is the case in *Bucurestiensis, Bibliotheca Academiae Dacoromanae gr.* 4, *Atheniensis Byzantine Museum* 30 and *Thessalonicensis, M. I. Ioannidès Private Library* (sine numero). The first is an extract from the eighteenth-century *Chronicle* of Ioannès Stanos (namely the *Vivlos Chronikè*), the second is but a standard Byzantine 'short chronicle' (namely *Short Chronicle 59*), while the third is a manuscript of the *Historia Imperatorum*.[21]

[19] On the *Turcograecia*, see É. Legrand, *Bibliographie Hellénique ou description raisonnée des ouvrages publiés par des Grecs au XVe et XVIe siècles*, vol. 4, Paris, 1906 (reprint Bruxelles, 1963), pp. 271-274.

[20] D. Serruys, *Un nouveau text de l'Historia Constantinopoleos*, dans *Revue des Bibliothèques*, 16 (1906), pp. 193-203.

[21] Respectively on these works: I. Svoronos, *Ἰωάννης Στάνος*, in *Ἀθηνᾶ* 49 (1939), pp. 233-242; P. Schreiner, *Die Byzantinischen Kleinchroniken*, Vienna 1975-79; Moravcsik, *op.cit.*, p. 295.

The present survey is as full a picture of manuscripts of the *Chronicle of 1570* as we were able to give. Undoubtedly, more cases will appear, but the list represents the manuscript tradition of the *Chronicle* as we now know it.

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SUMMARY

The article provides an exhaustive survey of the manuscript tradition of the *Chronicle of 1570*, a work that is characterized by extensive divergences in content that make ready identification with a core form difficult. The matter is dealt with by means of a critical evaluation of successive studies, together with a presentation of newly identified manuscripts.

ZWEI WEITERE DEKLAMATIONEN DES DEMETRIOS MOSCHOS

Wie bereits angekündigt[1], sollte im Rahmen einer kurzen Studie eine kritische Edition der noch unveröffentlichten Werke des Kopisten und Literaten Demetrios Moschos[2] vorgelegt werden, die im Codex *Ambrosianus* C 80 inf. enthalten sind. Zu diesem Zwecke ist es jedoch notwendig, zunächst die Handschrift selbst etwas näher zu betrachten.

Der Codex besteht im Wesentlichen aus zwei Teilen; der erste (ff. 1^{r}-126^{v}) enthält Galen, der zweite (ff. 170^{r}-256^{r}) die Theriaka des Nikandros, Argonautika des Ps.-Orpheus und einige Werke des Demetrios Moschos, namentlich eine Ansprache an den Protostrator Demetrios Laskaris (ff. 240^{r}-244^{v})[3], eine (möglicherweise fingierte, vgl. weiter unten) Anklagerede im Prozess gegen einen gewissen Michael (ff. 245^{r}-250^{v}) sowie eine weitere Deklamation (ff. 250^{v}-256^{r})[4]. Eine detaillierte kodikologische Untersuchung ergab, dass die Handschrift homogen ist und um ca. 1500 (im betreffenden Teil von Demetrios Moschos selbst) geschrieben wurde. Nachstehend sei eine Kurzbeschreibung der Handschrift geliefert.

Ambrosianus C 80 inf. ca. 1500. Pap. V. 257 Bl. IV′ (gezählt 1-256; + I′; I-IV = V; II′-V′ = N).

Lagen: 1×10 (–1 nach f. 9 ohne Textverlust) 10×10 (209) 1×12 (221) 1×10 (231) 1×8 (239) 1×6 (245) 1×8 (253) 1×4 (I′). – *Kustoden:* Griechische Kustoden von der Hand A auf dem jeweils ersten Recto jeder Lage im unteren Freirand rechts innerhalb des Schriftspiegels oder mittig, erhalten <γ′> (f. 30^{r}), ε′ (f. 40^{r}), ζ′ (f. 50^{r}, von späterer Hand), η′ (f. 60^{r}), θ′ (f. 70^{r}), ι′ (f. 80^{r}), <ιβ′> (f. 100^{r}), <ιγ′> (f. 120^{r}). Griechische Kustoden von der Hand des <Demetrios Moschos> auf dem jeweils ersten Recto jeder Lage im unteren Freirand rechts auf der Schriftspiegellinie, erhalten β′ (180^{r}), δ′ (200^{r}), ε′ (210^{r}). – *Linienschema:* A (f. 1-126): 20D1, Typ 13. B (ff. 127-129): nicht liniert. C (ff. 129-169): I00C1, Typ 4. D (ff. 170-239): 20D1, Typ 4. E (ff. 240-I′): wohl 00D1, Typ nicht feststellbar. – *Wasserzeichen:* Durchgehend Foliofaltung. A (f. III): Buchstabe M, Typ Briquet 8373 (a. 1522). B (ff. 3+8, 5+6): Waage im Kreis mit Gegenzeichen AB, sehr ähnlich Piccard, Waage VI, 73 (1496/97). C (ff. 2+9, 4+7): Waage im Kreis mit Beizeichen M, sehr ähnlich Piccard, Waage VI 276 (1491). D (ff. 10-119, 246-253): Blume, ähnlich Briquet 6706 (1496); keine

[1] R. S. STEFEC, *Eine übersehene Ansprache des Demetrios Moschos*, in *Byz*, 82 (2012), S. 397-414, hier S. 398-399 mit Anm. 10.

[2] Zu ihm vgl. die bei STEFEC, *Ansprache* (wie Anm. 1), S. 397, Anm. 3, zitierte Literatur.

[3] Text bei Ph. MPUMPULIDES, *Ἀνέκδοτον κείμενον τοῦ Δημητρίου Μόσχου*, in *Ἐπιστημονικὴ Ἐπετηρὶς Φιλοσοφικῆς Σχολῆς Πανεπιστημίου Ἀθηνῶν*, 16 (1965/66), S. 364-373.

[4] Beide Texte werden hier ediert, vgl. weiter unten.

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nähere Entsprechung bei Piccard. E (ff. 120-129, 170-239, 254-I′): Dreiberg, ähnlich Piccard, Dreiberg 2163 (1499). F (ff. 130-169): Dreiberg, fast identisch Piccard, Dreiberg 2163 (1499). G (ff. 240-245): Ochsenkopf, Typ Piccard, Ochsenkopf XVI, 219 (1509), zusätzlich mit Beizeichen M. – *Schreiber*: Zwei Hände in skriptorialem Zusammenhang. A (ff. 1^{r}-126^{v}, 240^{r}, Z. 4-19), identisch mit dem Kopisten des *Vaticanus Palatinus* gr. 251 (Autopsie; zu diesem Codex vgl. zuletzt R. S. STEFEC, *Zur Schnittdekoration kretischer Handschriften*, in *Miscellanea Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae*, 19 [2012], S. 501-533, hier S. 517 mit Anm. 51). B (ff. 170^{r}, 171^{r}-221^{v}, 222^{v}-236^{r}, 240^{r}, Z. 1-3, 240^{r}, Z. 19-256^{r}): <Demetrios Moschos> (vgl. die Tafel bei MPUMPULIDES, *Ἀνέκδοτον* [wie Anm. 3], S. 371). Die ff. 127^{r}-169^{r}, 170^{v}, 222^{r}, 236^{v}-239^{v}, 256^{v} leer. – *Notizen*: Auf fol. I^{r} (a) die Signatur *C 80* (b) *Pa^{te} INFA* (c) die Signatur *C. 80 inf.* (d) Angabe der leeren Blätter *da 127 a 169* | *– fogli bianchi –*. Auf fol. IV^{v} ein lateinisches Inhaltsverzeichnis von zwei Händen (erste Hand: <A. Olgiatus>; zweite Hand: durch Unterstreichung hervorgehoben): *Galeni anatomia.* | *Nicandri theriaca cum comment. Orphei* (*Orpheus* corr. m^{2}) ~~*hymni*~~ *de lapidib. cum notis* | *Demetrij Moschi militaria quaedam ad Demetrium Lascarim* | *Eiusdem declamationes duae.* Darunter: *Felicibus auspiciis Ill^{mi} Card. Federici Borrhom.* | *Olgiatus uidit an. 1603.* | *Codex recenti manu, sed optima scriptus.* Auf dem Rücken zwei Bibliotheksetikette; oben ein neueres (mit der Nr. *854*), unten ein älteres (mit der Nr. *80*). – *Illumination*: Bescheiden; Ziertor (f. 1^{r}), Flechtband (ff. 81^{r}, 170^{r}), Zierleiste (f. 171^{r}) und Initialen passim in Rotbraun; Titel in klassischer Majuskel (f. 1^{r}, 16^{v}, 31^{r}, 171^{r}, 223^{r}). – *Einband*: Italienischer Einband des 15. Jh., Lederbezug nur am Rücken. Reste von Schließen, Rücken lädiert[5].

[5] *Literatur*: H. DIELS, *Die Handschriften der antiken Ärzte I. Hippokrates und Galenus* (*Abhandlungen der Königlichen Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Kl.* 1905, 3), Berlin, 1905 (Ndr. Leipzig – Amsterdam, 1970), S. 66; Ae. MARTINI – D. BASSI, *Catalogus codicum graecorum bibliothecae Ambrosianae*, Mailand, 1906 (Ndr. Hildesheim – New York, 1978), S. 950-951; H. DIELS, *Bericht über den Stand des interakademischen Corpus medicorum antiquorum und Erster Nachtrag zu den in den Abhandlungen 1905 und 1906 veröffentlichten Katalogen: Die Handschriften der antiken Ärzte, I. und II. Teil: Galenus* (*Abhandlungen der Königlichen Preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Kl.* 1907, 2), Berlin, 1907 (Ndr. Leipzig – Amsterdam, 1970), S. 29; Sp. P. LAMPROS, *Λακεδαιμόνιοι βιβλιογράφοι καὶ κτήτορες κωδίκων κατὰ τοὺς μέσους αἰῶνας καὶ ἐπὶ Τουρκοκρατίας*, in *NE*, 4 (1907), S. 152-187, hier S. 184; I. CAZZANIGA, *Glosse inedite ai Theriaka ed Alexipharmaka di Nicandro (cod. Ambrosiano C 32 sup.)*, in *Studi classici e orientali*, 6 (1956), S. 5-61, hier S. 5 mit Anm. 1; M. GEYMONAT, *Scholia in Nicandri Alexipharmaca cum Glossis* (*Testi e Documenti per lo Studio dell'Antichità*, 48), Mailand, 1974, S. 10 mit Anm. 5; *Galenus, Anatomicarum Administrationum libri qui supersunt novem. Earundem interpretatio Arabica Hunaino Isaaci filio adscripta*, ed. I. GAROFALO, Leiden, 1986, S. XII mit Anm. 38; J.-M. JACQUES, *Galien et Athénée lecteurs des Thériaques de Nicandre de Colophon*, in *Trasmissione e ecdotica dei testi medici greci. Atti del IV Convegno Internazionale. Parigi, 17–19 maggio 2001*, a cura di A. GARZYA – J. JOUANNA (*Collectanea*, 21), Neapel, 2003, S. 241-253, hier S. 253; G. TURCO, *Un antico elenco di manoscritti greci ambrosiani. L'Ambr. X 289 inf., ff. 110-141*, in *Nuove ricerche sui Manoscritti greci dell'Ambrosiana. Atti del Convegno Milano, 5–6 giugno 2003*, a cura di C. M. MAZZUCCHI – C. PASINI (*Bibliotheca erudita. Studi e documenti di storia e filologia*, 24). Mailand 2004, 79-143, hier 138, Nr. 291. St. Martinelli Tempesta, *Per un repertorio dei copisti greci in Ambrosiana*, in *Miscellanea Graecolatina* I, a cura di F. GALLO, Rom, 2013, pp. 101-153, hier 135 mit Anm. 84 und Tf. 11.

Die weiter unten zu edierenden Reden geben einige Rätsel auf. Sie sind nicht datiert und auch aufgrund textinhärenter Kriterien nicht datierbar; da der autographe Codex *Ambrosianus* C 80 inf. aus der Zeit um 1500 stammt (vgl. oben), muss ihre Abfassung vor diesem Zeitpunkt erfolgt sein, und zwar in Venedig[6]. Betrachten wir zunächst die erste der beiden Reden. Über den Ankläger Paulos Sguromalles wissen wir nicht mehr, als dass er möglicherweise peloponnesischer Herkunft war[7] und sich eine Zeitlang dem Rhetorikstudium auf Kerkyra[8] – vielleicht bei Ioannes oder Georgios Moschos[9] – gewidmet haben dürfte; dort lernte er auch seinen Kontrahenten, einen gewissen Michael[10], kennen.

[6] In diesem Zusammenhang sei darauf hingewiesen, dass der Ambrosianus aufgrund des Fehlens jeglicher Korrekturen als Reinschrift des Autors zu betrachten ist, die ein früheres Autorenexemplar (oder sogar mehrere Bearbeitungsstadien) voraussetzt. Den Entstehungsort gibt der Autor auf fol. 256^{r} am Schluss des letzten im Codex enthaltenen Werks an: τέλος τῆς ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀριστέως μελέτης Δημητρίου Μόσχου τοῦ Λάκωνος ἐν Ἑνετίαις καὶ ταύτης μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων συντεθείσης. In Venedig ist Demetrios Moschos im Jahre 1493 durch einen Brief des Pietro Bembo belegt, vgl. M. R. FORMENTIN, *Il punto su Demetrio Mosco*, in *BBGG*, 52 (1998), S. 235-257, hier 240.

[7] Die Bezeichnung des Paulos als 'εὐγενής' (vgl. Überschrift) lässt eine Verwandtschaft mit Matthaios Palaiologos Sguromalles (*PLP* Bd. 10. Wien 1990, 196, Nr. 24995) oder Palaiologos Sguromalles (*PLP* Bd. 10 Nr. 24996) vermuten, die beide auf der Peloponnes belegt sind (Matthaios wird sogar explizit als 'Λακεδαιμόνιος' genannt, vgl. LAMPROS, *Λακεδαιμόνιοι βιβλιογράφοι* [wie Anm. 5], S. 183), zumal Demetrios Moschos auch in Italien gerne mit Landsleuten aus seiner engeren Heimat Peloponnes verkehrte (vgl. STEFEC, *Ansprache* [wie Anm. 1], S. 401-402).

[8] Vgl. Z. 21-26. Mitglieder der Familie Sguromalles sind in der 2. Hälfte des 15. Jh. auf Korfu attestiert, vgl. Th. GANCHOU, *La fraterna societas des Crétois Nikolaos et Geôrgios Pôlos (Polo), entre Constantinople et Moncastro: affaires, dévotion et humanisme*, in *Θησαυρίσματα*, 39/49 (2009/10), S. 111-228, hier S. 191 mit Anm. 268-269.

[9] Zum Rhetorikunterricht des Ioannes Moschos auf Kerkyra vgl. M. R. FORMENTIN, *Aulo Giano Parrasio alla scuola di Giovanni Mosco*, in *Aion. Annali dell'Università degli Studi di Napoli 'L'Orientale'. Dipartimento di studi del mondo classico e del Mediterraneo antico. Sezione filologico-letteraria*, 27 (2005), S. 15-23, hier S. 17-18 (mit der dort genannten Literatur); zum allgemeinen Rahmen vgl. B. MONDRAIN, *Lettrés et copistes à Corfou au XVe et au XVIe siècle*, in *Puer Apuliae. Mélanges offerts à Jean-Marie Martin*, éd. E. CUOZZO – V. DÉROCHE – A. PETERS-CUSTOT – V. PRIGENT (*Centre de recherche d'histoire et civilisation de Byzance. Monographies*, 30), Paris, 2008, S. 463-476.

[10] Vgl. Z. 20-22. Auf Kerkyra haben sich (teilweise ebenfalls zu Studienzwecken) auch zwei bekannte Kopisten der Renaissance aufgehalten, die beide den Vornamen Michael tragen und wie der hier erwähnte Michael anschließend auch Venedig aufsuchten, nämlich Michael Triboles (*RGK* I, 156, Nr. 287; *RGK* II, 150, Nr. 394; *RGK* III, 174, Nr. 469 [mit der dort genannten Literatur]; zu seinem Aufenthalt auf Korfu [1490/91] vgl. É. DENISOFF, *Maxime le Grec et l'Occident* [*Université de Louvain, Recueil de travaux d'histoire et de philologie*, 3e série, 14e fascicule], Paris – Louvain, 1943, S. 84-86; zu seinem Aufenthalt in Venedig in den 90er Jahren des 15. Jahrhunderts vgl. D. SPERANZI, *Michele Trivoli e Giano Lascari. Appunti su copisti e manoscritti greci tra Corfù e Firenze*, in *Studi Slavistici*, 7 [2010], S. 263-297, hier S. 282-283) und Michael Suliardos (*RGK* I, 155-156, Nr. 286; *RGK* II, 148-149, Nr. 392; *RGK* III, 173-174, Nr. 468; zu seiner Zusammenarbeit mit Ioannes Moschos auf Kerkyra vgl. D. SPERANZI, *Giano Lascari e i suioi copisti. Gli oratori attici*

Die Rede ist als Anklageplädoyer bei einem Prozess gegen Michael konzipiert[11], dessen Hintergrund aus dem Text einigermaßen gut ersichtlich wird. Moschos, der vorgibt, erstmals als Gerichtsredner anzutreten[12], antwortet mit seiner Anklage auf die vorausgegangene Verteidigungsrede von Michaels Vater[13], der durch Mord an einem jungen Mann auf der Insel Kerkyra negativen Einfluss auf seinen Sohn ausgeübt haben soll[14]. Der Grund für die Übernahme der Verteidigung durch Michaels Vater wird nicht genannt; Moschos tritt als Angkläger auf, da Paulos selbst für diese Aufgabe noch zu jung sei[15]. Ankläger (Paulos) und Angeklagter (Michael) wohnen dem Prozess bei[16].

Paulos und Michael waren Mitschüler auf Kerkyra; während sich Paulos nicht nur dem Rhetorikstudium eifrig hingab, sondern auch ein geordnetes Leben führte, zeigte sich Michael am Unterricht weniger interessiert und auch sein Lebenswandel ließ zu wünschen übrig[17]. Nachdem sich Paulos nach Venedig begeben hatte, wurde er dort von Michael aufgesucht[18] und nahm diesen freundschaftlich auf[19]. Dieses Vertrauen missbrauchte Michael zu einem Diebstahl; als es nämlich Paulos gelang, eine größere Summe von seinen Schuldnern einzutreiben, entwendete Michael aus Paulos' Haus das besagte Geld[20]. Nach kurzer Abwesenheit stellte Paulos den Diebstahl fest und verdächtigte sofort Michael, die einzige in Frage kommende Person[21]. Er suchte Michaels Schwester auf und bediente sich einer List, indem er behauptete, sie müsse das bei ihr versteckte Geld abgeben, damit ihr Bruder, der inzwischen verhaftet und wegen Diebstahl angeklagt worden sei,

minori tra l'Athos e Firenze., in *Medioevo e Rinascimento*, 24 [2010], S. 337-377, hier S. 361-366). Für eine Identifizierung Michaels mit einem der erwähnten Kopisten fehlt es allerdings an weiterführenden Indizien.

[11] Vgl. Z. 21-29 und 120.

[12] Vgl. Z. 18-19.

[13] Ein kleiner Teil der Verteidigungsrede wird in Z. 121-123 referiert.

[14] Vgl. Z. 236-239, 242. Der greise Vater des Michael soll bereits im Vorfeld des Prozesses der Partei des Paulos Vorwürfe gemacht haben, vgl. Z. 112-113.

[15] Vgl. Z. 10-11.

[16] Vgl. Z. 95 und 120 (vgl. das Demonstrativpronomen τούτου) sowie 184 und 268 (vgl. das Demonstrativpronomen οὗτος).

[17] Vgl. Z. 31-37. Paulos' Eifer wird auch in Z. 193-194 erwähnt.

[18] Vgl. Z. 40-41. Das Adverb ἐνταῦθα kombiniert mit der Angabe, dass die Rede in Venedig verfasst wurde (vgl. oben Anm. 6), führt zu dem Schluss, dass sich Paulos (und somit auch Michael) nach seinem (ihrem) Aufenthalt auf Kerkyra in der Lagunenstadt niederließ (niederließen). Es ist interessant, dass Mitglieder desselben Schülerkreises auch in Venedig offensichtlich in Kontakt blieben, vgl. Z. 35-36 und 43-44.

[19] Vgl. Z. 41-42.

[20] Vgl. Z. 50 und 53 sowie 56-61. Siehe auch die Überschrift sowie die Schlussbemerkung (κλοπή).

[21] Vgl. Z. 63-67.

freikommen könne[22]. Diese wollte das Geld nicht sofort übergeben, sondern versprach eine baldige Übermittlung durch ihren Mann[23]. Da Paulos das Geld offensichtlich nicht zurückbekam, verklagte er Michael[24]; als Zeuge trat ein Mann auf, den Paulos zu seinem Gespräch mit Michaels Schwester hinzuzog[25].

Bei der Auswertung der hier enthaltenen – freilich sehr kargen – Informationen empfiehlt sich jedoch Vorsicht. Zunächst sei darauf hingewiesen, dass die Rede als μελέτη συνηγορική charakterisiert wird[26], was den Schluss nahelegt, dass es sich in Wirklichkeit um eine Deklamation handeln könnte, zumal Demetrios Moschos als Verfasser von Deklamationen bereits bekannt ist[27]. Schwerwiegender ist, dass der Eindruck vermittelt wird, die Verhandlung werde vor einem venezianischen Gericht geführt, was auf Griechisch kaum denkbar ist.

Möglich sind grundsätzlich drei Erklärungen: Die Rede ist (a) die griechische Bearbeitung einer in der von Demetrios Moschos beherrschten Variante des *volgare* in Venedig vorgetragenen Anklagerede[28]; (b) eine fingierte Anklagerede (Deklamation) mit realem Hintergrund; (c) eine fingierte Anklagerede (Deklamation) ohne realen Hintergrund. Wichtig ist, dass der geschilderte Tatbestand auch in Fall (c) so konzipiert gewesen sein muss, dass er auf das zeitgenössische Publikum glaubhaft wirkte, und somit wirkliche Geistesbewegungen jener Zeit (etwa den Transfer junger griechischer Bildungselite von Kerkyra nach Venedig) widerspiegeln dürfte.

Die Entscheidung, welcher der drei genannten Fälle vorliegt, ist nicht leicht. Der Hinweis auf den glaubhaften Gegenwartsbezug der Rede und die Schwierigkeit, sie einem der Hauptgenera der Deklamation (mythologisch,

[22] Vgl. Z. 86-90.

[23] Vgl. Z. 92-95.

[24] Vgl. Z. 157.

[25] Vgl. Z. 99-101, 108-111.

[26] Siehe die Überschrift sowie die Schlussbemerkung. Neutraler ist der Terminus συνηγορία in Z. 8; für eine rein literarische Komposition spricht wiederum das Partizip συντεθείσης in dem Kolophon auf fol. 256^{r} (siehe Anm. 6). An der Überschrift orientiert sich auch die mehrheitliche Bezeichnung des hier edierten Textes als 'Deklamation' (z. B. im Titel des Beitrags).

[27] Die 'Monodie der Muttergottes auf die Kreuzigung' (Text bei PH. MPUMPULIDES, *Ἀνέκδοτα κείμενα τοῦ Δημητρίου Μόσχου*, in *EEBS*, 39/40 [1972/73], S. 560-562, hier S. 561-562) entspricht eher einer Ethopoiie; die dritte im Ambrosianus enthaltene Rede (vgl. oben im Text; ihr Titel lautet: μελέτη ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀναβεβηκότος ἀριστέως ξένου ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος, πολέμου ὄντος καὶ νικήσαντος καὶ κρινομένου παρανόμων, νόμου κελεύοντος μὴ ἀνιέναι τὸν ξένον ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος) ist hingegen eine ethologische Deklamation. Die erste Rede im Ambrosianus (vgl. hier Anm. 3) trägt den Titel στρατηγικός und dürfte vorwiegend epideiktischen Charakters sein, da Gegenwartsbezüge kaum präsent sind.

[28] Zur Zweisprachigkeit des Demetrios Moschos vgl. STEFEC, *Ansprache* (wie Anm. 1), S. 401 mit Anm. 26.

historisch oder ethologisch) zuzuordnen, sind kein ausreichender Beweis für ihre Echtheit als Gerichtsrede[29]. Andererseits sind auch gewisse Lücken in der Beweisführung kein Grund dafür, vorbehaltlos für den fiktionalen Charakter der Ansprache zu plädieren[30]. Doch lassen wir angesichts dieses *impasse* lieber Demetrios Moschos selbst sprechen[31].

Τοῦ αὐτοῦ μελέτη συνηγορικὴ πρὸς Μιχαῆλον περὶ κλοπῆς ὑπὲρ τοῦ εὐγενοῦς Παύλου τοῦ Σγουρομάλλου.

Δίκαιον, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, καὶ παρὰ πᾶσιν, οἶμαι, νομίζεται τὸ τοῖς ἀποροῦσι πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὑπὲρ τῶν αὐτοῖς διαφερόντων ποιεῖσθαι τοὺς λόγους, ὅπως τύχωσι τῶν δικαίων, ἐξεῖναι συνειπεῖν, τοῖς μάλιστα τοῦτο ποιεῖν ἐλευθέρως προῃρημένοις. ὃ δὴ καὶ ἐφ' ἡμῶν τυγχάνει συμβαῖνον, εἴ τις ἀκριβῶς τὴν ἐμὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ Παύλου τουτουὶ σκοποῖτο συνηγορίαν. καὶ γὰρ τὸ τῆς ἡλικίας αὐτῷ τοιοῦτον, οἷον καὶ τοῖς πάνυ τοῦ λέγειν ἐμπειροτάτοις, τάχα ἂν ἐμποδὼν γέγονεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ τοῦ μειρακίοις ἔτι συγκαταλέγεσθαι καὶ τὸ τῶν λόγων ἀπείρως ἔχειν. καὶ ταῦτα ὡς προσήκει πρὸς τοιούτους ἀγῶνας περίεστιν· ἔτι δὲ καὶ διὰ τὸν καιρὸν μὲν ἴσως ξένος, νόμῳ δὲ κοινῶς τῶν δικαίων μετέχειν ὑπ' οὐδενὸς ἀπειργόμενος, ὃν ἐγὼ συμφέροντος ἰδίου μὲν ἕνεκα οὐδενός, ἀδικεῖσθαι δὲ ἄλλως ὁρῶν κινδυνεύοντα, σὺν αὐτῷ δὲ καὶ τὸ δίκαιον καταπεφρονῆσθαι, ἂν μὴ τῆς παρ' ὑμῶν τύχωσι βοηθείας, τοῖς κοινοῖς ὑμῖν τῶν προσηκόντων ἑκάστῳ χορηγοῖς συστήσων πάρειμι. δέομαι τοίνυν ὑμῶν μηδὲν εἶναι μοι διὰ τοῦθ' ὕποπτον, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐμαυτὸν οὔπω μέχρι καὶ νῦν ἐγκατέταξα λόγοις τοιούτοις· οὐδ' ἔστιν οὔτε ξένων οὔτε τῶν πολιτῶν, ὃς ἐμοῖς πώποτε λόγοις παρηνώχληται. ἔπειτα εἰ τοῦτο ἡμῖν οὐ συγκεχωρήσεται,

[29] Der fingierte Gegenwartsbezug könnte nämlich eine bewusste Innovation des Demetrios Moschos darstellen, der sich durch sein literarisches Schaffen um Wiederbelebung antiker literarischer Formen bemühte, und zwar nunmehr ganz im Sinne der italienischen Renaissance; dazu siehe die Bemerkungen bei STEFEC, *Ansprache* (wie Anm. 1), S. 403.

[30] Der schwächste Punkt ist sicherlich das Fehlen eines glaubhaften *quando* für den Akt des Diebstahls selbst (offenbar in Paulos' Anwesenheit, vgl. Z. 36-44) sowie vor allem das fehlende *quemadmodum*. Doch beide Lücken in der Beweisführung könnten auch bei einer tatsächlich vorgetragenen Rede auftreten. Ebenso könnten Fachtermini, die auf bewusste Rezeption eines bestimmten literarischen Modells hindeuten (*genus iudiciale*; vgl. διήγησις in Z. 28 sowie σημεῖα in Z. 73), auch dann eine Erwähnung finden, wenn die Rede nicht fingiert wäre. – Der Verf. jedenfalls tendiert eher zu der Annahme, dass Fall (b) vorliegt.

[31] Obwohl nach einer autographen Handschrift ediert wird, findet die Interpunktion des Originals keine Berücksichtigung in der vorliegenden Ausgabe, da dem Leseverständnis des sprachlich anspruchsvollen Textes keine zusätzlichen Hürden in den Weg gelegt werden sollten. Die Akzentuierung der Enklitika folgt dem handschriftlichen Befund; das Iota subscriptum, das sehr oft – aber nicht immer – gesetzt wird, wird nach den Regeln der Schulgrammatik ergänzt.

πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἔδει καὶ τοῖς τοῦ φεύγοντος αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἀπαγορεύεσθαι, εἴγε καὶ φεύγοντα τοῦτον προσειπεῖν ἄξιον, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὡς ἡμῶν μᾶλλον δίκαια πεπονθότων παρελθεῖν | μετὰ τοσούτων κατηγορήσοντα. ἔστι δέ, οἶμαι, προσῆκον περὶ τῆς ὑποθέσεως ὑμᾶς προακοῦσαι διαβραχέων· ἀφηγήσομαι δὲ περὶ ταύτης ὑμῖν, ὡς οὐδὲ τούτοις τῶν λεγομένων οὐδὲν ἄλλως εἰπεῖν ἐνέσται γεγονέναι· τοῦτο δὲ καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν ἔξωθεν οἴδασιν ὑπ' αὐτῶν ὁμολογηθέν. καὶ σκέψασθε, εἰ αἱ τοιαῦται τῶν διηγήσεων μεθ' ἑαυτῶν μᾶλλον τὸ δίκαιον ἔχουσιν, ἐν αἷς ὁ κατηγορῶν σύμφωνον ἔχει τὸν φεύγοντα.

Τοῦ γοῦν πράγματος ἡ τάξις οὕτως ἀποβέβηκε. τῷ Παύλῳ ξένος ἐγένετο πολὺν ἤδη χρόνον οὑτοσὶ Μιχαῆλος καὶ περὶ Κέρκυραν ἄμφω σπουδάζοντες ἐν λόγοις ἔτυχον, οὐκ ἐξ ὁμοίας δὲ γνώμης, ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν οὐχ ἥττω μετὰ τῆς τῶν λόγων εἶχε καὶ τὴν τῶν ἠθῶν ὁ Παῦλος παίδευσιν, τῷ δέ, ὡς ἔοικεν, εἰς λόγον μόνον ἐτελεύτα τὰ παρὰ τοῦ μυσταγωγοῦ, πρὸς τὴν ἀμφοτέρων μελέτην συντείνοντα. καὶ ὡς πολλοὶ τῶν συμπεφοιτηκότων ἔλεγον, πολλάκις οὐ μεθ' ἑαυτῶν τοῦτον εἶχον συνακροώμενον, ἀλλὰ καὶ συνεχῶς λειποτακτοῦντα. διέξειμι δὲ ταῦτα, ἵν' οἷος ἦν καὶ τότε γινώσκηται εὐθὺς ἐξαρχῆς· ἐξ ὧν γὰρ νῦν εἴργασται κἀκεῖνα παρ' οἷς ἐναπεσχόλαζεν οὐκ ἄδηλα. ἐπεὶ δὲ Παῦλον τῆς Κερκύρας ἀποδημήσαντα ἐνταῦθα εὗρεν ἐλθὼν αὐτὸς ὕστερον, τῆς τε προτέρας εὐνοίας ἕνεκα ὡς εἰκὸς ἠσπάζετο καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πιστὸς ἐνομίζετο φίλος, ὅθεν πολλάκις ἐτύγχανεν οὐ τούτῳ μόνῳ συνδιατρίβων, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλοῖς ἑτέροις αὐτοῦ συμμαθηταῖς τῶν ἐκεῖθεν, εὐγενέσι τε νέοις καὶ πρὸς ἀρετῆς δόξαν σπουδάζουσι. χρόνου δέ ποτε προϊόντος ὡς τὴν οἰκίαν συνήθως ἦλθε τοῦ Παύλου, ὁ δὲ φιλοφρόνως τε αὐτὸν ὑπεδέχετο καὶ περιμένειν ἔφασκε καὶ τῶν ἑταίρων ἐνίους, ἅτε παρὰ τῶν ὀφειλετῶν ἐκεκόμιστο δάνεια διαθέμενος, | <καὶ> συνδιελέγετο Μιχαήλῳ. ὁ δέ, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἑωρακὼς ταῦτα, τὸν νοῦν οὐκ ἔτι τοῖς λόγοις εἶχε συνακόλουθον, ἀλλ' ἡ διάνοια πολὺ τῶν λεγομένων διΐστατο καὶ τοῖς ἐναποτεθεῖσιν ἐπεβούλευε χρήμασι κακῶς Ἡσιόδου τὴν σοφωτάτην ὑποθήκην ἐνθυμούμενος· *εὐθημοσύνη γὰρ ἀρίστη θνητοῖς ἀνθρώποις, κακοθημοσύνη δὲ κακίστη*. ὡς γὰρ καθ' ἑαυτὸν ἐξεῦρε λογισάμενος τῆς κλοπῆς τὴν μέθοδον, τῆς οἰκίας τὸν Παῦλον ἐξάγειν ἐπειρᾶτο, ἵνα δῆθεν καὶ μᾶλλον τὰ μεταταῦτα συγκαλύψειεν. οὐ γὰρ ἐξιέναι τοῦτον εἶχε πειθόμενον, ἀλλὰ μόνος ἐξῄει. τοῦτο δὲ εἰ μηδὲν εἰπὼν ἔπραττε, μᾶλλον ἂν ἦν ὕποπτος, μήπως ἐνυπομείνας που κάτω περὶ τὰ τῆς οἰκίας ἐνδόμυχα τὴν ἔξοδον Παύλου, καθ' ἡσυχίαν ἃ διενοήσατο πράττοι. ὃ δὴ καὶ πεποίηκε, τὴν ὑποψίαν ἐλὼν προσχήματι λόγου. καὶ γὰρ μὴ πείθειν ἔχων ἐβιάζετο ἐξιέναι καὶ μηδαμόθεν ἔχων τοῦτον ἐπινεύοντα, 'χαῖρε' εἰπὼν ἀπῄει· καὶ τὰ τοῦ πράγματος παρεσκεύαστο. μετ' αὐτὸν δὲ καὶ Παῦλος

ἐξελθὼν ὡς αὖθις ὑπέστρεψε. καί τι χρημάτων αὐτῷ δεῆσαν, εἰς ζήτησιν ἦλθεν, οὐδὲν τῶν πρὶν ἐναποτεθειμένων εὗρισκεν. εὐθὺς μὲν οὖν – τίνα γὰρ ἄλλον ἐχρῆν αἰτιᾶσθαι; οὐ γὰρ νυκτὸς ἐν μέσῳ παρωχηκυίας, οὐδέ τις ἄλλος παρῆν τῶν ἔξωθεν, οὐδὲ τῶν ἄλλων οὐδὲν κτημάτων ἀπῆν, ἐφ' οἷς καὶ ἄλλον ἂν εἶχεν ἐπαιτιάσασθαι – τοῦτον ἐνόμιζεν εἶναι τὸν ταῦτα τολμήσαντα. οἶμαι μὲν οὖν ἐκ τῶν προειρημένων, εἰ καὶ μηδὲν εἴχομεν ἔτι δεῖξαι, πολλοὺς ἂν εἰκότως ἐγκαλεῖν Μιχαήλῳ καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν τῶν ἀφανισθέντων ζητεῖν χρημάτων. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις πλειόνων προσδεῖ τῶν ἐλέγχων, ἐν μὲν τοῖς ἄλλοις σχεδὸν ἅπασιν ἐγκλήμασιν | αἱ παρὰ τῶν ἔξωθεν μαρτυρίαι τοὺς φεύγοντας ὁμολογεῖν ἀναγκάζουσι τἀληθές, μόνοις δὲ τοῖς κλέπταις καὶ τοιχωρύχοις τὰ παρὰ τῶν πραγμάτων σημεῖα πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀναφερόμενα πλείονα φέρουσι πίστιν. οὐδεὶς γὰρ τῶν ὑφελέσθαι βουλομένων κοινωνόν τινα τῆς γνώμης ποιεῖται, πρὶν ἔργῳ τῶν ἐγχειρηθέντων εἰς τέλος ἔλθοι. ἡμεῖς δὲ χωρὶς τῶν ἄλλων καὶ τοῦτο ἀποδείξομεν, οὐ καθώς, ὦ σοφώτατε, σὺ διωρίζου τούτῳ συνηγορῶν, μάρτυρας παρ' ἡμῶν ἀπαιτῶν ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ εἰ ταῦθ' ἑωράκειμεν πολλάκις ἐπερωτῶν. ὅθεν τῶν μὲν προτέρων λόγων, οἷς αὐτῷ βοηθεῖν ᾤου, παντελῶς ἀποστήσῃ. ἐκ τούτων γὰρ αὐτῶν ἀγνοεῖν ἔοικας μείζω τὸν ἔλεγχον ὧν ἔδρασεν αὐτῷ περιάπτων. τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἶδεν, ὡς αἱ παρὰ τοὺς ἐν δίκαις ἀγῶνας βοήθειαι μὴ πανταχόθεν ἰσχύουσαι πρὸς τοὐναντίον τοῖς κινδυνεύουσι περιτρέπονται; ἀλλ' ἐξ ὧν ταῦτα κρίνειε πᾶς ὁστισοῦν εὖ φρονῶν, ἐξετάσωμεν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ὁ Παῦλος ἔγνω τοῦτον εἶναι τὸν ταῦτα μηχανησάμενον, μετ' εὐπροσώπων λόγων ὡς τὴν αὐτοῦ σύγγονον ἐλθὼν ἐπερώτα λέγων τὸν ἐκείνης τοῦτον ἀδελφὸν ἐπ' ἐγκλήματι κλοπῆς συλληφθέντα ἐν τῷ δεσμωτηρίῳ καθεῖρχθαι καὶ πρὸς ἐκείνην αὐτὸν εἰς ἀπαίτησιν ὧν ἐκεκλόφει χρημάτων πεπομφέναι· ἄλλως γὰρ παρὰ τῶν εἰσαγγειλάντων μηδεμίαν λύσιν φαίνεσθαι. ταῦτα δὲ πάνθ' ὑποπλάττων ὁ Παῦλος ἔλεγε. δεῖ γάρ, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἔσθ' ὅτε καὶ ψεύδει χρῆσθαι πρὸς τὴν τῆς ἀληθείας εὕρεσιν. ἡ δὲ χρήματα μὲν ἀπεκρίνατο παρ' αὐτοῦ χθὲς ὑποδέξασθαι καὶ θαυμάζειν ἔφασκεν, ὡς καὶ τοῦ καθήκοντος πλείω. μὴ μέντοι τούτοις γε θαρρεῖν ἀποδοῦναι, τῷ δὲ αὐτῆς ἀνδρί, γαμβρῷ | δὴ τούτου, μεταμικρὸν δώσειν κομίσασθαι. πρὸς δὲ ταύτην ἔξεστί σοι σκοπεῖν τὴν μαρτυρίαν, ὦ βέλτιστε, τί ἂν ἀντιλέγων ὀρθῶς δόξεις ἀποφαινόμενος. καὶ θαυμάζω ὑμᾶς, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, μὴ μεταπεμπομένους ἐκείνην καὶ πάλαι μαρτυρῆσαι. οὐ γὰρ ἐκείνη καθ' ἑαυτὴν ἐλεύσεται, μή τινος προσγενομένης ἀνάγκης. ἀλλ' ὃν ἡμεῖς ἄνδρα τοῦτον ἔχομεν, οὗ τὸν τρόπον ὁ βίος χρηστὸν ἀποδείκνυσιν, οὗτος καὶ ἀσφαλέστατα ὁπόταν ὑμῖν δοκῇ μαρτυρῆσαι πάρεστιν. εὐθὺς γὰρ ἐδόκει τοῦθ' ὃ καὶ γέγονεν ὕποπτον, μὴ τὰ περὶ τὸν ἀδελφόν

πως ἐκείνη πυθομένη τῶν λεχθέντων τι μετατρέψαι πειράσαιτο. καὶ ἦν οὐ παντάπασιν ἀναμφίβολον. περὶ τίνος γὰρ ἄλλου μᾶλλον τις ἐναντίοις χρήσαιτο λόγοις, ἢ διὰ τὴν τῶν οἰκειοτάτων σωτηρίαν, ὅπου καὶ οὐ μόνον ῥᾴδιον τὸ ψεύδεσι χρωμένους ὑπομένειν ἐξελέγχεσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ζῆν περὶ ἐλάσσονος ἡγεῖσθαι; ταῦτα καὶ ὁ Παῦλος ἀναλογισάμενος ἄνδρα τοῦτον μὲν οὐκ εὔπορον, σεμνὸν δὲ ἄλλως ἐκ τῶν οἰκείων βιοτεύοντα πόνων, ἐκεῖ που παρατυχόντα τῶν ἐκείνης λόγων, οὐχ ἅπαξ, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλάκις συνήκοον εἶχε μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλοθεν ἡμῖν ῥαδίως περὶ τούτων ἐκμαθεῖν τἀληθές. αὐτὸν γὰρ τὸν γέροντα ἐρωτῶντες, ἃ πρώην κατ' ἰδίαν ἡμῖν ἐπιμεμφόμενος ἔλεγε, καὶ νῦν ἐναντίον ὑμῶν εἰπεῖν ἀναγκάσατε. καὶ τίνα λόγον ἔξοι, ἐφ οἷς τις ἀδικηθεὶς καὶ παρὰ μέτρον θρασυνόμενος εἰ ὀνειδίζοιτο, τὸν αὐτὸν ὡς ἀλόγως κατηγοροῦντα νῦν ἀποφαίνειν πειρᾶσθαι; δῆλον γὰρ ὡς ὧν τότε ὁπωσδήποτε ἐπελαμβάνετο, ταῦτ' οὐδὲ νῦν ὅλως ἀνελεῖν δυνήσαιτο. οὐδὲ θρασύτητα ἐκείνην εἰκότως ἄν τις | προσείποι, τὴν εἰς ταὐτὸ τῆς δίκης τέλος συγκεφαλαιουμένην. ἐκ μὲν τοίνυν τῶν οἰκείων οὕτως ἀποφαινόμεθα καὶ τῶν ἔξωθεν συμφώνους τοὺς λόγους, οἷς τούτου κατηγοροῦμεν. ἐθαύμασα δὲ καὶ πάνυ τοιοῦτον λόγον ἀκούσας, ὡς ἄρα ἐπὶ μείζοσι κακουργίαις ὑπὸ τοῦ Παύλου Μιχαῆλος προτρεπόμενος, ὡς οὐχ ὑπήκουε, νῦν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κρίνεται. δέχεσθε, ὦ δικασταί, καὶ τὴν πρὸς ταῦτα μου ἀπόκρισιν εὐμενῶς, ἵν' ὅταν οὗτοι τοιαῦθ' ἡμῖν ἐπιφέρωσιν, ὑπομιμνήσκησθε, ὡς καὶ πᾶν ὁτιοῦν ἡμῖν ἐπαγάγωσιν, οὐκ ἀναδυόμεθα οὐδ' ἀποροῦμεν ὡς ὑπολύσομεν. λέγω δὲ οὐχ ὅπερ ἰδίως ὑπὸ τούτων ἐγκαλούμεθα, ἀλλ' οὕτω περὶ πάντων ὑπολογίσομαι. τίς γὰρ τῶν πάντων πιστεῦσαι δύναιτο, ὡς οἱ τοὺς ἄλλους παρακαλοῦντες εἰς κακουργίαν ἐκ τῶν τιμωριῶν, ἃς τοῖς κακούργοις οἱ νόμοι διορίζονται, τοῦτο ποιοῦσι; ποῖον δὲ λῆμα κακούργου τοσοῦτον, ὡς ἐπειδὴ ταῖς ἄλλαις παρακλήσεσιν οὐδὲν ἀπεργάσαιτο πλέον, καὶ διὰ βασάνων ἐλπίζειν οὓς πείθοι προσάξεσθαι συμμάχους ὡς ἔοικεν ἔχων εἰς τοῦτο, οἳ μόνοι τὴν τοιαύτην αὐθάδειαν παύουσι; πῶς δὲ οὐκ ἂν ὡς τάχος ἐκποδὼν γένοιντο τούτων ἑαλωκότων, δι' οὓς προδηλότατ' ἂν ἐκινδύνευον, ἀφικομένους εἰς δικαστήριον; καὶ γὰρ εἰκότως ἂν καὶ πικρότερον διὰ τοῦτο κολάζοιντο παρ' ὑμῶν οἱ κακοῦργοι. οὐ γὰρ μόναις ἐκεῖνοι κακουργίαις ἀδικοῦσι συντεθραμμένοι, ἀλλὰ τοιούτους καὶ ἄλλους ἀποκαθιστᾶναι πειρῶνται, μᾶλλον δὲ πολλῷ πλέον βλάπτουσι τούτους τῶν ὡς ἑτέρως ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀδικουμένων. οὗτοι μὲν γὰρ περὶ χρήματα καὶ ἄλλα τῶν ἔξωθεν ζημιοῦνται, ὁ δ' ὑπὸ κακούργου διαφθειρόμενος περὶ τὸ μέγιστον τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων κτημάτων, τὴν | τῆς ψυχῆς σωφροσύνην, ἠδίκηται. τέλος δέ, ὃ καὶ πάντων ἔχει τὸ ζῆν τιμιώτατον, διὰ τούτους ἀποβάλλεσθαι κινδυνεύει. τίς οὖν οὕτω σχέτλιος,

ὡς καὶ τοιαῦτα τολμήσας περιμένειν ἐκὼν τὴν ἐξ αὐτῶν τιμωρίαν ὑποστήσεται; πρῶτον μὲν οὖν, εἰ δοκεῖ, τοὺς ἑκατέρου τρόπους ἐξετάσωμεν. καὶ τὸ τῆς φύσεως εὐγενὲς καὶ τὴν ἄλλην τοῦ βίου προαίρεσιν μὴ μικρὸν πρὸς τοῦτο συμβάλλειν ἡγώμεθα· μᾶλλον γὰρ εἰκὸς τὸν εὖ πεφυκότα καὶ σεμνὸν τοῦ βίου σχῆμα προστησάμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ μήτε παρὰ τοιούτων γεγονότος, μήτε παραπλησίως βεβιωκότος εἰς ἄκοσμόν τι παρατραπῆναι. οἶμαι γὰρ καὶ τοῖς μήδ' ἀμφότερον προεωρακόσιν οὐ πολλὴν μέλησιν ἐγγενήσεσθαι πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἠθῶν ἑκατέρου διάγνωσιν· εἰκότως. καὶ γὰρ *δεινὸς χαρακτὴρ κἀπίσημος ἐν βροτοῖς, ἐσθλῶν γενέσθαι.* εἰ μὲν οὖν οὗτοσὶ Παῦλος συνειδὼς ἑαυτῷ τι τοιοῦτον ἀπεδήμησεν, ἢ περὶ ἄλλα πρόφασιν ἀσχολεῖσθαι ποιησάμενος – ἔχει δέ, οἶμαι, καὶ πολλὰ προυργιαίτερα τούτων – ἐντεῦθεν ἀπῆν, εἰκὸς καὶ τοιαῦτα περὶ αὐτοῦ διαλογίζεσθαι. εἰ δ' οὗτος μὲν ἐξ οὗ Μιχαῆλον εἰσήγγελλεν ἐντεῦθεν οὐκ ἀπογέγονεν ἡμέραν οὐδεμίαν, πάρεστι δὲ καὶ νῦν ὡς ὁρᾶτε οὐκ ἐκπληττόμενος τὰς οὐδὲν αὐτῷ προσηκούσας κατηγορίας, εἰκότως, οἶμαι, κατ' αὐτῶν καὶ τοῦτο μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων τράποιτο. καὶ δεδοικότες μὴ τοιαῦθ' ἡμεῖς προλαβόντες τούτων κατηγορήσομεν, φθάσαντες αὐτοὶ προλαλοῦσι. πολλῶν μὲν οὖν ἔχων τις ἐπαινέσαι, ὦ δικασταί, τὴν ἐκ τῆς ὑμετέρας πολιτείας τοῦ βίου κατάστασιν, εἰκότως ἂν οὐχ ἧττον καὶ δι' ἣν ἔθεσθε πρόνοιαν περὶ τῶν ἀφελομένων τἀλλότρια. τὸν γὰρ ἐκτὸς τῶν ἑαυτοῦ | γενόμενον, ἂν μὴ τῆς παρ' ὑμῶν ἐτύγχανε βοηθείας, ἀνάγκη πρὸς ἄλλην μείζω βλάβην τρέπεσθαι τῆς τῶν χρημάτων ἀπωλείας. καὶ χωρὶς τῶν ἐκ τῆς ἀλληλοφωρίας ἐπηρτημένων κινδύνων οὐδεὶς ἂν διέμενε τοὺς τρόπους ἀκέραιος, ἀλλὰ ταὐτὸν ἦν ἀποβαλεῖν τινα τὰ αὐτοῦ χρήματα καὶ ἣν τῶν τρόπων εἶχε χρηστότητα, ὥστε οὐδ' ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ τὸ ἀσφαλὲς περιεσῴζετο τοῖς εὐπορωτέροις. νῦν δὲ τούτων ἁπάντων αὐτοὶ μίαν εὑρόντες ἐπανόρθωσιν, τὴν τῶν μὴ προσηκόντων ἐπιθυμίαν πάντα τρόπον κολάζετε. τί γὰρ τοὺς τοιούτους ἐκώλυε μὴ τοσαύτης ἐπικειμένης ζημίας, ὁπότε νῦν μηδεμίαν τοῦ τιμωρεῖσθαι προσδοκῶντες ἀναβολὴν καὶ θανάτου κατατολμῶσι, κέρδους αἰσχροῦ καὶ ἀδίκου καὶ πρὸς οὐδὲν ἐπιμένοντος ἕνεκα. σαφῶς γάρ ἐστι καὶ τοῦτ' ἰδεῖν ἐπὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις, ὅτι τὸ τοὺς ἄλλους περισῶσαν τῶν κακουργούντων ἔσθ' ὅτε, οὐκ ἀπεικότως ἐπὶ τῶν κλεπτῶν τε καὶ τοιχωρύχων ἐκλέλοιπε. τί τοῦτο λέγω; τὸ καὶ πολλὰ τῶν ἀδικημάτων φύσιν ἔχειν γίνεσθαι καὶ ὑπ' ἀκουσίας τῆς γνώμης. μόνοις δὲ ἐπ' ἐκείνοις τοιοῦτον οὐκ ἔστιν εἰπεῖν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τῶν ἀποκτεινάντων ἐνίους πολλάκις διὰ τοῦτο ἀπελύσατε καὶ τῶν ἐξ ἑτέρων παθῶν βεβιασμένων, κλέπτην δὲ οὐδέποτε μαρτυρηθέντα ἠλευθερώσατε. διὸ καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα τῶν ἀδικημάτων μᾶλλον μισεῖν ἄξιον, ἃ τοῖς δικάζουσιν οὐ συγχωρεῖ καὶ βουλομένοις γίνεσθαι φιλανθρώποις. οἱ οὖν τούτῳ

παραπλήσιοι ἂν μὲν ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν ἔχωσι, τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἴσως ἀφίστανται. ἂν δὲ μή, τοῖς τῶν ἐχόντων ἐπιβουλεύωσιν· ἂν δ' ὑπὸ τῶν κεκτημένων ἁλῶσιν ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ, καὶ πρὸς φόνον ἀπαγριαίνονται. τούτων δὲ ὅταν ἀποτύχωσι πάντων καὶ πρὸς τὰ τῶν ναῶν εὐθέως συλᾶν τρέπονται. καίτοι, τί μεῖζον ἀδίκημα τούτου εἰπεῖν ἔχοι τις ἄν; | ὁρᾶτε, ὡς οὐδὲν οἱ τοιοῦτοι παρὰ τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἐξάγονται γνώμην· τί δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀνδραποδιστῶν τούτους οἴεσθε διαφέρειν; σκοποῦντες γὰρ εὑρήσετε πολλῷ ἐκείνων ἐργαζομένους δεινότερα. ὅτι μὲν γὰρ προσηκόντως ὁ τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίος ἤθεσί τε χρηστοῖς καὶ νόμοις κεκόσμηται, ἃ τοῦ τῶν ἀλόγων αὐτὸν διαφέρειν ἀποδείκνυσιν, οὐδεὶς ἀμφισβητοίη. ταῦτα δὲ εὑρεῖν τε καὶ ἐνασφαλίσασθαι μίαν σοφῶν ἀνδρῶν ὁμόνοιαν εἰς κοινὴν τῶν χρωμένων ὠφέλειαν, πάντες ἂν ὁμολογήσαιεν· ὅσα τοίνυν μὴ τοῖς ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι βίοις συμβαίνουσιν ὡς ἀπάνθρωπά τε καὶ θηριώδη μᾶλλον ἐξέβαλον. διωρίσαντο δ' οἷς χρὴ προσέχειν τὸν πολιτικῶς ζῆν προαιρούμενον, ἃ προδηλότατα σῴζει τὰς πόλεις καὶ τὴν κοινὴν σύνταξιν τῶν ἀνθρώπων. ἐκεῖνοι τοίνυν εἰ καὶ ἀνδραποδισταὶ καὶ κακοῦργοι, ἀλλὰ γοῦν τοὺς τῆς πόλεως νόμους πως εὐλαβούμενοι, ὡς οἷον τε πόρρωθεν ἐξελθόντες, τούτοις ἀνθίστανται. οἱ δ' ἐν αὐτῇ λωποδύται καὶ τοιχωρύχοι πρὸς τὸ μηδὲν κεχρῆσθαι μετριώτερον τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσι καὶ ἀναιδέστεροι πρὸς τοὺς νόμους πολλῷ καὶ ἀνοσιώτεροι φαίνονται καὶ τὸ κατ' αὐτοὺς ὁ τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίος αὖθις τοῖς ἀλόγοις συμπέφυρται. ἔτι δὲ οἱ μὲν ἐν ταῖς ἐρήμοις διατρίβοντες τούτῳ μόνῳ τῷ τρόπῳ τοὺς παριόντας ἀδικοῦσιν, ἄλλως μὴ βλάπτειν τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει δυνάμενοι. τούτους δὲ τοὺς τῆς πόλεως ἀνδραποδιστὰς καὶ τὰ ἐκείνων πάντα μετέρχεσθαι πῶς ἀπιστήσομεν καὶ ἔτι πολλῷ πλείοσιν ἀδικεῖν, ἅπερ ἐκείνοις ἀδύνατον μετιέναι πιστεύεται; ὅθεν κολαζέσθωσαν οἷς ἐξελέγχονται τοιοῦτοι γινόμενοι. καὶ μὴ λεγέτωσαν οἱ τοιούτους ὑμῶν παρελέσθαι πειρώμενοι, ὡς μικρὸν τὸ ἀδίκημα καὶ οὐ | τοσαύτης ζημίας ἄξιον, ἀγνοοῦντες ὅτι τοὺς νόμους ὑμεῖς συνεστήσασθε καὶ κρατύνετε, ἵνα δήπου πειθομένους αὐτοῖς τοὺς ὑπὸ τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀρχὴν ἔχοντες ἀλλήλους ἀδικίας ἀπαλλάσσητε. τοὺς οὖν παρὰ τοὺς νόμους ἀξιοῦντας βιοῦν δυοῖν ἕνεκα πάντας ἦν ἄξιον κολάζεσθαι, ὅτι τε τῶν νόμων παρακούουσι καὶ ὅτι κατ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο τοὺς προστυχόντας παρὰ τὸ εἰκὸς βλάπτουσι. τοὺς γὰρ μὴ πειθαρχοῦντας αὐτοῖς ἄν τ' ἐπὶ μικροῖς, ἄν τ' ἐπὶ μείζοσι μία κατακρίνει προαίρεσις ὡς ὑπερόπτας τῶν νόμων, μᾶλλον δὲ τοὺς ἐπ' ἐλαχίστοις ἑαλωκότας προσῆκε τιμωρεῖν. τίς γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ἐκείνων καταδικάζοι μάλιστα τῶν οὐδ' ἐπὶ σμικροῖς τῶν κρειττόνων ὑπακοῦσαι ἐθελησάντων; οὐ γὰρ αὐτούς γε ἐλπὶς ἐπὶ μείζοσι πειθομένους ἔχειν ῥᾳδίως, καὶ οὕτω μὲν οὐκ ἂν τὸ τοῦ πράγματος ἀναφέροιεν ἔγκλημα

ταὐτῷ λόγῳ καὶ τὸ τῶν νόμων, οὓς ἅπαξ οὑτοσὶ παραβέβηκεν. ἰδίᾳ γὰρ τὸ τῶν νόμων καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὸ προσῆκε σκοπεῖν. τὸ μέντοι πρᾶγμα ὑπὲρ οὗ νῦν οὗτος κρίνεται, εἰ καὶ μὴ φαίνεται τῶν μεγάλων, ἀλλὰ μεγίστης αἴτιον δυστυχίας τῷ πεπονθότι. ὅπερ ὑμεῖς προορώμενοι, λέγω δὴ τὸ παντοδαποῖς κακοῖς περιπίπτειν τὸν τῶν ἰδίων ἀδίκως ἀφαιρεθέντα, μιᾷ τῇ τοῦ θανάτου ζημίᾳ τοὺς τοῦτο κακουργοῦντας κολάζετε. ἐπεὶ μηδὲ ὧν ἔστιν ἄξιος ὁ τ' ἀλλότρια δρασσόμενος, εἷς ὢν πάνθ' ὑποστῆναι δυνήσεται. οὕτω μὲν οὖν οὐδὲ μικρὸν ὡς ἔοικε τὸ ἀδίκημα, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλῆς τῆς παρ' ὑμῶν προνοίας δεόμενον, ἵνα μὴ καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς εἰς τὰ τοῦδε ἀποβλέποντας, εἰ ἀποδραίη, πονηροτέρους καθίστησιν. ὁ δὴ τοιοῦτον τῷ παιδὶ τὸν βίον οἰκονομήσας πῶς ἄν ποθ' | ὑμῶν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ δεήσοιτο, ὃς αὐτὸς φαίνεται τὸν υἱὸν καταπροδεδωκὼς πρότερον, μᾶλλον δὲ περιφανέστατα τούτῳ προτρέψας εἰς ἀνάγκην ἀποκρημνισθῆναι τοιαύτην; ἀλλ' εἰ δεῖ σκοπεῖν ἐξ ὧν οἰκείων παραδειγμάτων ἐνουθέτει τὸν παῖδα, σχεδὸν οὐχ ἧττονος ὀργῆς οὗτος ἄξιος. ποίῳ γάρ, ὦ πάντων ἀπανθρωπότατε, λόγῳ τοῦ περὶ Κέρκυραν ἐκείνου παιδὸς αὐτόχειρ ἐγένου; καίτοι τοὺς ἄλλους ὁρῶν ὧν ἔργον ἦν καὶ μάλιστα ἀφισταμένους, τοῦτον ἐκεῖ κατακριθέντα διαχειρώσασθαι. ἀλλ' ἔασον ταῦτα διὰ τὴν οὐ μόνον ἐν τούτοις ὑπερβολὴν τῆς ὠμότητος, ἀλλὰ καὶ οὐκ ὀλίγοις ἐν ἄλλοις. ὃς καὶ μηδενός σοι παρόντος υἱοῦ, δικαίως ἂν κατέλευσο, περὶ τοὺς μηδέν σε κατ' ἰδίαν ἀδικήσαντας τοσαύτῃ θηριότητι χρώμενος, νῦν δὲ καὶ πολλῷ πλέον εἰκότως ἂν ὑπὸ πάντων μισοῖο, σεαυτὸν μὲν τοσαύτης ἀσελγείας ἐκ τούτων δείξας ἀνάμεστον, παῖδα δὲ τὸν σὸν εὐθὺς ἐκεῖθεν εἰς τοιαύτας πανουργίας προκαλούμενος. ὅλως δὲ ὅταν ὑμῶν δεόμενος, ὦ δικασταί, δακρύῃ πρὸς μὲν τὸ παρὸν καμφθῆναι, ἄλλοις δὲ ὀργίζεσθαι, καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐν ἄλλοις ἀποφαίνεσθε 'μετριώτεροι πρὸς τὴν δοκοῦσαν ἐσόμεθα τιμωρίαν, ἀξιωτέροις τούτου τυχεῖν, ἢ τὸν σὸν υἱὸν κρίνομεν'. ἀλλὰ μηκέτι τοὐντεῦθεν. ἀλλ' ὃ τὴν πόλιν τὴν ὑμετέραν περιφημοτάτην καθίστησι, πῶς ἂν εἰκότως περιόψεσθε; τοὺς γὰρ ἐν λόγοις τε σπουδάζοντας καὶ μαθήμασι πόσων ὑμετέρων ἀξιοῦτε χαρίτων, ἀτελεῖς τε εἶναι δημοσίᾳ ψηφισάμενοι καὶ μηδὲν περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα παρενοχλεῖσθαι; ἔτι δὲ τῶν πολιτῶν πολλούς ἐστιν τῶν ὑμετέρων, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἰδίᾳ πάσης φροντίδος ἄλλης ἐκείνους ἀπαλλάσσοντας καὶ | τὸ μηδενὶ προσέχειν πλὴν ταῖς τῶν λόγων μελέταις, πανταχόθεν πορίζοντας. τί οὖν οὕτω μέμνημαι τούτων; ἵν' ὅπως διατέθεισθε τοῖς οἷος οὗτος ἀναμνησθέντες, μηδὲν νεώτερον περὶ τῶν νῦν ψηφίσησθε. πῶς γὰρ οὐκ ἄτοπον, ἐκεῖ μὲν ἐκ τῶν ὑμετέρων τούτοις παρέχειν, ἐνταῦθα δὲ περιορᾶν ἀδίκως τὰ αὐτῶν ἀφαιρουμένους; εὕρηται δὲ Παῦλος μὲν τῆς τῶν σπουδαίων συντάξεως καὶ οὐκ ὀλίγον τῆς περὶ λόγους παιδείας μετειληφώς, τοῦτον δὲ οὐκ οἶδ'

ὁποίας ἄν τις εὐφήμως προσείποι, ἀλλ' εἰ δεῖ κρίνειν ἐκ τῶν παρόντων, ἴσως οὐκ ἄδηλον. δεῖ οὖν καὶ τοῦτον σῴζειν ἀνθ' ὧν εἰς ὑμᾶς ὑπὲρ τῶν αὐτοῦ δικαίων κατέφυγε, καὶ τιμωρεῖσθαι Μιχαῆλον ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς ταύτης κρίσεως.

A (= *Ambrosianus* C 80 inf., ff. 245ʳ-250ᵛ)

44 ἀρετῆς δόξαν l. c. cf. e. g. Dionysium Halicarnasseum 6, 9, 2 **51-52** Hesiodus, Opera et dies 471-472 **152-153** Euripides, Hecuba 379-380 **167** ἀλληλοφωρίας hapax **230** κακοῖς περιπίπτειν l. c. cf. e. g. Isocratem 10, 62

6 προειρημένοις A a. c. **38** τότε litt. ότε e corr. A **127** πιστεῦσαι σαι A **132** μόνοις A **150** γὰρ καὶ γὰρ καί A **164** τὰ ἄλλότρια A **193** προσηκόντων A a. c. **197** μὴ ταῖς ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι A **232** δρασόμενος A **244** ἐάσου A **265** συντάξεως in marg. suppl. A **270** post κρίσεως praebet τέλος τῆς πρὸς μιχαῆλον περὶ κλοπῆς συνηγορικῆς μελέτης ὑπὲρ τοῦ εὐγενοῦς παύλου τοῦ σγουρομάλλου, δημητρίου μόσχου τοῦ λάκωνος

Etwas eindeutiger ist die Lage beim letzten der im *Ambrosianus* überlieferten rhetorischen Werke des Demetrios Moschos, der Verteidigungsrede eines Metöken, der gegen das Gesetz verstoßen hat, indem er bei der Belagerung einer nicht näher definierten Stadt die Mauern bestieg und maßgeblich zum siegreichen Abwehrkampf beigetragen hat (ff. 250ᵛ-256ʳ). Ein näherer Gegenwartsbezug (etwa Personennamen, konkrete historische Ereignisse) fehlt, so dass der Selbstbezeichnung des Stücks als 'μελέτη' (*declamatio*) umso mehr Gewicht beizumessen ist.

Der Inhalt der Deklamation kann wie folgt zusammengefasst werden. Anlässlich der Belagerung einer Stadt, die nicht namentlich genannt wird, entschloss sich ein dort seit längerer Zeit lebender Metöke (ξένος), gemeinsam mit den Bürgern gegen die Angreifer zu kämpfen, und zwar auf den Stadtmauern, obwohl deren Betreten den Fremden durch ein eigenes Gesetz verboten war[32]. Die Verteidigung baut im Wesentlichen auf den unbestreitbaren Verdiensten des Metöken im Kampf auf sowie auf dem Prinzip, dass nicht der Wortlaut, sondern der Geist der Gesetze wichtiger sei[33], wobei das ganze Stück auf einem Paradoxon aufbaut[34]. Die Absurdität des Themas erinnert an die Deklamationen Polemons, in denen sich die Väter der bei Marathon gefallenen Kämpfer Kynaigeros und Kallimachos die Ehre streitig

[32] Vgl. Z. 29-30, 39-41, 104-105.
[33] Vgl. insbesondere Z. 105-109.
[34] Vgl. Z. 191-192 (Einhaltung des Gesetzes bringt Verderben für die Stadt).

machen, die Leichenrede auf die Gefallenen vortragen zu dürfen[35]. Trotz des unzweifelbar fiktiven Hintergrunds schimmert jedoch ein gewisser Bezug zur zeitgenössischen Realität durch: Viele Flüchtlinge aus dem östlichen Mittelmeerraum (namentlich die *stradioti*) kämpften tapfer auf der Seite der Venezianer gegen das osmanische Heer und hatten daher vitales Interesse an einer Gleichbehandlung mit den venezianischen Untertanen. Die liberale Auslegung der Bürgerrechte, nämlich deren Anknüpfung an eine loyale Gesinnung gegenüber dem Staat unabhängig von der Herkunft[36], befindet sich nich nur in scharfem Gegensatz zu den restriktiven Bestimmungen der antiken Poleis, sondern spiegelt möglicherweise den Geist der italienischen Renaissance wider.

Τοῦ αὐτοῦ μελέτη ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀναβεβηκότος ἀριστέως ξένου ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος, πολέμου ὄντος καὶ νικήσαντος καὶ κρινομένου παρανόμων, νόμου κελεύοντος μὴ ἀνιέναι τὸν ξένον ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος. |

Ἔδει μέν, ὦ ἄνδρες, τὴν πόλιν πανηγυρίζειν καὶ χάριν εἰδέναι τῷ σωτηρίῳ θεῷ, δι' οὗ τε κινδύνων ἠλευθερώμεθα τῶν μεγίστων καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν πόλεμον ηὐτυχήκαμεν· μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ καὶ ὁποῖον ἑαυτὸν παρέσχεν ἕκαστος εἰς τὸν περὶ τούτων ἀγῶνα σκοποῦντας ὑμᾶς οὕτω τὴν γνώμην ἔχειν περὶ αὐτῶν, ὡς μηδεὶς ἂν τῆς προσηκούσης ἀξίας ἀτυχήσειε. δεινὸν γὰρ ἂν εἴη καὶ χαλεπόν, εἰ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις διαφόροις ἑκάστοις οἱ νόμοι τὸ ἴσον φυλάσσουσιν, ὅτε δὲ περὶ τῶν αἰτίων τούτους τε καὶ μετὰ τούτων ἑστᾶναι τὴν πόλιν ὑμᾶς δεῖ ποιῆσαι τὴν κρίσιν τήμερον, αὐτὸ τοῦτο οὐκ ἀποδώσετε. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ταῦτα συκοφαντοῦντες τινὲς ἀνατρέπουσι καὶ ὃν ἔδει χρόνον

[35] Allgemein zu den historischen Themen der Deklamation vgl. R. KOHL, *De scholasticarum declamationum argumentis ex historia petitis*. Diss. Paderborn, 1915; M. SCHAMBERGER, *De declamationum Romanarum argumentis observationes selectae*. Diss. Halle, 1917. – Zu Polemon (mit dem Moschos auch das Schlüsselwort 'ἀριστέας' teilt, vgl. hier Z. 124) siehe H. JÜTTNER, *De Polemonis rhetoris vita operibus arte*, Breslau, 1898 (Ndr. Hildesheim, 1967); M.-H. QUET, *Le sophiste M. Antonius Polémon de Laodicée, éminente personnalité politique de l'Asie romaine du IIe siècle*, in: *Les élites et leurs facettes. Les élites locales dans le monde hellénistique et romain*, Clermont-Ferrand, 24–26 novembre 2000, éd. M. CÉBEILLAC-GERVASONI (*Collection de l'École Française de Rome*, 309), Rom 2003, S. 401-443 (mit Literatur); Text bei *Polemonis declamationes quae exstant duae. Accedunt excerpta e Callinici Adriani Iamblichi Diodori libris et Isaaci Porphyrogenneti Περὶ τῶν καταλειφθέντων ὑπὸ τοῦ Ὁμήρου et Περὶ τῶν ἐν Τροίᾳ Ἑλλήνων τε καὶ Τρώων quae vulgo dicuntur scripta*, rec. H. HINCK, Leipzig 1873 (die amerikanische Edition von W. READER in collaboration with A. J. CHVÁLA-SMITH, *The Severed Hand and the Upright Corpse. The Declamations of Marcus Antonius Polemo* [*Texts and Translations* 42, *Graeco-Roman Series* 12]. Atlanta, 1996, ist nicht zitierfähig).

[36] Vgl. Z. 116-120.

πανηγυρίζειν τὴν πόλιν καὶ σπονδαῖς εὐχαριστηρίοις προσκεῖσθαι καὶ τοὺς ἀξίους τιμῆς στεφανοῦν εἰς τὴν τούτων διαβολὴν κατατρίβουσιν, οὐχ ἥκιστα δὲ καὶ ἐμοὶ τὰ δεινότατα καὶ ἀνοσιώτατα ἐγκαλοῦσι, πειράσομαι διαβραχέων εἰπεῖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ὅσα γινώσκω τῷ παρόντι καιρῷ προσήκοντα καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως καὶ ὑπὲρ ἐμαυτοῦ. τῶν μὲν οὖν μακρῶν ἀπαλλάξομαι λόγων ἐκεῖνο εἰδώς, ὅτι πρὸς τοῦ κατηγόρου μάλιστα τοῦτο ἐνῆν, ὃς οὐδὲν ἔχων οὔτε ὀρθὸν οὔτε προσῆκον ἔγκλημα κατ' ἐμοῦ ὡς αὐτίκα φανεῖται, λόγοις ἀπείροις τε καὶ κακοτρόπως ἐσκευασμένοις ἐχρῆτο μέχρι καὶ νῦν, ὡς ἠκούετε, ἐμοὶ δὲ καὶ βραχεῖς ἀρκεῖν οἶμαι λόγους καὶ ὅσον πρὸς τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων αὐτῶν μόνον ἔνδειξιν. ὅθεν οἶμαι καὶ τοῦτο εἰκότως τοῖς τε πολλοῖς ἐγνῶσθαι καὶ ἐμοὶ νῦν εἰρήσεσθαι, τὸ παρὰ τὰς τῶν πραγμάτων ἀπορίας τοὺς λόγους πλεονάζειν. τούτων δὲ οὕτως ἐνόντων | τοὺς περιττοὺς τῶν λόγων ἐκλείπειν εἰκός.

Φανερὸν μὲν οὖν, ὅτι παρὰ μὲν ἅπαντα τὸν ἄλλον βίον, ὃν ἐγὼ παρ' ὑμῖν βεβίωκα, οὐδὲν εἶχε μοι μέμφεσθαι ἐξ ὧν μεμαρτύρηκεν· οἶμαι δέ, ὡς εἰ καὶ πάνυ βεβούλητο, χαλεπὸν ἂν αὐτῷ γεγενῆσθαι· ἀλλ' οὔτε εἶχεν, οὔτ' ἂν ἔχων παρέλιπεν. πῶς γάρ, ὃς καὶ τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων μου ἐπαινούμενα διαβάλλει; ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τὸ τῶν πολεμίων περιέστη πλῆθος τὴν πόλιν – συντέμνειν δὲ ἴσως τοὺς λόγους ὡς πρὸς εἰδότας προσήκει –, πολὺ δὲ πλεῖον ἦ τὸ ὑμέτερον ἦν, τῶν ἀντιπαραταξομένων δὲ ἡ πόλις ἐσπάνιζε καὶ κίνδυνος οὐ μικρὸς ἡμῖν πανταχόθεν ἀπήρτητο, τότε τοῦ καιροῦ συγκαλοῦντος ἅπαντας κοινῇ τῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως κινδύνων μετεσχηκέναι, αὐτῆς ὑπερμαχοῦντας ἄλλως δὲ σωτηρίας μὴ φαινομένης, ἡγούμην δεῖν ἄτοπον εἶναι μὴ καὶ αὐτὸν μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἐλευθέρως εἰς τοὺς κοινοὺς ἀγῶνας σπεύδειν καὶ τοὺς ἐπιόντας ἀμύνεσθαι. ἐνόμιζον γὰρ ἐν μὲν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασι διαφορὰν εἶναι τῶν ξένων πρὸς τοὺς πολίτας ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις, ἐν βουλαῖς, ἐν πρεσβεύσεσι καὶ ὅλως ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ἐν εἰρήνῃ πολιτικαῖς πράξεσιν· ὅπου δὲ πᾶσι κοινὰ παρῆν τὰ δεινά, ἐξῆν, οἶμαι, τῷ βουλομένῳ τε καὶ προθυμουμένῳ τήν τε πόλιν κοινῇ μετὰ καλλίστων ἄθλων ἐλευθεροῦν καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἰδίας σωτηρίας ὡς οἷόν τε ἀγωνίζεσθαι. παρεκάλει δέ με πρὸς τοῦτο καὶ τὰ τῶν συμπλεόντων. καὶ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς περὶ τὸ πλεῖν κινδύνοις ἐκεῖνοι παρέχουσιν ἑαυτοὺς ὑπουργοὺς πρὸς ἃ δεῖ καὶ τῷ μὲν κυβερνήτῃ τὰ προσήκοντα οἱ ναῦται πείθονται· ἂν δὲ μείζων ὁ κίνδυνος ᾖ καὶ τῆς σωτηρίας ἀπόγνωσις, | ἔξεστι καὶ τοῖς ἐπιβάταις συμπονεῖν μετὰ τῶν ναυτῶν ὅπῃ δεῖ καὶ οὐδαμόθεν αὐτοῖς ἀδίκημα τοῦτο νενόμισται, ἀλλὰ καὶ χάριν εἰκότως ἂν ὁ τῆς νεὼς κύριος αὐτοῖς μετὰ τῶν ναυτῶν ἔχοι. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἕκαστος τῶν συμπλεόντων ἄλλοσε πρὸς αὐτὸν ἰδίᾳ κρίνοιτο, πολὺ διαφέρων αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τῶν ναυτῶν εἰς τοῦτο φανείη· εἰ δ' ὁ καιρὸς κοινῆς δέοιτο

σπουδῆς τε καὶ προθυμίας, τίς ἂν εὕροι τῆς ἐξ ὁμονοίας σωτηρίαν βεβαιοτέραν; ὁρῶμεν γὰρ καὶ τοὺς κυβερνήτας αὐτοὺς πολλάκις ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις καιροῖς καὶ τῶν ἐλαχίστων ναυτῶν τάξιν ἔχοντας καὶ ὅλως τοὺς ὀπωσοῦν ἄρχοντας ὑπηρετῶν λαμβάνοντας σχῆμα. τοῦτον τοίνυν ἐγὼ τὸν νόμον δεῖν ᾠμην κύριον εἶναι καὶ κάλλιστον, ὃς ἂν τούς τε ἄλλους καὶ τὴν πόλιν μάλιστα σῴζοι· καταστάντων δὲ τῶν πραγμάτων καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἐφ' ἑαυτῆς γενομένης ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ τούτους τε σῴζειν τοὺς ἄλλους καὶ τοῖς ἀεὶ παροῦσι χρῆσθαι ταύτην οὐδὲν ἐκώλυεν. ἐκεῖνον δὲ ἰσχύειν κατὰ τῶν προδοτῶν καὶ δυσνοίᾳ χρωμένων περὶ τὴν πόλιν κείμενον, οὐ τῶν ἄξια κατορθούντων αὐτῆς καὶ συμφέροντα. τούτῳ τοίνυν ὥσπερ κεφαλαίῳ τῶν ἄλλων χρώμενος – ἐντεῦθεν γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς ἅπαντα ἔχονται, καὶ κοινῇ μὲν τῆς πόλεως ἱσταμένης καὶ τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὰς ἐν αὐτῇ πανηγύρεις καὶ τἆλλα ἔθη νομίζων σῴζεσθαι, ἄλλως δὲ καὶ ταῦτα πάντα συγκινδυνεύειν –, ἡγησάμην κοινῇ μᾶλλον χρῆσθαι τοῖς πράγμασιν ἢ τὰ κατὰ μέρος <σ>κοπεῖν, ἄλλωστε καὶ τοῦ καιροῦ με πρὸς οὐδὲν ἄλλο βλέπειν ἀναγκάζοντος ἢ τὸ τὴν πόλιν σῴζεσθαι. τότε οὖν ἔδει με πρὸς τὸν τυχόντα γενεαλογεῖν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἰσχύος ὡς εἶχον τῶν κοινῶν ὑπεραγωνίζεσθαι καὶ | προθύμως ὑποστῆναι τὸ ἐκβησόμενον; καλῶς ἂν οὖν ἐσέσωσο τὰ τῆς πόλεως! δῆλον γάρ, ὡς εἰ μὴ τῆς αὐτῆς ἅπαντες εἰχόμεθα γνώμης, πολλὰς αἰτίας ἑτέροις εἰκὸς εὑρεθῆναι καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς ἀκαιροτέρας, ὑφ' ὧν ἂν τὰ κοινὰ κατημέλητο. ἀλλ' οὔτε σοὶ τοιαύτη γνώμη τότε παρῆν, οὔτε ἄλλῳ, ἀλλ' ὁμοῦ πάντες ὑπὲρ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐσπουδάζομεν· ταύτης γὰρ οὐχ ἑωρῶμεν ἀμείνω. ἐπεὶ καὶ σὲ τότε κρίνειν ἐχρῆν, ὅτε καὶ μείζονος ἦν ὑποψίας τὰ πράγματα. εἰ δὲ σὺ μὲν ἠμέλεις τότε ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῶν, ὁ κρίνων νῦν ὡς πολίτης, ἐγὼ δὲ ὁ ξένος ἠγωνιζόμην, σκέψαι. τὸ μὲν κατὰ σὲ προδέδοται τὰ τῆς πόλεως, σέσωσται δὲ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ. πῶς οὖν οὐκ ἄν τις σε καὶ ὡς κακόνουν τῇ πόλει κρίνοι καὶ ἐμοὶ φθονερῶς ἔχοντα; εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἀφ' ὧν διαπέπραγμαι κρίνεις, ἔχεις ἐξ ὧν μᾶλλον ἐμὲ τῶν πολλῶν στεφανοίης, εἰ δὲ ἐξ ὧν δέον πράξαι παρέλιπον, σαυτὸν ἐξελέγχεις χείρω γεγενημένον περὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐμοῦ, ὅς γε καὶ ἐξ ὧν φής με ὑπερβεβηκέναι τοὺς νόμους καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' ἀδικεῖν φαίνομαι πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων ἀγαθῶν αἴτιος τῇ πόλει γεγενημένος, σὺ δὲ ὁ ταῦτα εἰδὼς ὅτε ἠδίκουν ἐσίγησας καταπροδιδοὺς ἅπαντα. σὺ τοίνυν ἐφ' οἷς ἀδικοῦντα με κρίνεις, ἀπόδειξαι. ἢ μηδὲν ἔχων, ὃ μᾶλλον ἐμοῦ κατηγορεῖς ἢ καὶ σαυτοῦ, πῶς οὐ καὶ σὺ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἔνοχος ὢν ἐξελέγχῃ πλημμελήμασιν; ἄξιος δὲ παρ' ὑμῶν, ὦ ἄνδρες, τυγχάνειν συγγνώμης, ἂν ὑπὲρ τοῦ δικαίου λέγων παρρησιάζομαι. ἐχρῆν γὰρ αὐτὸν ὡς ὄντα πολίτην | μήτε μέγα μήτε μικρὸν ἐπιτρέπειν, ὃ τῇ πόλει βλάβην προσοῖσον ἠσθάνετο. καὶ τότε ταῦτα ποιῶν σὺ μὲν ἐφαίνου νῦν εὐεργέτης, ἐγὼ δὲ ὡς προδότης ἂν αὐτῆς κατεδικαζόμην. νῦν δὲ σὺ μὲν τὸ μέρος τὴν παροῦσαν νίκην ἀφῄρησαι, τὰ δὲ παράνομα κατ' αὐτῆς ἰόντα οὐκ ἐκώλυσας. ἐγὼ δὲ ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς οὐκ ἀλλοτρίαν, ἀλλὰ τὴν τῶν πολιτῶν γνώμην εἶχον, ὅπερ ἀδίκημα οὐκ ἦν τὸ ταύτην σῴζεσθαι. τοῖς τε ἔργοις ἐπεδειξάμην αὐτοῖς, ἃ φρονῶν ἐτύγχανον. ἵνα δὴ καὶ περὶ τοῦ νόμου βραχέα διαλάβωμεν, ὃν οὗτος ἡμῖν ἀνεγίνωσκε – τὰ γὰρ πλείω γινώσκειν ἀφ' ἑαυτῶν ὑμᾶς οἴομαι – ξένος, φησίν, μὴ ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἀνίτω. καὶ ὁ μὲν νόμος ταῦτα. ἴστε δέ, ὦ ἄνδρες, ὅτι τὰ τῶν νόμων γράμματα καθ' ἑαυτὰ μὲν ἀργὰ μένει, ἑρμηνείας δὲ τυχόντα χρήσιμά τε καὶ κύρια γίνεται. καὶ οὐχ ὁ μηδὲν τῶν γεγραμμένων μεταβάλλων, οὗτος φυλάττει τοὺς νόμους, ἀλλ' ὁ μὴ τοῖς ἔργοις παραβαίνων, οὗτος αὐτοῖς πείθεται. οὑτωσὶ δὲ σκοπεῖτε, κἂν μὲν εὕρητέ με παρανομηκότα, ἐξ ὧν ἡ πόλις καὶ τὰ κοινὰ βέβλαπται ἢ τοτυχὸν ὁστισοῦν, αὐτίκα τιμωρεῖτε. εἰ δὲ μᾶλλον με βοηθοῦντα καὶ τοῖς νόμοις καὶ τοῖς κοινοῖς καὶ πᾶσιν ἁπλῶς αὐτῷ τούτῳ τῷ νόμῳ χρώμενον καὶ μετ' οὐδεμιᾶς δυσμενείας ἅπαντα εἰργασμένον, τὴν μὲν πόλιν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ μηδὲν ἠδικῆσθαι πιστεύετε, τούτῳ δὲ ὡς πολυπράγμονι καὶ συκοφάντῃ μὴ προσέχετε.

Ἐγὼ ξένον ἡγοῦμαι οὐ τὸν ἐξ ἄλλης μὲν πόλεως ἐνταῦθα μετοικήσαντα, φρονοῦντα δὲ αὐτῆς οὐκ ἀνάξια, οὐδὲ τὸν | ἐξ ἄλλης μὲν πατρίδος ἐνταῦθα ἀφιγμένον, τῇ γνώμῃ δὲ μηδαμῶς αὐτῆς ἀφιστάμενον, ἀλλὰ τὸν πρὸς αὐτὴν δυσνοίᾳ χρώμενον καὶ ἑαυτὸν μὴ δίκαιον παρέχοντα. τοῦτον ἐγὼ ξένον αὐτῆς ἡγοῦμαι καὶ ἀλλότριον. δεῖ γὰρ τοὺς πολίτας, ὦ ἄνδρες, καὶ τοὺς τρόπους ὁμοίους τῷ γένει τῇ πατρίδι παρέχειν. εἰ δὲ μή, πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἀποδεκτέον τοὺς τρόπους ἢ τὸ γένος. ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐποίκων οὐ τὸ γένος, ἀλλὰ τὴν γνώμην καὶ τοὺς τρόπους ὡσὰν ἔχωσι πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἐξετάζειν προσήκει. διὰ μὲν γὰρ τούτους οἱ νόμοι φυλάσσονται καὶ τοὐναντίον ὑπὸ τῶν φαύλων παραβαίνονται, διὰ δὲ τὸ γένος οὐδὲν πάσχουσιν, ὥστε εἰκότως ἂν ὁ μετοικῶν χρηστὸς ὢν πολίτης νομίζοιτο μᾶλλον τοῦ γεγονότος ἐν αὐτῇ πονηροῦ τε καὶ κακόνου τυγχάνοντος. σημεῖον δέ, ἐὰν γὰρ ἐξελεγχθῇ τις τοιοῦτος, τοῦτον ὑμεῖς ἐξοστρακίζετε, ὡς τῆς πατρίδος καὶ τῆς πολιτείας ἀνάξιον, καὶ παντελῶς αὐτὸν ἀποξενοῦτε τῶν κοινῶν. τοσοῦτον δὲ ἀπέχει τοῦ ὑμέτερος εἶναι νομίζεσθαι, ὥστε καὶ πολλάκις αὐτὸν ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσιν ἀπαγορεύετε προσδέχεσθαι καὶ οὐδὲ ἐν τῇ ἐνεγκούσῃ θανόντα συγχωρεῖτε ταφῆναι. οὕτως οὐ τῶν λίαν χαλεπῶν ἐστὶν ἡ τῆς πατρίδος ἀντιποίησις. πρὸς γὰρ τοὺς τρόπους, ὡς ἔφην, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ κρίνεται, καὶ οὐδὲν κωλύει τὸν ἐξ ἄλλης καὶ ταύτην κτήσασθαι, ἂν ἑαυτὸν παρέχῃ ἄξιον, ὡς οὖν οὐδὲ τὸν φαῦλον ἡ τοῦ γένους προσποίησις σῴζει, ἂν μὴ καὶ τοῖς τρόποις

ὁμολογῇ. ἐγὼ δέ, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἐν μὲν τοῖς ἄλλοις καιροῖς οὐ ξένος ἂν νομιζοίμην δικαίως. οὔτε γὰρ ἀπήχθημαί ποτε οὐδενὶ τῶν πολιτῶν, οὔτ' ἄν μοί τις ὀχληρὸν ἐγκαλέσειεν οὐδέν. οὐ γὰρ ἠγνόητο παρ' ὑμῶν, ἀλλὰ | καὶ τῇ πολιτείᾳ καὶ τοῖς νόμοις οὕτως ἐχρώμην, ὡσὰν μάλιστα ὑμῖν ἤρεσκε. καὶ μαρτυρία μοι τούτου πολλὰ πρόσεστιν, ὥστε οὐ δεῖ με πρὸς ταῦτα διατρίβειν. ἀλλ' ὁρῶν ὑμῶν τὸ πρὸς ἐμαυτὸν εὔνουν τε καὶ φιλάνθρωπον καὶ τὴν πόλιν διακειμένην ὡς πρὸς ἕνα τὸν ἐξ αὐτῆς, ἐσπούδαζον μὲν ὡς εἰκὸς καὶ ἐπὶ μείζοσιν ὀφθῆναι μὴ ταύτης ἀνάξιος ὤν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν χάριν ἀποδοῦναι τῆς πρὸς ἐμὲ φιλανθρωπίας. ἐπειδὴ δ', ὡς καὶ καταρχὰς τοῦ λόγου προεῖπον, ὁ πόλεμος συνέπεσε καὶ πανταχόθεν τὰ δεινὰ περιῆν, κάλλιστον ἅμα καὶ ἀναγκαιότατον τοῦτον καιρὸν ἡγησάμενος κἀγὼ τῇ πόλει προσεβοήθουν ὡς οἷός τε ἦν. καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ τὰ βελτίω παρεσχηκότος ἐτρεψάμην τε τοὺς ἐναντίους καὶ τρόπαιον ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ἔστησα. ἐντεῦθεν καὶ μείζω μοι δοκῶ τῶν ἄλλων χάριν ὀφείλειν τοῖς κρείττοσιν οὐ μόνον τῷ τὴν πόλιν κρατῆσαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ δι' ἐμοῦ τὴν νίκην ἀντὶ τῶν παρ' αὐτῆς χαρίτων πεποιῆσθαι. τίς οὖν ἀδικίαν ταῦτα καὶ παρανομίαν νομίσειε σωφρονῶν; ὁ μὲν νόμος τὸν ξένον κωλύει· ἐγὼ δὲ ὡς οἰκειότατος αὐτῆς μόνος ἀξίως προῦστην ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τὰ παρ' ἐμοῦ προδηλότατα πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον τῶν νόμων καὶ τῶν κοινῶν ἅπαντα πέπρακται. ἀλλὰ ξένος, φησίν, ὑπάρχεις. τίνος γὰρ ἄλλου φήσεις μου κατήγορος εἶναι; ξένοις δὲ οὐκ ἔξεστιν εὐεργετεῖν ὡσὰν ἑτέραις πόλεσι δύνωνται; ποῦ δὲ καὶ ἡ βλάβη τοῦ ἐγκλήματος; ἐγὼ μὲν οὐχ ὁρῶ, εἰ μὴ καὶ ὠφέλειαν τὴν μεγίστην. ὅτι δέ, ὦ ἄνδρες, οὐδὲ κατὰ τοῦτο τῆς πόλεως ἐφρόνουν ἀλλότρια, σαφῶς ὑμᾶς διδάξω. ὑμεῖς πολλάκις ὃν ἂν δόξοι τῶν μὴ γενομένων | ἐντεῦθεν πολίτην εἰσποιεῖσθε. τίνος ἕνεκα; ὅτι δήπου νομίζετε τοῦτον τῆς πόλεως ἄξια πράξειν καὶ πιστὸν ὑμῖν ἔσεσθαι, εἶθ' ὃν πρὸ τοῦ σαφῶς εἰδέναι τοιοῦτον ἐσόμενον τῶν ὑμετέρων ἀξιοῦτε τιμῶν. ἐμὲ δέ, ὃν καὶ πιστότατον καὶ κάλλιστα καὶ ὠφελιμώτατα ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἀποδεδειγμένον ἅπαντες οἴδατε, ἀδικεῖν νομίζετε; ἀλλ' οὔτε δίκαια οὔτε λυσιτελῆ ψηφίσεσθε ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς. νῦν μὲν γὰρ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους πολίτας προθυμοτέρους πρὸς τοὺς τῆς πόλεως κινδύνους ποιήσετε καὶ τῶν ἔξωθεν πολλοὺς εὑρήσετε ὡς ὑπὲρ κοινῶν φροντίζειν τῶν ὑμετέρων καὶ κινδυνεύειν ἐθέλειν. εἰ δὲ τούτῳ προσέχοιτε, σκοπεῖτε, μὴ πολλοὺς μὲν ἕξετε τοὺς ἐπικεισομένους ὑμῖν ἐχθρούς, ὀλίγους δὲ τοὺς ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἀμυνουμένους. ἔτι κἀκεῖνο σκοπεῖτε, τί μάλιστα καθ' ὑμῶν εὔξαιντ' ἂν οἱ πολέμιοι, ὡς τὸ τοὺς ἀριστέας παρ' ὑμῖν συκοφαντεῖσθαι καὶ φεύγειν παρανόμων, φθόνῳ κρινομένους ἐνίων; δῆλον γὰρ ὡς ἐκεῖνοι μὲν εὐψυχέστεροι διὰ τοῦτο πρὸς τὰ τοῦ πολέμου γενήσονται, ὑμεῖς δὲ πολλῷ γενναίων ἀνδρῶν ἀπορώτεροι. οὔτε γὰρ ἔτι ξένον οὐδένα προθύμως ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν εὑρήσετε κινδυνεύοντα,

οὔτε πολίτην· τοῖς μὲν γὰρ πρόδηλον ὅτι κἂν τὰ μέγιστα πράξωσιν, οὐ μόνον οὐ τῆς προσηκούσης τιμῆς ἀξιώσονται, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς προδόται ὑποπτευθήσονται, τοῖς δὲ πολίταις νῦν μὲν ὁρῶσιν ὑμᾶς ἐλευθέρως τε καὶ δικαίως ἔχοντας πρὸς τοὺς ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἀγωνιζομένους, εἰ καὶ ξένοι τύχωσιν ὄντες, πολλῷ μᾶλλον πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐλευθεριωτέρους τε καὶ δικαιοτέρους εἶναι δόξα πάρεσται. εἰ δ' ἄλλως πως ἔσεσθε ἐγνωκότες, ταύτην τὴν δόξαν ὑμῶν ἀφαιρήσεσθε. | φέρε γάρ, εἴ τις ἄλλο μὲν ὑμᾶς οὐδὲν ἠδικηκὼς εἴη, αὐτὸν δὲ τοῦτον ὑπερβαίνων τὸν νόμον ἐπὶ τὸ τεῖχος ἀνέλθοι, τοῦτον ἡγήσεσθε μείζω βεβλαφέναι τὴν πόλιν, ἢ ὃς ἂν ὑμᾶς εἴ πως ἦν τῆς παρούσης νίκης ἀποστεροίη καὶ τῶν τροπαίων; ἐγὼ μὲν τοῦτον ἡγοῦμαι. διὰ μὲν γὰρ τὴν νίκην ἥ τε πόλις ἠλευθέρωται καὶ οἱ νόμοι σῴζονται πάντες, διὰ δὲ τὸ πεφυλάχθαι τὸν νόμον ἐκεῖνον πάντα τῆς πόλεως ἐκινδύνευε τὰ κοινὰ καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ἐκεῖνος, ὥστε εἰκότως ἂν στεφανοίμην καὶ ὑπ' ἐκείνου, εἴ γε κἀκεῖνος ὑπ' ἐμοῦ τὸ μέρος σέσωσται. ἔτι τοίνυν μηδὲ τοῦθ' ὑμᾶς λανθανέτω, ὡς τούτῳ πειθόμενοι τὴν νίκην οὐκ ἀποδείξετε κοινὴν τῆς πόλεως οὖσαν, οὐδὲ τὴν ἐξ αὐτῆς δόξαν, ἀλλ' ἑνὸς καὶ ταῦτα ξένου καὶ δι' ἄλλο τι τοῦτον ἀποστερῆσαι τῶν δικαίων δόξετε, αἰσχρὰν καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἀναξίαν ὕβριν προσάπτοντες παρὰ τίσι δὲ καὶ φανήσεσθε δίκαια κεκρικότες; παρ' ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς τοῖς πολίταις; καὶ πῶς οὐκ ἀχαριστότατοι διὰ τοῦτ' ἂν νομίζοισθε καὶ ἀδικώτατοι, εἰ ἐγὼ μὲν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν οὐδὲ τοῦ ζῆν ἐφεισάμην, ἀλλὰ νίκης, τιμῆς, τροπαίων, ἐλευθερίας αἴτιος ἐγενόμην, ὑμεῖς δὲ ὡς καθ' ὑμῶν ταῦτα πεποιηκότος οὐδὲ ζῶντος ἀνέξεσθε; ἀλλ' οὔτε δικαίων οὔτε γενναίων ἀνδρῶν ποιήσετε ἔργον, λήσετε δὲ ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς δύο χωρὶς τῶν ἄλλων τὰ χαλεπώτατα προστιθέντες, ἀφροσύνην τε καὶ ἀγνωμοσύνην, εἰ ἃ καθ' ἡδονὴν ὑμῖν ἦν, τὸ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς λυπεῖσθαι καὶ δυστυχεῖν, ὑμᾶς δὲ εὐτυχεῖν καὶ περιγίνεσθαι, ταῦτα τὸν εἰργασμένον ἀδικεῖν νομίσετε, ὧν οὐδεὶς εὔξασθαι μείζω ἔχοι. ποῖα δὲ καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἔξωθεν ὑμῖν προσγενήσεται δόξα; | οἵαν μὲν δὴ γνώμην τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἔχειν εἰ καταψηφιεῖσθε μου, ῥᾴδιον συνιδεῖν. εἰ γὰρ ὑμᾶς ἐπαινέσουσιν ἐπὶ τούτοις, ἴστε, ὡς οἱ τῇ πόλει κοινὸν ἐπάγοντες ὄλεθρον οὐκ ἀφέξονται καὶ τὸν τοῦ καθέκαστον ἀποδέχεσθαι. πῶς δὲ οὐκ αἰσχρὸν ὑμᾶς κατὰ τῶν ὑμῶν προκινδυνευσάντων ἀμύνειν τοῖς ὑμετέροις ἐχθροῖς κἀκείνοις μὲν συμμαχεῖν τοῖς ἄρδην ὑμᾶς ἐξολοθρεῦσαι ζητοῦσι, τὸν ἐκείνους τρεψάμενον τιμωροῦντας ἐμέ, τὸν δὲ μεθ' ὑμῶν αἱρούμενον βιῶναι τε καὶ θανεῖν ὡς ἐχθρὸν ἀμύνεσθαι καὶ κολάζειν; καίτοι εἰ μηδὲ τὴν νίκην κατώρθωσα, τῆς γοῦν προθυμίας αὐτῆς ἕνεκα οὐχ ὅτι ἂν οὐ μισοίμην δικαίως, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπαινοίμην. ἀλλ', οἶμαι, κατηγορήσουσιν ὑμῶν τοὺς ἑαυτῶν παρακαλοῦντες εἰς ἀρετήν, ὅτι παρ' ὑμῖν ἀρετῆς κακία προτετίμηται, γενναιότης δὲ μετ' εὐψυχίας οὐδὲν ἰσχύουσιν. οὐ γὰρ ἔξουσιν ἀφ' ὧν ἂν θαρσαλεωτέρους

ποιήσουσιν εἰ οὖν καὶ τοῖς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ τὰ χαλεπώτατα πεπονθόσιν αἰτίαν δώσετε κατηγορεῖν ὑμῶν ἐπὶ τούτοις, νομίζετε οὐδὲ ἐκείνοις ὑμᾶς τὰ πρέποντα περὶ ἐμοῦ δόξαι ψηφίσασθαι, καίτοι πολλῷ δεινότερα πεπονθότες εἰσὶν ὑμῶν. καὶ τοσοῦτον ἀπέχω τοῦ δίκαιος ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἐπὶ τούτοις εἶναι μισεῖσθαι, ὥστε καὶ οὓς τὰ χείριστα διεθέμην καὶ ὧν οὐκ οἶδα εἰ μείζω κακὰ πείσονται, ὅμως ἐκ τούτων αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἄξιος ἀπολωλέναι δοκῶ, κἂν ἐκείνοις τυγχάνοι τοῦτο συμφέρον· τοὺς γὰρ ἑαυτῶν πολλῷ προθυμοτέρους καὶ ἀφοβωτέρους ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον ἀποδείξει. ὦ πικρᾶς νίκης ἐκείνης, τὴν πόλιν κατασκαπτούσης, τοὺς πολεμίους ἐλευθερούσης | καὶ τοὺς αὐτὴν κατορθώσαντας προδιδούσης εἰς θάνατον. καὶ ταῦτα ἐκείνοις ὑπὲρ ὧν τὰ τῆς νίκης ἔστηκε τρόπαια. καίτοι μᾶλλον, εἴποι τις ἄν, δικαιότερον ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἔπιπτον. παρὰ δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις ὑμῶν συμμάχοις τίνες ἂν οἴεσθε νομισθῆναι, ποίαν δὲ ὑμῖν αὐτοὺς εἰκὸς εὔνοιαν διὰ ταῦτα φυλάσσειν; ὅπου γὰρ περὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει τοιούτους ὑμᾶς παρέχετε καὶ πρὸς τοὺς αὐτῆς ὑπερμαχοῦντας, ἦ που καὶ πρὸς τοὺς πολὺ διεστῶτας οὐκ ἄλλα παρ' ὑμῶν εἰκὸς προσδοκᾶν· τοσούτῳ δὲ καὶ μείζω, ὅσῳ πλεῖον ἀπέχουσι τοῦ πολῖται ὑμῶν νομίζεσθαι. εἰ μὲν οὖν εἰς τὰ πεπραγμένα βλέποντες περὶ ἐμοῦ τὰ εἰκότα ψηφίσεσθε, τήν τε πόλιν οὐκ ἀδικήσετε καὶ ὑμᾶς αὐτούς· εἰ δὲ τοῖς τοῦ κατηγόρου πείσεσθε λόγοις, τοῖς ὑμῶν πολεμίοις φανήσεσθε συμμαχοῦντες.

A (= *Ambrosianus* C 80 inf., ff. 250^{v}-256^{r})

7 δὲ s. l. suppl. A **19** ἐμαυτοῦ A **30** μεμαρμύρηκεν A **31** οἶμαί A **68** πανηγύρεις καὶ καὶ A **71** μὴ πρὸς A **76** ἑτέροις s. l. suppl. A **91** μηδὲν μηδὲν A **96** προσῆσον A **108** φυλάττει litt. ει e corr. A **144** ἐμαυτὸν A **163** fort. δόξῃ **189** εἴ πως ἦν in marg. suppl. A **194** μὴδὲ A **199** ἡμῖν A a. c. **214** ἐξολω- A a. c. **217** μὴδὲ A **239** πολίται A **242** post finem haec uerba praebet A: τέλος τῆς ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀριστέως μελέτης δημητρίου μόσχου τοῦ λάκωνος, ἐν ἑνετίαις καὶ ταύτης μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων συντεθείσης

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SUMMARY

The present article offers the critical *editio princeps* of two declamations written by Demetrios Moschos, a well-known Greek scribe of the Renaissance, preserved in a single autograph copy (*Ambrosianus* C 80 inf.). The speeches, although probably fictional (*declamationes*), offer an interesting insight into the intellectual activities of the Greek émigrés in Venice around 1500 AD.

UNE ICONOGRAPHIE EXCEPTIONNELLE : LE CHRIST PANTOCRATOR ENTOURÉ DE LA *PHILOXÉNIE D'ABRAHAM* ET DES SCÈNES DE LA PASSION SUR UNE ICÔNE POST-BYZANTINE INÉDITE CONSERVÉE EN ALBANIE

Au village de Labovo (Labovë e Kryqit ou bien Ἄνω Λάμποβον), d'accès difficile, situé à 9 kilomètres environ de Gjirokastër (Αργυρόκαστρο) dans la région épirote de l'Albanie, se dresse majestueusement l'église de la Dormition de la Vierge[1]. D'après la légende, l'église a été construite par l'empereur byzantin Justinien (527-565), qui lui a fait don d'un petit fragment de la Sainte Croix. Dans la partie sud de la nef centrale du temple, sur un proskynetarion en bois sculpté, est posée une icône de grandes dimensions, représentant le Christ Pantocrator, entouré de scènes de la Philoxénie d'Abraham et du cycle de la Passion (fig. 1, sch. 1a-b).

Au centre de l'icône, le Christ est figuré en buste, la main droite levée en signe de bénédiction, tenant un évangile ouvert dans la main gauche. Il est vêtu d'un chiton lilas et d'un himation bleu, une large ceinture attachée à la taille. Le Christ (fig. 2) est désigné par l'épithète *I(HCOY)C / X(PICTO) C / O ΠΑΝΤΟ/ΚΡΑΤΟΡ*, alors que sur son nimbe, à l'ornementation ponctuée, on lit l'inscription *O ΩN*.

Dans la bordure de l'icône, encadrant la figure centrale du Christ Pantocrator, sont représentées douze scènes, trois de chaque côté. Les scènes ne sont pas séparées par des bandeaux, comme c'est le cas des scènes figurés dans la périphérie des icônes. Dans le cadre supérieur horizontal de l'icône figurent les scènes la Philoxénie d'Abraham, la seule qui ne fait pas partie

* J'ai eu la possibilité de visiter l'église, au mois de juin 2011, grâce au projet N 107/2011 de recherche de l'Université de Sofia 'St. Clément d'Ohrid', sous la direction scientifique du Dr. Emil Ivanov, Maître de Conférences à la Faculté de Théologie. Je voudrais à cette occasion remercier le Centre de Recherche américain à Sofia (ARCS) et personnellement son Directeur le prof. Denver Graninger, pour la bourse qu'ils m'ont octroyée, qui m'a permis de travailler à la bibliothèque Génnadion à Athènes.

[1] En ce qui concerne l'église de la Dormition de la Vierge à Labovo voir V. BARA, *Το Δελβινό της Βορείου Ηπείρου και οι γειτονικές του περιοχές*, Athènes, 1966, pp. 204-208. G. GIAKOUMIS, *Μνημεία Ορθοδοξίας στην Αλβανία*, Athènes, 1994, pp. 54-57. S. ARVANITI – N. KONTOGIANNIS, A. CHRISTIDOU, *Byzantium encapsulated in the western fringes of the empire : the church of the Dormition of Virgin Mary at Labovo y Kriqit, South Albania*, dans *22nd International Congress of Byzantine Studies*, Sofia 22-27.08.2011, Sofia, 2011, p. 309. En ce qui concerne les inscriptions de l'église voir P. POULITSA, *Επιγραφαί και ενθυμήσεις εκ της Βορείου Ηπείρου*, dans *EEBS*, 5 (1928), p. 64.

Byzantion 83, 395-414. doi: 10.2143/BYZ.83.0.2988925
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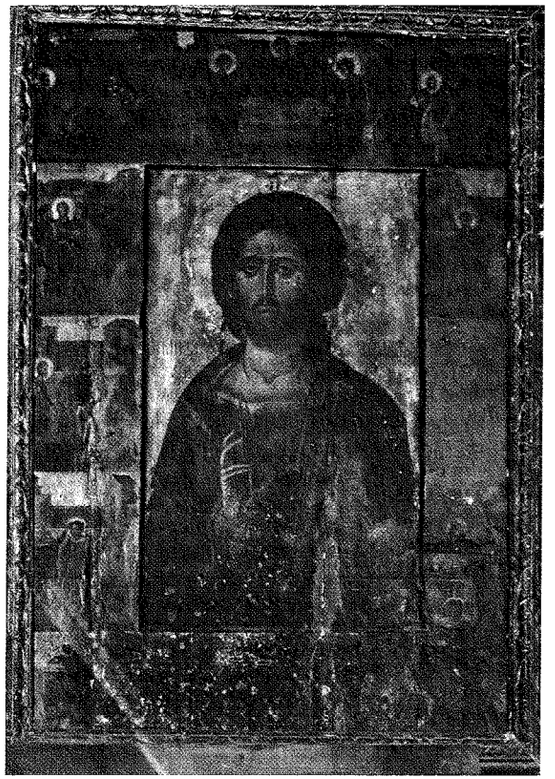

Fig. 1. Icône du Christ Pantocrator et de scènes du cycle de la Passion

du cycle de la Passion, flanquée du Lavement des pieds, à droite, et de la Prière au Mont des Oliviers, à gauche. Les scènes suivantes se succèdent dans un ordre chronologique, de gauche à droite, dans les deux bordures verticales : la Trahison de Judas, le Christ au prétoire, le Jugement de Pilate, la Flagellation, la Dérision, le Chemin de Croix ; dans le cadre horizontal inférieur suivent les trois dernières scènes : la Mise en Croix, le Crucifixion et la Descente de Croix.

L'état matériel de l'icône est plutôt mauvais[2]. Le vernis qui la recouvre est effrité, d'une teinte foncée, sans compter que la couche de peinture est fortement détériorée dans la partie inférieure, à la suite de brûlures. Nous sommes en présence de fissures dans la couche de peinture, due à une

[2] Mes remerciements au restaurateur Roumiana Detcheva du Centre de Recherches Slavo-Byzantines 'Prof. Ivan Dujčev' pour ses précieuses consultations.

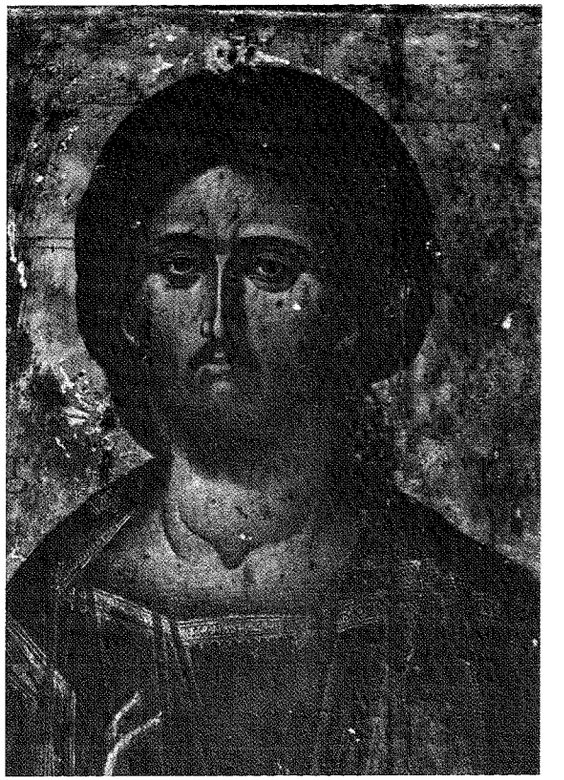

Fig. 2. Le Christ Pantocrator

déformation de la base en bois. L'icône est placée dans un cadre en bois sculpté, qui recouvre le cadre original, et c'est la raison pour laquelle les scènes du cycle de la Passion ne sont pas entièrement visibles. Il est probable que l'icône a été exposée devant les pèlerins pendant les liturgies accompagnant la Semaine Sainte, ce qui explique sa détérioration, due à usage.

La figure centrale du Christ Pantocrator, figuré en buste, bénissant de sa main droite et tenant un évangile de sa main gauche, est un type iconographique largement répandu.

Des scènes présentées dans le cadre de l'icône, la Philoxénie d'Abraham et quelques scènes de la Passion de Jésus[3], telles le Lavement des pieds, la

[3] Quant au cycle de la Passion du Christ voir H. BELTING, *The Image and its Public in the Middle Ages : Form and Function of Early Paintings of the Passion*, New Rochelle, 1909.

Prière au Mont des Oliviers, la Trahison de Judas, le Christ au Prétoire et la Dérision sont en assez bon état. Les autres scènes, telles le Jugement de Pilate, la Flagellation, le Chemin de Croix, la Mise en Croix, la Crucifixion et la Descente de Croix, sont fortement détériorés, ce qui ne nous permet pas de procéder à une analyse iconographique précise.

La première scène, la seule qui ne fait pas partie du cycle de la Passion, c'est la *Philoxénie d'Abraham*[4] (Genèse 18:1-8) (fig. 3). Elle symbolise l'apparition de la Sainte Trinité à Abraham, sous la forme des trois anges et évolue sur le fond de hautes murailles, devant une table allongée, couverte de vaisselle, de couteaux et d'une coupe dans laquelle est placée une tête de veau. Devant la table se tiennent les trois anges aux ailes déployées, servis par Abraham et Sarah.

La scène est connue dès la période médio-byzantine et fait partie surtout de la peinture murale. Elle est représentée d'habitude dans le registre supérieur de la partie ouest du temple, comme par exemple à l'église des Taxiarques de Métropole (XIIIe siècle)[5] à Kastoria, à la chapelle des Saints Archanges (fin du XIVe siècle)[6] du monastère de Hilandar au Mont Athos, à le monastère de la Transfiguration à Zrze (1368/9)[7], aux environs de

G. MILLET, *Recherches sur l'iconographie de l'évangile aux XIVe, XVe et XVIe siècles*, Paris, 1916, pp. 285-554. D. I. PALLAS, *Die Passion und Bestattung Christi in Byzanz. Der Ritus – das Bild*, dans *Miscellanea Byzantina Monacensia*, 2 (München, 1965), pp. 12-51. S. DUFRENNE, *Problèmes iconographiques dans la peinture monumentale du début du XIVème siècle*, dans *Vizantijska umetnost početkom XIV veka*, Belgrade, 1978, p. 32. H. BELTING, *Das Bild und sein Publikum im Mittelalter. Forum und Funktion früher Bildtafeln der Passion*, Berlin, 1981, pp. 154-160. S. TOMEKOVIĆ, *Contribution a l'étude du programme des églises monastiques (XIe – première moitie du XIIIe s.)*, dans *Byz*, LVIII (1988), pp. 140-154. S. KESIĆ-RISTIĆ, *Ciklus Hristovih stradanja*, dans *Zidno slikarstvo manastira Dečana. Gradža i studije*, Belgrade, 1995, pp. 121-130. A. DERBES, *Picturing the Passion in Late Medieval Italy. Narrative Painting, Franciscan Ideologies, and the Levant*, New York, 1996. B. TODIĆ, *Ciklus slika Strasnih jevandjelja*, dans *Srpsko slikarstvo u doba kralja Milutina*, Belgrade, 1998, pp. 132-140. E. NEGRAU, *Le Cycle de la Passion dans la nef de l' eglise du monastere Polovragi*, dans *Revue Roumaine d'Histore de l'Art*, XLV (2008), pp. 93-100. N. ZARRAS, *The Passion Cycle in Staro Nagoričino*, dans *JÖB*, 60 (2010), pp. 181-213. J. SPAHIU, *Страдалниот циклус во црквата Свети Никола Топлички*, dans *Balkanoslavica*, 37-39 (2010), pp. 46-67. P. SŬBEV, *Страстният цикъл в българската стенна живопис през XVII век*, Veliko Tŭrnovo, 2011.

[4] A propos de l'iconographie de la scène voir : DIONYSIOS O EK FOURNA, *Ερμηνεία της ζωγραφικής τέχνης*, Saint-Pétersbourg, 1909, p. 51. K. WESSEL, *Abraham*, dans *RBK*, 1 (1963), 18-19. S. GABELIĆ, *Циклус Арханђела у византијској уметности*, Belgrade, 1991, 62-65. A. TRIVYZADAKḤ, *Ο εικονογραφικός κύκλος του πατριάρχου Αβραάμ*, Thessalonique, 2005 (thèse de doctorat inédit souttenue a l'université Aristote de Thessalonique).

[5] Observation personnel.

[6] I. DJORDJEVIĆ, *Зидно сликарство XIV века хиландарског параклиса Светих арханђела*, dans *Осам векова Хиландара. Историја, духовни живот, књижевност, уметност и архитектура*, Belgrade, 2000, fig. 1.

[7] Z. IVKOVIĆ, *Живопис XIV века у манастиру Зрзе*, dans *Zograf*, 11 (1980), 69, фиг. 3. I. DJORDJEVIĆ, *Зидно сликарство српске властеле*, Belgrade, 1994, fig. 88.

Fig. 3. La Philoxénie d'Abraham

Prilep, etc. On retrouve la même scène sur le mur Est de certains réfectoires, comme c'est le cas du monastère de la Sainte-Vierge à Apollonia (première moitié du XIVe siècle)[8] en Albanie. Elle y occupe le registre supérieur du mur Est et, comme dans l'icône de Labovo, elle surmonte une scène du cycle de la Passion du Christ, le Lavement des pieds.

Un des archétypes les plus anciens des icônes, représentant la Philoxénie d'Abraham, conservées jusqu'à nos jours, c'est l'icône du monastère de Vatopedi du Mont Athos (XIVe siècle)[9], avec laquelle la scène de l'icône de Labovo présente des similitudes iconographiques, s'exprimant surtout par la représentation d'Abraham et de Sarah au milieu des anges attablés. Ce détail iconographique apparaît dans les icones de la Philoxénie d'Abraham

[8] La scène est en très mauvais état, aussi BUSCHHAUSEN ne publient-ils pas de photos ou de dessins, se contentant de la mentionner voir H. & H. BUSCHHAUSEN, *Die Marienkirche von Apollonia in Albanien*, Wien, 1976, 189, fig. 20, alors que T. POPA, qui consacre spécialement un article aux fresques de l'église, ne mentionne pas la scène voir T. POPA, *Piktura e Trapezarisë së Manastirit të Shën Mërisë së Apollonisë*, dans *Miniatura dhe Piktura Mesjetare në shqipëri (shek. VI-XIV)*, Tirana, 2006, pp. 180-187.

[9] E. N. TSIGARIDAS – K. LOVERDOU-TSIGARIDA, *Ιερά Μεγίστη Μονή Βατοπαιδίου. Βυζαντινές εικόνες και επενδύσεις*, Mont Athos, 2006, pp. 178-181, fig. 134, 319.

du Musée Benaki (début du XVe siècle)[10] et (fin du XVe siècle)[11], du Musée Byzantin (XVe siècle)[12] à Athènes ; dans l'icône de l'Ascension, de l'Hétimasie et de la Philoxénie d'Abraham (seconde moitié du XVe siècle)[13] au Musée National d'Art Occidental à Tokyo, œuvre du peintre Andréas Ritsos, etc. Il est également présent dans la peinture murale à la chapelle des Saints Archanges (fin du XIVe siècle)[14] du monastère de Hilandar du Mont Athos. Il importe de noter que dans certaines représentations de la Philoxénie d'Abraham, Sarah et Abraham se trouvent au bout de la composition[15], ou bien ne sont pas présents[16].

Comme nous l'avons déjà noté, la scène de la Philoxénie d'Abraham est la préfiguration de la Sainte Trinité et occupe à juste titre la place centrale, d'autant plus qu'elle est étroitement liée aux scènes de la Passion du Christ. Par sa Passion, le Christ assume la rédemption des péchés humains, alors que la Philoxénie d'Abraham apparaît comme la préfiguration vétérotestamentaire du Sacrifice de Jésus. Le veau, qu'Abraham sacrifie pour offrir un repas aux trois voyageurs, symbolisant la Sainte Trinité, peut être interprété comme une évocation du Calvaire en vue de la rédemption et du salut du genre humain du péché et de la mort[17].

Suivent les scènes du cycle de la Passion du Christ qui ont lieu le Jeudi Saint, le Lavement des pieds, la Prière au Mont des Oliviers et la Trahison de Judas.

[10] Ch. BALTOGIANNI, *Εικόνες. Ο Χριστός στην Ενσάρκωση και στο Πάθος*, Athènes, 2003, p. 103, fig. 16, p. 114, fig. 32. H. EVANS (ed.), *Byzantium. Faith and Power (1261-1557)*, Exhibition catalogue, New York, 2004, 187, fig. 107 (A. DRANDAKI), où il date l'icône du XIVe siècle.

[11] BALTOGIANNI, *Εικόνες*, pp. 108-109, fig. 17, p. 115, fig. 33.

[12] M. ACHEIMASTOU-POTAMIANOU, *Εικόνες του Βυζαντινού Μουσείου Αθηνών*, Athènes, 1998, p. 118, fig. 32. BALTOGIANNI, *Εικόνες*, p. 118, fig. 36.

[13] K. KOSHI, *Uber eine kretische Ikone des 15. Jahrhunderts von Andreas Ritzos im Nationalmuseum fur westlische Kunst in Tokio*, dans *Bulletin Annuel du Musee National d'Art Occidental*, 7 (1973), pp. 37-57. M. VASSILAKI (ed.), *Χείρ Αγγέλου. Ένας ζωγράφος εικόνων στη Βενετοκρατούμενη Κρήτη*, Exhibition catalogue, Athènes, 2010, p. 205-207, fig. 51 (M. ACHEIMASTOU-POTAMIANOU).

[14] I. DJORDJEVIĆ, *Зидно сликарство XIV века хиландарског параклиса Светих архаңела*, dans *Осам векова Хиландара. Историја, духовни живот, књижевност, уметност и архитектура*, Belgrade, 2000, fig. 1.

[15] Voir la scène au réfectoire du monastère de la Sainte-Vierge à Apollonia (première moitié du XIVe siècle) en Albanie, observation personnelle.

[16] Voir la Philoxénie d'Abraham au monastère de Djurdjevi stupove (après 1282), DJORDJEVIĆ, *Зидно сликарство XIV века*, p. 564.

[17] Au ce sujet voir E. IVANOV, *Православието срещу готското арианство през VI век според исторически и археологически свидетелства*, Sofia, 2012, pp. 275-277.

Le *Lavement des pieds*[18] (Jean 13:4-11) (fig. 4) présente le Christ et les apôtres, dont ne sont visibles que quatre. Au premier plan se trouve l'apôtre Pierre, assis sur un banc de bois, sur lequel il a posé un récipient métallique rempli d'eau, qui doit servir au lavement des pieds des apôtres. Les autres apôtres sont en train d'enlever leurs sandales. A gauche est figuré Jésus, légèrement penché, essuyant d'une serviette blanche les pieds de Pierre. La scène se déroule sur le fond d'un édifice élevé à l'ouverture rectangulaire et du mur d'enceinte de Jérusalem.

La scène est connue depuis la période médio-byzantine[19], mais elle connaît une vraie diffusion à l'époque des Paléologues, quand les scènes de la Passion deviennent très populaires. Dans la plupart des cas on voit Jésus laver les pieds des apôtres[20], mais dans la scène de l'icône examinée, il les essuie. De l'époque des Paléologues de XIVe siècle nous retrouvons des exemples de cette iconographie bien rare à l'église de Saint-Nicolas Orphanos à Thessalonique (1315-1320)[21], à l'église d'Ivanovo (XIVe siècle)[22], dans une icône des scènes de la Passion du musée du monastère Vlatadon de Thessalonique (fin du XIVe siècle)[23], mais aussi en Albanie, au réfectoire du monastère de la Sainte-Vierge à Apollonia (premier quart du

[18] Au sujet de l'iconographie de la scène voir MILLET, *Recherches*, pp. 310-325. E. H. KANTOROWICZ, *The Baptism of the Apostles*, dans *DOP*, 9-10 (1956), pp. 203-251. H. GIESS, *Die Darstellung der Fußwaschung Christi in den Kunstwerken des 4.-12. Jahrhunderts*, Rome, 1962. K. WESSEL, *Fußwaschung*, dans *RBK*, 2 (1971), pp. 595-608.

[19] Dans une icône-hexaptyque du Mont Sinaï (XIe siècle), (G. GALAVARIS, *An Eleventh Century Hexaptych of the Saint Catherine's Monastery at Mount Sinai*, Venice – Athènes, 2009, p. 153, fig. 2), dans icône bilatérale de l'église de Saint-Nicolas à Melnik (XIe siècle), (P. PERDRIZET, *Melnik et Rossano*, dans *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, 31 (1907), p. 22. E. BAKALOVA, *The Earliest Surviving Icons from Bulgaria*, dans *Perceptions of Byzantium and Its Neighbors (843-1261)*, New York, 2000, pp. 122-123, fig. 3-4), à Néa Moni Chios (1049-1055), (D. MOURIKI, *Τα ψηφιδωτά της Νέας Μονής Χίου*, II, Athènes, 1985, fig. 94-95) etc.

[20] Comme au monastère de Marko (1376-1381), à l'église des Saints Abibe, Gurie et Samonas (1400/1401) à Kastoria, observation personnelle.

[21] A. TSITOURIDOU, *Ο ζωγραφικός διάκοσμος του Αγίου Νικολάου Ορφανού στη Θεσσαλονίκη. Συμβολή στη μελέτη της Παλαιολόγειας ζωγραφικής κατά τον πρώιμο 14ο αιώνα*, Thessalonique, 1986, pl. 33. ACHEIMASTOU-POTAMIANOU, *Ελληνική τέχνη. Βυζαντινές τοιχογραφίες*, Athènes, 1995, p. 161, fig. 141.

[22] L. MAVRODINOVA, *Иконография на големите църковни празници и Страданията на Христос*, Sofia, 2012, p. 183.

[23] A. TOURTA, *Εικόνα με σκηνές Παθών στη μονή Βλατάδων*, dans *Μακεδονικά*, 22 (1982), pp. 154-179, pl. 1-6. *Βυζαντινή και μεταβυζαντινή τέχνη*, Catalogue d' exposition, Athènes, 1986, p. 80, fig. 85, 83 (A. TOURTA). *Affreschi e icone dalla Grecia (X-XVII secolo)*, Catalogue d' exposition, Palazzo Strozzi, Firenze 16.09-16.11.1986, Athènes, 1986, p. 76-77, fig. 38 (A. TOURTA). BALTOGIANNI, *Εικόνες*, p. 316, fig. 100. *Byzantium. Faith and Power*, p. 182, fig. 102 (A. TOURTA).

Fig. 4. Le Lavement des pieds

XIVe siècle)[24], à l'église de la Sainte-Trinité à Berat (1328)[25]. Nous retrouvons à l'époque post-byzantine des exemples analogues à l'église du Saint Sauveur (1608)[26] à Nessebar et à l'église des Saints Constantin et Hélène à Berat (1639)[27].

La disposition du sujet à gauche et non pas à droite, comme c'est l'usage, est un autre détail intéressant[28]. Dans certains monuments du XIVe siècle, le

[24] BUSCHHAUSEN, *Die Marienkirche von Apollonia*, p. 189, fig. 20, 111.

[25] T. POPA, *Piktura e kishës së shën Triadhës në Kalanë e Beratit (nga fillimi i shek. XIV deri më 1328)*, dans *Miniatura dhe Piktura Mesjetare në shqipëri (shek. VI-XIV)*, Tirana, 2006, p. 195, fig. p. 202.

[26] SŬBEV, *Страстният цикъл*, fig. 2a.

[27] Observation personnelle.

[28] Comme par exemple à Staro Nagoričino (1318), au réfectoire du monastère de la Sainte-Vierge à Apollonia (premier quart du XIVe siècle), à l'église de la Sainte-Trinité à Berat (1328), à l'église de Kučevište (env. 1330), observation personnelle.

sujet de la scène se déploie à gauche, ce que nous retrouvons dans les églises d'Ivanovo (XIVe siècle)[29], de Saint Nicétas à Čučer (env. 1324)[30], du monastère de Marko (1376-1381)[31], à l'église des Saints Abibe, Gurie et Samonas (1400/1401)[32] et dans une icône du musée du monastère Vlatadon de Thessalonique (fin du XIVe siècle)[33]. Le fait de placer le bassin du Lavement des pieds sur le banc même est également un détail iconographique plutôt rare. C'est ainsi qu'il est présenté à l'église des Saint Constantin et Hélène à Berat (1639)[34].

La scène de la *Prière au Mont des Oliviers*[35] (Matthieu 25:36-46 ; Marc 14:32-42 ; Luc 22:39-46) (fig. 5) se déroule en plusieurs épisodes et n'est pas bien conservée. Dans la partie supérieure de la scène, à droite, au sommet du Mont des Oliviers, Jésus est représenté dans une pose de prière. Dans la partie inférieure, à gauche, on retrouve deux images de Jésus : dans la première, il s'adresse aux apôtres endormis, dans la deuxième, il est en prière.

C'est une des scènes les plus répandues de la Passion, traitée depuis la période médio-byzantine[36]. De même que les autres scènes du cycle, elle connaît une vogue particulière dans la peinture murale du XIVe siècle[37]. La scène de l'icône examinée se caractérise par l'accumulation des personnages dans la partie gauche de la composition, où Jésus est tourné à droite vers ses apôtres endormis, et non pas à gauche, comme on le représente d'habitude à cette époque[38]. Cette iconographie plutôt rare est à observer

[29] L. MAVRODINOVA, *Иконография на големите църковни празници и Страданията на Христос*, Sofia, 2012, p. 183.

[30] Observation personnelle.

[31] Observation personnelle.

[32] Observation personnelle.

[33] TOURTA, *Εικόνα*, pp. 154-179, pl. 1-6. *Βυζαντινή και μεταβυζαντινή τέχνη*, p. 80, fig. 85, 83 (A. TOURTA). *Affreschi e icone*, p. 76-77, fig. 38 (A. TOURTA). BALTOGIANNI, *Εικόνες*, pp. 316-317, fig. 100-101. *Byzantium. Faith and Power*, p. 182, fig. 102 (A. TOURTA).

[34] Observation personnelle.

[35] A propos de l'iconographie de la scène, voir MILLET, *Recherches*, pp. 654-655. E. SANDBERG-VAVALA, *La croce dipinta italiana e l'iconografia della Passione*, Verona, 1929, pp. 225-228. K. WESSEL, *Gethsemane*, dans *RBK*, 2 (1971), pp. 783-791.

[36] Voir la scène dans l'icône-hexaptyque du Mont Sinaï (XIe siècle), (GALAVARIS, *An Eleventh Century Hexaptych*, p. 153, fig. 2), l'icône bilatérale de l'église de Saint-Nicolas à Melnik (XIe siècle), (PERDRIZET, *Melnik et Rossano*, p. 22. BAKALOVA, *The Earliest Surviving Icons*, pp. 121-123, fig. 3-4).

[37] Voir par exemple la scène de la Prière au Mont des Oliviers aux églises d'Ivanovo (XIVe siècle), (MAVRODINOVA, *Иконография*, p. 184), de Saint-Nicolas Orphanos à Thessalonique (1315-1320), (TSITOURIDOU, *Ο ζωγραφικός διάκοσμος*, pl. 34), de Staro Nagoričino (1318), (ZARRAS, *The Passion Cycle*, p. 207, fig. 3), au réfectoire du monastère de la Sainte-Vierge à Apollonia (premier quart du XIVe siècle) en Albanie, (BUSCHHAUSEN, *Die Marienkirche*, pp. 202-203, fig. 20, 24, fig. 118), et à l'église de la Sainte-Trinité à Berat (1328), (POPA, *Piktura e kishës*, pp. 195-196).

[38] Á l'église de Saint Nicétas (env. 1324) près de Skopje, à l'église de la Sainte Vierge Periplevta à Ohrid (env. 1295), observation personnelle.

Fig. 5. La Prière au Mont des Oliviers

dès le XIVe siècle à l'église de la Sainte-Trinité à Berat (1328)[39]. Comme nous l'avons déjà relevé, le Christ est figuré trois fois dans la scène, ce qui arrive fréquemment à la fin du XIIIe et pendant la première moitié du XIVe siècle – voir cette iconographie dans les églises de la Sainte Vierge Periplevta à Ohrid (env. 1295), de Saint Nicétas à Čučer (env. 1324)[40], et au XVe siècle, à l'église des Saints Abibe, Gurie et Samonas à Kastoria (1400/1401)[41].

La scène de la *Trahison de Judas*[42] (Matthieu 26:47-56 ; Marc, 14:43-52 ; Luc 22:47-53 ; Jean 18:1-11) (fig. 6) est désignée par l'inscription *Η ΠΡΟΔΟCΙΑ*. A gauche sont représentés Judas et les soldats qui ont entouré Jésus et à droite figure l'épisode de l'apôtre Pierre qui coupe l'oreille du serviteur du souverain sacrificateur Malchus. La particularité iconographique de la scène consiste dans le fait que Judas, représenté à

[39] POPA, *Piktura e kishës*, pp. 195-196.
[40] Observation personnelle.
[41] Observation personnelle.
[42] En ce qui concerne l'iconographie de la scène voir MILLET, *Recherches*, pp. 326-344. SANDBERG-VAVALA, *La croce*, pp. 233-241. L. RÉAU, *Iconographie de l'art chrétien*, I, Paris, 1957, pp. 432-437. DEBRES, *Picturing the Passion*, pp. 35-71. Ch. PAPAKYRIAKOU, *Η προδοσία του Ιούδα. Παρατηρήσεις στην μεταεικονομαχική εικονογραφία της παράστασης*, dans *Βυζαντινά*, 23 (2002-2003), pp. 233-260.

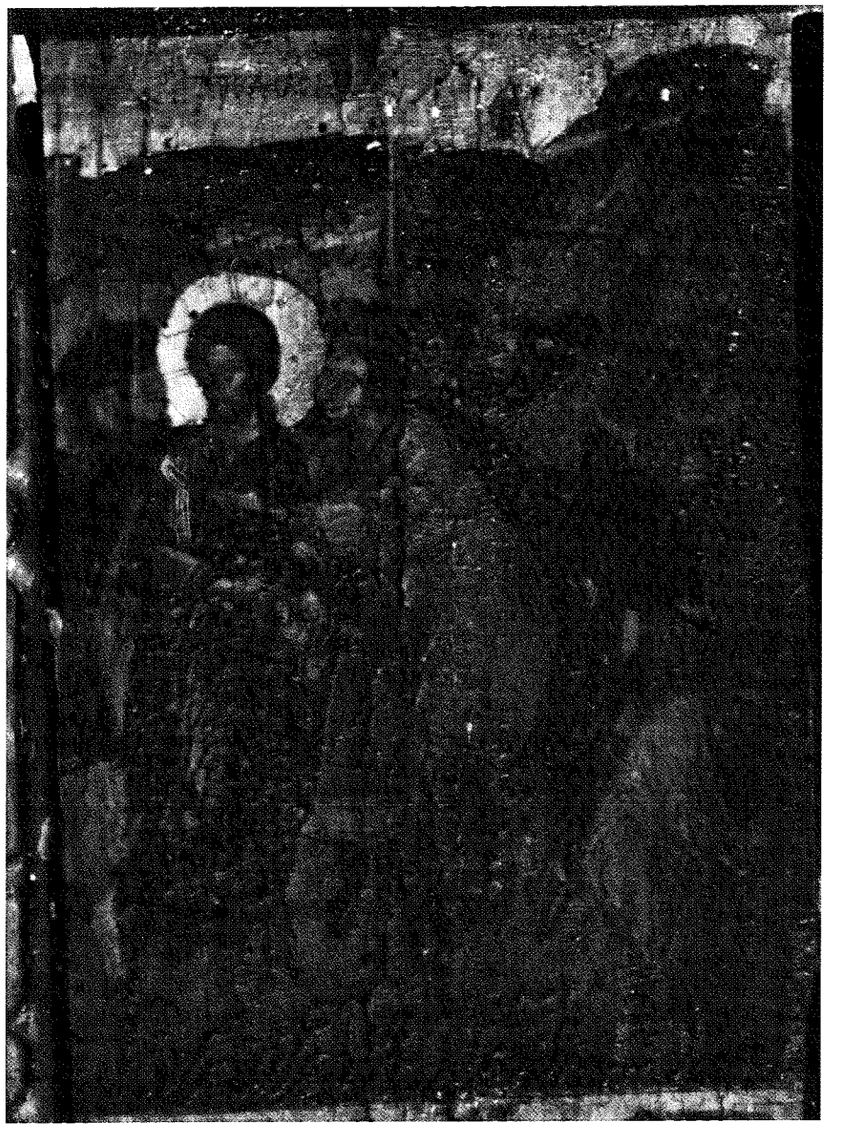

Fig. 6. La Trahison de Judas

droite du Christ, ne lui donne pas le baiser accoutumé pour le livrer aux soldats, mais se contente de l'étreindre.

La même scène est connue dès la période médio-byzantine[43] alors qu'à l'époque des Paléologues du XIVe siècle[44], elle connaît une vogue particulière dans la peinture murale, ainsi que les autres scènes de la Passion. En Albanie, cette scène se trouve à l'église de la Sainte-Vierge de Mali Grad à Prespa (1368/69)[45] et plus tard, à l'église des Saints-Constantin et Hélène à Berat (1639)[46].

Il est intéressant de signaler le détail iconographique, représentant Jésus, qui détourne la tête, pour éviter le baiser de Judas, qu'on retrouve assez rarement, à la différence du Christ, représenté de front[47]. Plus spécialement, dans la peinture de la fin du XIIIe et du début du XIVe siècle nous le retrouvons, de facture identique, dans les églises de Saint-Achille d'Arilje (1295/96)[48], de Saint-Nicolas d'Orphanos de Thessalonique (1315-1320)[49]. Ce détail est traité d'une manière analogue à l'église de la Dormition de la Vierge à Zevgostassi près de Kastoria (1431/32)[50], mais aussi dans les peintures murales de « l'école » picturale de Kastoria de la fin du XVe siècle, ainsi qu'aux les monastères de Treskavec près de Prilep (env. 1480)[51], le vieux catholicon de la Transfiguration aux Météores (1483)[52] et de Saint-Jean le Théologien à Poganovo (1499/1500)[53].

Les scènes suivantes sont celles qui surviennent le jour du Vendredi Saint, le Christ au prétoire et la Dérision.

[43] MILLET, *Recherches*, pp. 326-344. RÉAU, *Iconographie*, pp. 432-437. DEBRES, *Picturing the Passion*, pp. 35-71. PAPAKYRIAKOU, *Η προδοσία του Ιούδα*, pp. 233-260. Voir aussi l'icône bilatérale de l'église de Saint-Nicolas à Melnik (XIe siècle), (BAKALOVA, *The Earliest Surviving Icons*, pp. 121-123, fig. 3-4).

[44] Voir les églises d'Ivanovo (XIVe siècle) (MAVRODINOVA, *Иконография*, p. 185), du Christ Sauveur à Verria (1315), (S. PELEKANIDIS, *Καλλιέργης. Όλης θετταλίας άριστος ζωγράφος*, Athènes, 1973, pl. 24), de Saint-Nicolas d'Orphanos à Thessalonique (1315-1320) (TSITOURIDOU, *Ο ζωγραφικός διάκοσμος*, pl. 35), de Saint-Georges à Staro Nagoričino (1318) (ZARRAS, *The Passion Cycle*, p. 217, fig. 5), alors qu'à Kastoria, elle est présente à l'église des Saints Abibe, Gurie et Samonas (1400/1401), observation personnelle.

[45] D. DHAMO, *L'église de Notre Dame à Maligrad*, dans *Studia Albanica*, 1-2 (1964-1965), pl. VIII. V. DJURIĆ, *Mali Grad, Sv. Atanasije u Kosturu, Borje*, dans *Zograf*, 6 (1975), fig. 17.

[46] Observation personnelle.

[47] Par exemple à l'église de Saint-Georges du monastère de Pološko (1343-1345), à l'église de la Sainte-Vierge de Mali Grad à Prespa (1368/69) (DHAMO, *L'église de Notre Dame*, pl. VIII. DJURIĆ, *Mali Grad*, fig. 17), etc.

[48] B. TODIĆ, *Serbian Medieval Painting*, Belgrade, 1999, p. 139, pl. 76. D. VOJVODIĆ, *Wall Paintings of the Church of Saint Achilleos in Arilje*, Belgrade, 2005, pl. XI.

[49] TSITOURIDOU, *Ο ζωγραφικός διάκοσμος*, pl. 35.

[50] Observation personnelle.

[51] M. GARIDIS, *La peinture murale dans le monde Orthodoxe après la chute de Byzance (1450-1600) et dans les pays sous domination étrangère*, Athènes, 1989, fig. 99.

[52] E. GEORGITSOYANNI, *Les Peintures Murales du Vieux Catholicon du Monastère de la Transfiguration aux Météores (1483)*, Athènes, 1992, p. 569, pl. 45.

[53] GARIDIS, *La peinture murale*, fig. 103.

La scène du *Christ au prétoire* n'est pas entièrement conservée, sa partie droite ayant disparue (fig. 7). Au premier plan est représenté Jésus, qui avance, les poings liés, en tournant en même temps la tête du côté des sacrificateurs et des Juifs, qui brandissent des torches allumées. Le fait que la scène n'est pas reproduite integrallement, ne permet aucune analyse iconographique.

La scène de la *Dérision*[54] (Matthieu 27:28-30 ; Marc 15:16-19 ; Jean 19:1-3) (fig. 8), dont la partie centrale est fortement détériorée, est accompagnée de l'inscription *Ο ΕΜΠΕΓΜΟC ΤΟΥ [ΧΡΙCΤΟΥ]*. Au centre de la composition est représenté Jésus, de front. Il est vêtu d'un manteau rouge, une couronne d'épine, que viennent de lui poser sur la tête les deux soldats qui l'accompagnent, tenant la croix de sa main droite. Derrière Jésus l'on aperçoit des musiciens et des danseurs et au fond de la scène se détachent deux édifices élevés, traversés par l'enceinte de la cité de Jérusalem.

La scène est connue depuis la période médio-byzantine[55], mais à l'époque des Paléologues elle apparaît fréquemment dans les églises[56], de même que les autres scènes de la Passion. En Albanie, elle est figurée à l'église de la Sainte-Vierge de Mali Grad à Prespa (1368/69)[57].

La scène suit l'iconographie traditionnelle, sans présenter de particularités. Seuls les deux soldats qui posent la couronne d'épines sur la tête de Jésus méritent l'intérêt. Il s'agit d'un détail iconographique extrêmement rare[58], car en principe les deux soldats maintiennent le Christ par les épaules[59], tout en l'abreuvant d'injures.

L'icône du Christ Pantocrator aux scènes du cycle de la Passion, que nous sommes en train d'examiner, représente un intérêt particulier pour son schéma iconographique original. Sans compter que le Christ Pantocrator est

[54] En ce qui concerne l'iconographie de la scène voir MILLET, *Recherches*, pp. 635-641. S. RADOJČIĆ, *Ruganje Hristu na fresci u Staro Nagoričinu*, dans *Narodna Starina*, XIV (1939), pp. 15-32. DEBRES, *Picturing the Passion*, pp. 94-112. K. KEIKO, *Notes on the Dancers in the Mocking of Christ at Staro Nagoričino*, dans *ΔΧΑΕ*, 27 (2006), pp. 159-168.

[55] Voir par exemple l'icône-hexaptyque déjà mentionnée du XIe siècle, du Mont Sinaï, GALAVARIS, *An Eleventh Century Hexaptych*, p. 153, fig. 2.

[56] Voir de Saint-Georges de Staro Nagoričino (1318), (GALAVARIS, *An Eleventh Century Hexaptych*, p. 153, fig. 2), de Saint-Nicolas Orphanos de Thessalonique (1315-1320), (TSITOURIDOU, *Ο ζωγραφικός διάκοσμος*, pl. 40) etc.

[57] DJURIĆ, *Mali Grad*, p. 38, fig. 19.

[58] Ce détail iconographique est représenté en partie à Poganovo (1499/1500), au monastère d'Iskrets près de Sofia (1602) et à l'église de Saint-Athanase à Arbanassi (1667), où, seul, l'un des soldat à posé sa main sur la tête du Christ (observation personnelle et SŮBEV, *Страстният цикъл*, fig. 40, 99).

[59] C'est bien le cas à l'église de Saint-Georges du monastère de Pološ (1343-1345), à l'église de la Sainte-Vierge de Mali Grad à Prespa (1368/69) (DJURIĆ, *Mali Grad*, p. 38, fig. 19), de Saint-Georges à Staro Nagoričino (1318) (ZARRAS, *The Passion Cycle*, p. 207, fig. 5).

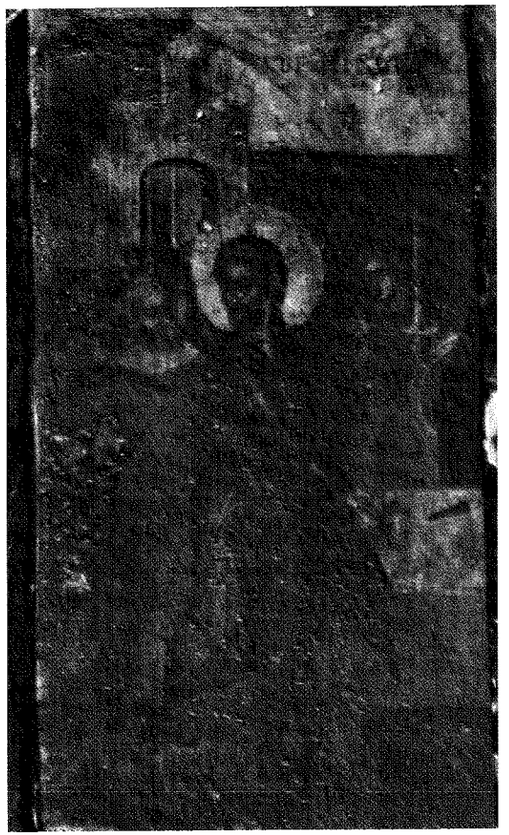

Fig. 7. Le Christ au prétoire

figuré d'habitude indépendamment, sans être flanqué d'autres scènes, sauf dans les cas, où il est entouré d'apôtres ou de saints[60].

A notre connaissance, l'icône de Labovo n'a pas de parallèle iconographique identique. Et pourtant, une iconographie similaire est à observer dans une icône de stéatite de la Galerie d'Art Walters à Baltimore (fin du XIVe siècle)[61], où au centre est figuré le Christ Pantocrator en pied, flanqué des douze scènes du Dodécaorton. L'icône en question diffère de celle de Labovo par le fait que le Christ y est représenté en pied et non pas en buste.

[60] A propos de l'icône du Christ Pantocrator, flanqué d'apôtres (1627/8) de l'église de Saint-Nicolas de Bielo Pole en Serbie, voir V. DJURIĆ, *Icônes de Yougoslavie*, Belgrade, 1961, pp. 134-135, fig. 83.

[61] L'icône est de dimensions 7,5 x 5,5 cm, numéro d'inventaire 41.210, voir I. KALAVREZOU-MAXEINER, *Byzantine Icons in Steatite*, vol. I-II, Viennne, 1985, p. 222, pl. 71, fig. 155.

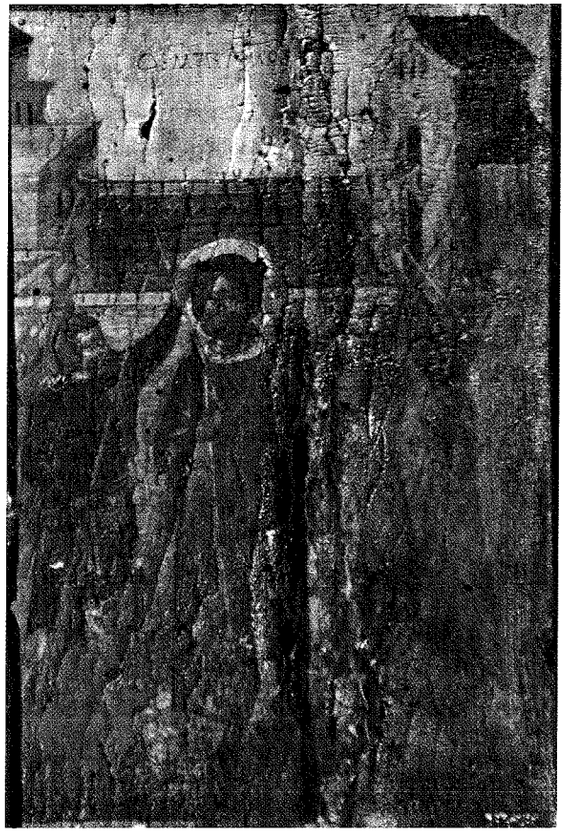

Fig. 8. La Dérision

Une autre différence foncière est que les scènes qui accompagnent l'icône de la Walters Gallery sont tirées du Dodécaorton et non pas du cycle de la Passion, comme c'est le cas de notre icône.

Il convient d'attirer l'attention sur les scènes du cycle de la Passion et plus concrètement sur leur représentation dans les bordures de l'icône, ce qui est un phénomène particulièrement rare. Nous pouvons citer à cet égard un exemple similaire relatif à l'icône bilatérale de l'église de Saint-Nicolas à Melnik (XIe siècle)[62]. Dans son cas, l'un des côtés est occupé par la Vierge Hodigitria et l'autre, par deux scènes du cycle de la Passion :

[62] A propos de l'icône voir PERDRIZET, *Melnik et Rossano*, p. 22. BAKALOVA, *The Earliest Surviving Icons*, pp. 121-123, fig. 3-4.

la Descente de Croix et le Thrène, flanquées de onze scènes du même cycle[63].

Nous retrouvons également des scènes du cycle de la Passion sur des croix peintes en Italie, où la figure du Christ crucifié est accompagnée de différentes scènes. Telles sont les croix du Saint Sépulcre (seconde moitié du XIIe siècle)[64] et de Saint Martin (env. 1245-1255)[65] à Pise, les Offices à Florence (env. 1240-1245)[66], de San Gimignano (env. 1261)[67], une croix du Mont Sinaï (XIIIe siècle)[68], ainsi qu'une icône-croix russe du Musée National de Stockholm de la seconde moitié du XVIIIe siècle[69].

Les représentations de scènes du cycle de la Passion dans des icônes qui, à la différence de celles du Dodécaorton[70], sont extrêmement rares, sont connues déjà au XIe siècle parmi les icônes sinaïtes, dont l'une est une

[63] En raison du mauvais état de l'icône, des douze scènes l'on ne distingue que six : la Cène, le Lavement des pieds, la Prière au Mont des Oliviers, la Trahison de Judas, le Jugement de Pilate, le Christ devant la Croix, voir BAKALOVA, *The Earliest Surviving Icons*, p. 122.

[64] DERBES, *Picturing the Passion*, p. 5, fig. 5.

[65] DERBES, *Picturing the Passion*, p. 6, fig. 6.

[66] DERBES, *Picturing the Passion*, p. 7, fig. 7.

[67] DERBES, *Picturing the Passion*, p. 8, fig. 8.

[68] La croix est assez détériorée. Elle présente les scènes de l'Ascension, du Crucifixion, de Mise au tombeau ; sur les parties disparues devaient figurer d'après Weitzmann, la Cène et le Lavement des pieds, voir K. WEITZMANN, *Three painted Crosses at Sinai*, dans *Kunsthistorische Forschungen. Otto Pächt zu seinem 70. Geburtstag*, Salzburg, 1972, pp. 23-35 et en particulier pp. 23-28, fig. 1-3.

[69] Il s'agit d'une icône de dimensions 32,5 x 27 cm, au numéro d'inventaire NMI 99, qui a subi des modifications. La première couche picturale au centre de l'icône, fortement détériorée, est remplacée par une croix métallique avec la Crucifixion et cinq plaques en métal, présentant des scènes du Dodécaorton. Autour de la Croix sont conservées des peintures originales : six scènes du cycle de la Passion (la Cène, le Lavement des pieds, la Prière au Mont des Oliviers, la Trahison de Judas, le Chemin de la Croix et la Mise au tombeau ; on a lieu de supposer que trois autres scènes du même cycle étaient représentées au centre, voir U. ABEL, Y. BOBROV, V. MOORE, *Icons. Nationalmuseum*, Stockholm, 2004, p. 139, fig. 194.

[70] Il s'agit des icônes représentant des scènes des Fêtes de Dieu du Mont Sinaï : un diptyque du milieu du XIe siècle, un fragment de tétraptyque (début XIIe siècle), une icône des XIe-XIIe siècles (*Important Icons from Private Collections*, Exhibition Catalogue, Amsterdam, 1976, p. 5, fig. 1-2, 6, fig. 3, 7, fig. 4 – K. WEITZMAN), ainsi que le diptyque en mosaïque, présentant des scènes du Dodécaorton, conservé au Musée de l'Opéra del Duomo (premier quart du XIIIe siècle) (I. FURLAN, *Le icone byzantine a mosaico*, Milan, 1979, fig. 30), une icône d'Ohrid du XVe siècle (*Important Icons*, fig. 42), une icône du XVIIe siècle de Vitkuç, conservée aujourd'hui au Musée d'art médiéval à Korçë (*Trésors d'art albanais. Icones byzantines et post-byzantines du XIIe au XIXe siècle*, Catalogue d'exposition, Nice 3.06-7.10, Nice, 1993, p. 85, fig. 42), une icône de la collection Stroganov en Russie du XVIIe siècle (*Golden Light. Masterpieces of the Art of the Icon*, Exhibition Catalogue, Antwerpen, 1998, p. 135, fig. 109), etc. Parmi les icônes, les plus répandues sont les représentations du Christ dans la composition de la Déisis, comprenant la Sainte Vierge et saint Jean le Précurseur, flanquée de scènes du Dodécaorton, comme par exemple l'icône de Sarajevo (milieu du XVIe siècle), œuvre de l'illustre peintre crétois Andreas Ritsos (DJURIĆ, *Icônes*, p. 115, fig. 52).

icône-hexaptyque (XIe siècle)[71] et l'autre présente des scènes du Ménologe (XIe siècle)[72]. Au XIIe siècle, les scènes du cycle de la Passion apparaissent dans des icônes de stéatite, fragmentairement conservées, comme celle du Musée de Cleveland (XIIe siècle)[73], du Métropolitain Muséum à New York (XIIe siècle)[74], du Musée Benaki à Athènes (XIIe siècle)[75], du Sacro au Vatican (XIIe siècle)[76], etc. Un exemple intéressant de l'époque des Paléologues constitue une icône du musée du monastère Vlatadon de Thessalonique (fin du XIVe siècle)[77], où sont représentées six scènes de la Passion du Christ, disposées horizontalement en trois registres. Nous retrouvons à l'époque post-byzantine deux exemples similaires d'icônes figurant des scènes du cycle de la Passion : une icône à trois registres de Novgorod (env. 1500)[78], présentant neuf scènes, ainsi qu'un icône à trois registres à douze scènes (1705)[79], œuvre du célèbre peintre d'icônes Yoannis Moskos, de la collection privée de Helleni Stathatou en Grèce.

Le style pictural de l'icône examinée s'inscrit dans les courants artistiques du stade précoce de l'art post-byzantin, s'étendant de la fin du XVe à la première moitié du XVIe siècle. Le Christ Pantocrator a une silhouette svelte et allongée ; les autres personnages de la composition se distinguent

[71] GALAVARIS, *An Eleventh Century Hexaptych*, p. 153, fig. 2

[72] G. & M. SOTIRIOU, *Εικόνες της μονής Σινά*, Athènes, 1956-1958, vol. A΄, pl. 144-145 et vol. B΄, pp. 123-125. V. FOSKOLOU, *Αναζητώντας την εικόνα του Ελκομένου της Μονεμβασιάς*, dans *Σύμμεικτα*, 14 (2001), p. 238, fig. 8.

[73] L'icône, numéro d'inventaire 62.27, dimensions 9,6 x 11,2 cm, présente sept scènes : le Christ devant Pilate, le Chemin de la Croix, le Crucifixion, la Descente de Croix, le Thrène, la Résurrection et la Dormition de la Vierge. A ce sujet voir KALAVREZOU-MAXEINER, *Byzantine Icons*, vol. I-II, 157, pl. 38, fig. 61.

[74] L'icône, numéro d'inventaire 58.142.1, dimensions 4,8 x 6,7 cm, présente sept scènes : la Cène, le Lavement des pieds, la Prière au Mont des Oliviers, la Trahison de Judas. A ce propos voir KALAVREZOU-MAXEINER, *Byzantine Icons*, vol. I, 156, fig. 60, vol. II, pl. 38, fig. 60.

[75] L'icône, numéro d'inventaire 13513, dimensions 5,5 x 6,6 cm, présente deux scènes : le Christ au Prétoire et le Jugement de Pilate, voir KALAVREZOU-MAXEINER, *Byzantine Icons*, vol. II, p. 154, fig. 58.

[76] KALAVREZOU-MAXEINER, *Byzantine Icons*, pl. 57, fig. 118.

[77] TOURTA, *Εικόνα*, pp. 154-179, pl. 1-6. *Βυζαντινή και μεταβυζαντινή τέχνη*, p. 80, fig. 85, 83 (A. TOURTA). *Affreschi e icone*, p. 76-77, fig. 38 (A. TOURTA). BALTOGIANNI, *Εικόνες. Ο Χριστός*, p. 316, fig. 100. *Byzantium. Faith and Power*, 182, fig. 102 (A. TOURTA).

[78] L'icône est de dimensions 44,5 x 35 cm. La photo est publiée dans M. VAN RIJN, *Icons and East Christian Works of Art*, Amsterdam, 1980, p. 124, p. 185.

[79] L'icône, de dimensions 0,61 x 0,51 cm, présente les scènes suivantes : la Cène, la Prière au Mont des Oliviers, la Trahison de Judas, le Christ au Prétoire, le Triple Reniement de Pierre, le Jugement de Pilate, la Flagellation du Christ, la Dérision, le Lavement des mains de Pilate, le Chemin de la Croix, le Crucifixion, la Descente de Croix et le Thrène. L'inscription du peintre est conservée : *ΠΟΙΗΜΑ ΙΩ(ΑΝΝΟΥ) ΜΟΣΚΟΥ 1705*. Pour plus de détails au sujet de l'icône voir A. XYNGOPOULOS, *Συλλογή Ελένης Α. Σταθάτου*, Athènes, 1951, p. 18, pl. 16, n. 17.

par leur port gracieux. Le visage du Christ Pantocrator, mieux conservé que celui des autres personnages, est très expressif, à l'expression mélancolique, aux yeux en amande et aux sourcils bien dessinés, au regard grave et bienveillant à la fois. Le nez est mince et long, la bouche, petite et charnue. Le visage est peint sur un fond brun, sur lequel, la carnation a été obtenue au moyen de l'ocre. Des nuances roses-rouges viennent souligner la forme de la bouche, des joues, du nez. L'expression de Jésus, ainsi que le type du visage, rappellent le Christ Pantocrator de l'icône du Christ Pantocrator *o Πάντων Κριτής* (milieu du XVIe siècle)[80], conservée au musée d'Antivouniotissa à Corfou.

Les traits du visage des autres personnages ne sont pas bien conservés, ce qui n'empêche pas toutefois de remarquer les analogies au niveau du style et de la facture avec les personnages de l'icône de l'Annonciation (XVe siècle)[81], conservée au musée Onuphrius à Berat.

L'ornementation du nimbe du Christ est sobre, voire ponctuée, ce qui est typique pour les œuvres de la fin du XVe et du début du XVIe siècle, comme par exemple l'icône de la Sainte Vierge Glycophilousa du Musée byzantin d'Athènes (env. 1500)[82].

Le chiton du Christ, un ruban brodé autour du cou, orné de motifs d'or exquis, imitant des caractères coufiques, est particulièrement intéressant. Une broderie semblable aux motifs coufiques, agrémentant le chiton du Christ, apparaît souvent dans les icônes du Christ Pantocrator du XVe et du XVIe siècle. Nous mentionnons à titre d'exemple deux icônes de la collection de Sainte Catherine (XVe siècle)[83] et du Musée historique (fin XIVe – début XVe siècle)[84] de l'île de Crète ; deux autres icônes du Christ Pantocrator, l'une de la fin du XVe, l'autre du milieu du XVIe siècle, conservées au musée d'Antivouniotissa à Corfou[85].

Les éléments architecturaux des scènes la Philoxénie d'Abraham, le Lavement des pieds et la Dérision sont reproduits avec précision, ce qui montre la fidélité du peintre aux modèles de l'art des Paléologues, mais aussi l'influence de la phase initiale de l'école crétoise. Malheureusement, nous ne pouvons rien dire de plus au sujet du style de l'icône, car elle n'a pas été restaurée.

[80] P. VOCOTOPOULOS, *Εικόνες της Κέρκυρας*, Athènes, 1990, pp. 34-35, fig. 107.
[81] *Percorsi del Sacro. Icone dai musei albanesi*, Catalogo, Milano, 2002, p. 51, fig. 5.
[82] ACHEIMASTOU-POTAMIANOU, *Εικόνες του Βυζαντινού Μουσείου*, pp. 148-149, fig. 42.
[83] *Εικόνες της Κρητικής τέχνης. Από τον Χάνδακα ως την Μόσχα και την Αγία Πετρούπολη*, Κατάλογος έκθεσης, Iráklio, 2004, fig. 93 (M. BORBOUDAKIS).
[84] *Εικόνες της Κρητικής τέχνης*, pp. 523-524, fig. 170 (M. BORBOUDAKIS).
[85] VOCOTOPOULOS, *Εικόνες της Κέρκυρας*, p. 26, fig. 12, pl. 8. p. 34-35, fig. 107. BALTOGIANNI, *Εικόνες*, p. 55, fig. 9.

La facture de l'icône du Christ Pantocrator, accompagné des scènes de la Passion de l'église de la Sainte-Vierge de Labovo, s'inscrit, du point de vue stylistique, dans un courant artistique de la fin du XVe au premier quart du XVIe siècle, avec l'influence tangible de l'art des Paléologues de la première moitié du XVe siècle. Le peintre anonyme et talentueux de l'icône examinée, devait non seulement posséder une haute culture théologique et une grande érudition, ce qui devient évident du schéma iconographique original de l'icône, mais il devait également connaître parfaitement les monuments de l'époque des Paléologues de la région de Macédoine et de l'Épire, représentant des scènes du cycle de la Passion – à l'église de Saint-Nicolas Orphanos à Thessalonique (1315-1320), à l'église de Saint Nicétas de Čučer (env. 1324), à l'église des Saints Archanges (fin du XIVe siècle) au monastère de Hilandar, à l'église de la Sainte-Vierge à Apollonia (premier quart du XIVe siècle), de la Sainte-Trinité à Berat (1328). Le peintre a été visiblement influencé par leur iconographie, qu'il a appliquée et enrichie selon sa propre vision. Son style s'inscrit dans le courant artistique d'un atelier de la peinture de l'Épire ou de la Macédoine, de la fin du XVe ou de la première premier quart du XVIe siècle. Il n'est pas possible à cette étape de donner une datation plus précise de l'icône, car son état est assez mauvais à cause de la détérioration évidente de la couche de peinture. On pourrait préciser la datation après une éventuelle restauration.

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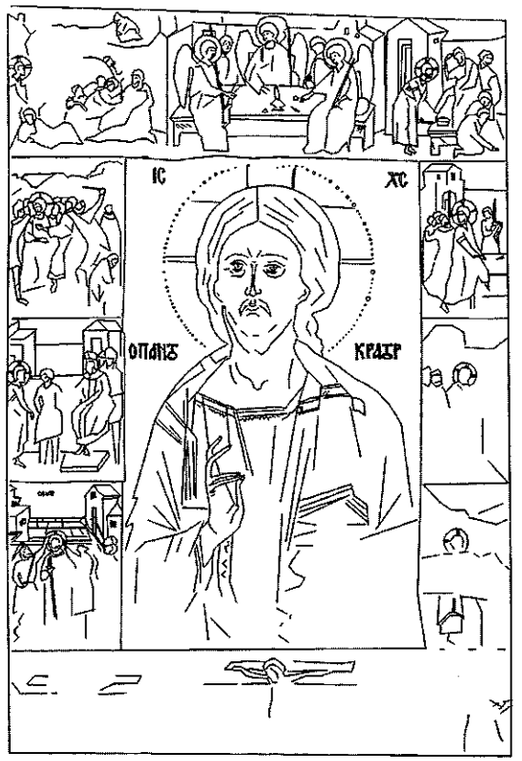
SUMMARY

In the church of Dormition of the Virgin in the Labovë e Kryqit (Άνω Λάμποβον) village near Gjirokastër of Epirus in Albania, an interesting post-byzantine icon of Christ Pantocrator with the Philoxenia of Abraham and Passion scenes in the frames is preserved. The depicted scenes are : the Philoxenia of Abraham, the Washing of the Feet, the Agony in the Garden, the Betrayal of Judas, Christ before Ana and Caiaphas, Christ before Pilate, the Flagellation, the Mocking, the Way to Calvary, the Ascent of the Cross, the Crucifixion and the Descent from the Cross.

The icon is a work of an anonymous painter from an artistic workshop in the region of Macedonia or Epirus, from the end of the XVth or the first half of the XVIth century. The talented painter had an excellent theological knowledge and was familiar with the monuments of the Paleologean period in the region of Macedonia and Epirus, where scenes from the Passion cycle are presented. He was influenced by their iconography, but he enriched it with his personal ideas.



III	I	II
IV		V
VI		VII
VIII		IX
X	XI	XII

I. La Philoxénie d'Abraham
II. Le Lavement des pieds
III. La Prière au Mont des Oliviers
IV. La Trahison de Judas
V. Le Christ au prétoire
VI. Le Jugement de Pilate
VII. La Flagellation de Jésus
VIII. La Dérision
IX. Le Chemin de Croix
X. La Mise en Croix
XI. Le Crucifixion
XII. La Descente de Croix

AGAZIA STUDENTE AD ALESSANDRIA (*HIST.* 2.15.7)

All'interno del resoconto del terremoto, che nel 551 devastò tutta la costa orientale del Mediterraneo e rase al suolo Berito, Agazia incastona un piccolo inserto autobiografico, per informare i suoi lettori che a quell'epoca egli si trovava ad Alessandria per ragioni di studio:

> ἐμοὶ δέ γε καὶ αὐτῷ (ἐτύγχανον γὰρ αὐτοῦ διατρίβων παιδείας ἕνεκα τῆς πρὸς τῶν νόμων) δεδιέναι προσῆει ...[1]

La breve pericope è stata oggetto di un vivo dibattito, sia perché essa fornisce un importante puntello cronologico per ricostruire la biografia di Agazia, sia per un problema testuale legato alla locuzione πρὸς τῶν νόμων[2]. Proprio quest'ultima questione si vuole qui brevemente riesaminare.

L'*editio princeps* delle *Storie*, apparsa nel 1594 a Leida per cura di Bonaventura Vulcanius (e ristampata a Parigi e a Venezia rispettivamente nel 1660 e nel 1729), si fondava su un solo codice, il Leid. Vulc. 54 (= **L**, XIV sec.), che nel passo in esame legge πρὸ τῶν νόμων[3]. Anche Niebuhr, per la sua edizione bonnense, si fondò sul codice di Leida, ma poté tenere conto delle lezioni di un secondo manoscritto, il Vratisl. Rehdig. 11 (= **R**), copia di un non meglio identificato manoscritto italiano effettuata per conto di Thomas Rehdiger (1540-1576)[4]: a quanto risulta, nel nostro passo esso reca la lezione πρὸς τῶν νόμων, che Niebuhr registra in apparato, mantenendo nel testo πρό. Rileveremo inoltre che, mentre Vulcanius genericamente

[1] Agath. *Hist.* 2.15.7. L'edizione di riferimento, di cui si riproduce il testo, è *Agathiae Myrinaei Historiarum libri quinque*, recensuit R. KEYDELL, Berolini, 1967. Cf. inoltre *Agathiae Myrinaei Historiarum libri quinque*, B.G. NIEBUHR graeca recensuit, Bonnae, 1828; *Agathiae Myrinaei Historiarum libri quinque*, recensuit S. COSTANZA, Messina, 1969. Sul terremoto, le relative testimonianze e i problemi di datazione, cf. E. STEIN, *Histoire du Bas-Empire*, II, Paris – Bruxelles – Amsterdam, 1949, pp. 757-758.

[2] Cf. R. C. MCCAIL, *The Earthquake of A.D. 551 and the Birth-Date of Agathias*, *GRBS*, 8 (1967), pp. 241-247; *IDEM*, *A late Rhetor of Asia* (= recensione a KEYDELL, cit.), *Classical Review*, 19 (1969), pp. 51-53: p. 53; AV. CAMERON, *Agathias*, Oxford, 1970, pp. 140-141; R. C. MCCAIL, *Agathias assessed* (= recensione a CAMERON, cit.), *Classical Review*, 22 (1972), pp. 205-207: p. 206; *IDEM*, *'The Education preliminary to Law': Agathias*, Historiae, *II, 15, 7*, *Byz.*, 47 (1977), pp. 364-367; B. BALDWIN, *Four Problems in Agathias*, *BZ*, 70 (1977), pp. 295-305: pp. 295-298.

[3] Sull'edizione di Vulcanius vd. B. GENTILI, *I codici e le edizioni delle 'Storie' di Agatia*, *Bullettino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo e Archivio Muratoriano*, 58 (1944), pp. 163-176: p. 174; su **L** vd. KEYDELL, cit., p. XIII.

[4] Vd. KEYDELL, cit., pp. XVI-XVII.

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traduceva 'legalium studiorum causa', Niebuhr, con maggiore aderenza, rendeva 'eius disciplinae causa, quae studium iuris praecedit', dando a πρό valore temporale[5]. Keydell infine, forte dell'esame di tutta la tradizione manoscritta, ha constatato che, ad eccezione di **L**, tutti gli altri codici concordano in πρός, lezione che egli promuove nel testo, precisando tuttavia in apparato che avrebbe preferito πρό, ma che ha optato per πρός in virtù del confronto con un frammento di Menandro Protettore, in cui ricorre la locuzione παιδεία πρὸς τὸν νόμον. Nel frammento in questione, che doveva costituire l'*incipit* della perduta opera menandrea, con evidente riecheggiamento di Agazia, lo storico suo continuatore presenta se stesso e la sua formazione, ricordando che suo fratello, dopo aver 'preso un assaggio della παιδεία πρὸς τὸν νόμον', aveva abbandonato gli studi, mentre egli aveva 'ritenuto inopportuno non familiarizzarsi anche con le leggi'[6]. Ciò che Keydell non omette di rilevare è che in Menandro la tradizione è unanime in πρὸς τὸν νόμον e che fu Ludwig Dindorf a congetturare πρὸς τῶν νόμων[7].

Come è stato già adeguatamente messo in luce da Cameron e McCail (vd. n. 2), contro la lezione πρὸς τῶν νόμων nel testo di Agazia milita un serio argomento di carattere linguistico e storico: pur con le debite sfumature, πρός con genitivo indica sempre provenienza o moto da luogo, dunque παιδεία πρὸς τῶν νόμων non può significare altro che 'l'istruzione da parte delle leggi', cioè 'in legge', ma è impossibile che Agazia nel 551 potesse studiare legge ad Alessandria, poiché sin dal 533 Giustiniano aveva deliberato che, tra le università dell'impero, l'insegnamento del diritto potesse essere impartito solo a Costantinopoli, Roma e Berito[8]. Gli studi di Agazia ad Alessandria dovevano essere dunque di altra natura, e precisamente di retorica, che all'epoca costituiva di norma la disciplina propedeutica al diritto[9].

[5] Per cui cf. LSJ, s.v., A II.

[6] Cf. Men. Prot. fr. 1.1 BLOCKLEY (*ap. Suda* μ 591 ADLER) ἐμοὶ πατὴρ Εὐφρατᾶς ἐκ Βυζαντίου ὁρμώμενος ἦν· οὗτος δὴ οὖν ἥκιστα τῆς τῶν λόγων μετειλήχει παιδείας. Ἡρόδοτος μὲν οὖν ὁμόγνιος δέ μοι τῆς πρὸς τὸν νόμον ἀπογευσάμενος παιδείας εἶτα ἀφηνίασε τῆς περὶ ταῦτα σπουδῆς· ἀλλ' ἔγωγε οὔτι χρῆναι φόμην μὴ καὶ νόμοις ὁμιλῆσαι καὶ ἐς τέλος ἱκέσθαι τῶν πόνων· καὶ δὴ ἀφικόμην, ὥς μοι ὑπῆρχε δυνατόν.

[7] Cf. *Historici Graeci minores*, II, edidit L. DINDORF, Lipsiae, 1871, p. 1. Anche COSTANZA, cit., stampa a testo πρός e relega in apparato πρό, ma non menziona il parallelo menandreo.

[8] Cf. *Const. Omnem* 7 (*Corp. iur. civ.* I, *Dig.*, p. 11 MOMMSEN – KRÜGER); STEIN, cit., pp. 410-411.

[9] Vd. al riguardo la documentazione raccolta da CAMERON, cit., pp. 140-141; cf. anche J. L. FOURNET, *L'enseignement des belles-lettres dans l'Alexandrie antique tardive*, in *Alexandria, Auditoria of Kom el-Dikka and Late Antique Education*, edited by T. DERDA – T. MARKIEWICZ – E. WIPSZICKA, Warsaw, 2007, pp. 97-112 (Agazia è ricordato a p. 100 e n. 33). Che del resto Agazia avesse compiuto gli studi di legge a Costantinopoli è ben mostrato dai suoi epigrammi *AP* 1.35 = 7 VIANSINO e 5.292 = 5 VIANSINO, su cui cf. R. C. MCCAIL, *On the early Career of Agathias Scholasticus*, *REB*, 28 (1970), pp. 141-151: pp. 141-147.

I due studiosi hanno pertanto prospettato due distinte soluzioni per l'assetto testuale di *Hist.* 2.15.7: Cameron era incline ad accettare, con Niebuhr, la lezione di **L** πρὸ τῶν νόμων, vale a dire 'l'istruzione che precede lo studio della legge'[10], mentre McCail, sulla base del passo di Menandro, proponeva di correggere πρὸς τῶν νόμων in πρὸς τὸν νόμον, da intendersi in entrambi gli autori come 'l'istruzione *verso* il diritto', cioè 'propedeutica al diritto'[11].

Personalmente ritengo che, tanto dal punto di vista stilistico-lessicale quanto da quello critico-testuale, la proposta di McCail sia di gran lunga preferibile, e possa essere ulteriormente sostanziata.

È pur vero che, tra le attestazioni della locuzione πρὸς τὸν νόμον, non sembrano sussistere diretti termini di confronto per l'accezione 'propedeutico al diritto', poiché i significati che essa assume sono principalmente: locativo figurato ('verso la legge'/'contro la legge'/'nei confronti della legge'), di limitazione ('riguardo alla legge'), oppure modale ('secondo la legge')[12]. Proprio quest'ultimo significato potrebbe anzi adattarsi al passo di Menandro, e di riflesso a quello di Agazia, in cui vi sarebbe un semplice

[10] Vd. CAMERON, cit., p. 141, che riteneva πρὸ τῶν νόμων lezione genuina sia in Agazia che nel passo di Menandro: πρὸς sarebbe un'antica corruttela sviluppatasi nel primo e da esso passata al secondo, e πρὸς τὸν νόμον in quest'ultimo sarebbe poi un tentativo dei redattori della *Suda* di 'make some sense out of πρὸς τῶν νόμων'.

[11] Vd. MCCAIL, *The Education*, cit.: a suo avviso πρὸ τῶν νόμων in Agazia sarebbe un tentativo di rimediare a πρὸς τῶν νόμων, corruttela generatasi dall'originario πρὸς τὸν νόμον (va tuttavia rilevato che lo stesso studioso in precedenza si era schierato a favore di πρό: cf. *The Earthquake*, cit., p. 243 n. 11). Non molto perspicua la posizione di BALDWIN, cit., pp. 295-298: prima difende παιδεία πρὸς τῶν νόμων come 'the study of law', mediante il confronto con le altre occorrenze di πρός + genitivo nelle *Storie* (πρὸς ἀνάγκης, πρὸς βίας, πρὸς εὐκλείας etc.: cf. KEYDELL, cit., *index graecitatis*, s.v. πρός, pp. 230-231), poi, dovendo ammettere che a quella data ad Alessandria non si potesse studiare diritto, ne deduce che 'the disputed phrase could simply be Agathias' delicate-cum-tortuous [*sic*] way of saying "studies relating to law"'. In realtà, i casi di πρός + genitivo da lui ricordati hanno tutti valore puramente avverbiale e non sono confrontabili con il nostro passo (cf. *e.g. Hist.* 3.19.4 ἴσθι ὡς πρὸς ἀνάγκης ἀπελαθήσῃ, 4.30.3 οὐκ ἄχαρι τὸ χρῆμα ἡγούμενοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς εὐκλείας τοῖς σφῶν βασιλεῦσιν ἐσόμενον); inoltre, per quanto riguarda la pretesa differenza tra 'the study of law' e 'studies relating to law', la *tortuousness* sembra doversi addebitare più all'interprete moderno che all'autore antico.

[12] Per l'accezione di 'verso la legge' cf. *e.g.* Aristot. *Rh.* 1374b11-13 καὶ τὸ μὴ πρὸς τὸν νόμον ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸν νομοθέτην (...) σκοπεῖν; per 'contro la legge' Plut. *Cat. Mi.* 28.6 ἥ τε σύγκλητος ἀθροισθεῖσα παρήγγειλεν (...) διαμάχεσθαι πρὸς τὸν νόμον; per 'nei confronti della legge' Lib. *Decl.* 44.59 (VII, p. 511 FOERSTER) ἡ πρὸς τὸν νόμον αἰδώς; per 'riguardo alla legge' Luc. *Tyr.* 11 ἐνδεῖν ἔλεγές μοί τι πρὸς τὸν νόμον; per 'secondo la legge' Plut. *Cam.* 36.3 τοὺς δὲ (...) κωλύων ἄγεσθαι πρὸς τὸν νόμον. Vd. inoltre *infra* n. 14.

riferimento alla 'educazione secondo la legge', 'prescritta dalla legge'. La sottile esegesi di McCail ha tuttavia messo in luce come in Menandro la παιδεία πρὸς τὸν νόμον e i νόμοι veri e propri costituiscano due fasi successive nel tempo: ad 'assaggiare' la prima si limita il fratello dello storico, mentre egli stesso ritenne di doversi familiarizzare *anche* con l'altra (*καὶ* νόμοις ὁμιλῆσαι) e giungere alla conclusione del percorso di studi[13]. Il passo menandreo così interpretato acquista una forte coerenza interna e le evidenti consonanze con Agazia di per sé sole sarebbero sufficienti a giustificare in quest'ultimo la correzione πρὸς τὸν νόμον nel senso di 'propedeutico al diritto'[14].

Inoltre, dal punto di vista critico-testuale, assumere nel solo Agazia una corruzione da πρὸς τὸν νόμον a πρὸς τῶν νόμων (considerando πρό una *lectio singularis* di **L**) è senz'altro più economico che postulare la trafila di successive e vicendevoli corruzioni nei passi dei due autori, che è alla base della proposta di Cameron (vd. n. 10). Senza contare che, in linea generale, è più probabile una corruzione di πρός in πρό (per un fraintendimento dell'usuale compendio ° per oc), che non viceversa.

Infine, un nuovo e interessante elemento a favore di πρὸς τὸν νόμον è ora inaspettatamente emerso dal riesame di uno dei manoscritti. Tra i codici agaziani spicca per antichità e importanza il Vat. Gr. 151 (= **V**), il cui nucleo originario (= $\mathbf{V}^{b}$, gli attuali ff. 41bis-245, pergamenacei, ascrivibili al X-XI secolo) contiene il testo delle *Storie* a partire da 2.19.1; i primi cinque fascicoli (= $\mathbf{V}^{a}$, ff. 2-41, cartacei) si devono invece a una mano quattrocentesca, che ha inteso con essi integrare la cospicua lacuna iniziale[15]. Gli studi sulla storia della tradizione del testo delle *Storie*, condotti da Keydell e, indipendentemente, da Costanza, hanno chiarito che le due unità codicologiche di **V** derivano da due filoni distinti di tradizione, e che in particolare $\mathbf{V}^{a}$ mostra una stretta parentela con il già evocato codice **R** e con l'esemplare utilizzato da Cristoforo Persona (1416-1486) per la sua traduzione latina delle *Storie*, esemplare perduto ma ricostruibile in vari casi dalla

[13] Vd. McCail, *The Education*, cit., in part. pp. 365-366. Per il testo di Menandro cf. *supra* n. 6.

[14] Non possono invece essere chiamati a confronto (come faceva lo stesso McCail, *Agathias assessed*, cit., p. 206) i luoghi di due *Novellae* di Giustino II in cui ricorre la locuzione πρὸς τὸν νόμον (*Nov.* 149.1, *Corp. iur. civ.* III, p. 724.17 Schoell – Kroll; 161.1.2, p. 746.1), poiché qui, così come nelle altre attestazioni all'interno del *Corpus* (cf. *e.g. Nov.* 1.1.4, p. 5.30; 8.8, p. 71.14), essa vale 'secondo la legge' (vd. *supra* n. 12).

[15] Vd. Keydell, cit., pp. XI-XIII (con bibliografia). G. Mercati, *Scritti di Isidoro il Cardinale Ruteno*, Roma, 1926, pp. 65-66, aveva riconosciuto nella mano di $\mathbf{V}^{a}$ quella di Isidoro di Kiev, ma l'identificazione è stata di recente (e con buona ragione) messa in dubbio: cf. P. Canart, *Additions et corrections au* Repertorium der griechischen Kopisten 800-1600, *3*, in *Vaticana et Medievalia. Études en l'honneur de Louis Duval-Arnould*, Firenze, 2008, pp. 41-63: p. 50 (con ulteriori rinvii).

traduzione stessa, e quindi meritevole di essere preso in considerazione ai fini della costituzione del testo (= **P**)[16]. Bisogna d'altra parte considerare che le caratteristiche intrinseche della tradizione agaziana permettono sì di individuare legami di parentela tra i vari testimoni, ma rendono impossibile una 'recensione meccanica' sulla base di uno stemma: per usare le parole dello stesso editore, 'jede der nicht eliminierten Hss, auch die Übersetzung Personas, kann für sich allein die richtige Lesart bieten, ohne daß diese durch Konjektur gewonnen sein müßte'[17].

Ora, nel passo di nostro interesse, ciò che si legge in $\mathbf{V}^{a}$ (f. 38v) è πρὸς τῶ̃ νόμον, con un secondo ν inserito *supra lineam* tra -ω̃ e ν- e sormontato da accento circonflesso (τῶ̃$^{\nu}$νόμον)[18]. La correzione sarà dovuta a un *lapsus* del copista che, ingannato dalla sequenza di due ν, ne aveva in prima battuta scritto uno solo, e il circonflesso sul ν si spiega d'altra parte con la sua abitudine di scrivere sempre -ω̃ν- con l'accento sulla consonante. La presenza di νόμον all'accusativo è invece un dato degno di particolare attenzione: a meno di non volerlo liquidare come *felix error* dello scriba, che tuttavia è in genere abbastanza accurato anche negli aspetti ortografici[19], esso, in ragione della tipologia 'aperta' della tradizione agaziana, ha buone probabilità di essere una lezione tràdita. A ciò non osta la presenza dell'articolo al genitivo (τῶν per τόν è in sé una svista piuttosto banale), e anzi il fatto che lo scriba, pur correggendo, mantenga la divergenza tra i casi dei due termini farebbe quasi sospettare che egli stesse riportando esattamente il testo del suo antigrafo, in cui la corruttela di τὸν νόμον in τῶν νόμων si presentava ancora in una fase intermedia della sua genesi[20].

[16] Vd. Keydell, cit., in part. pp. XV-XVI, XXIV-XXVIII (l'utilità della versione latina era stata già riconosciuta da Niebuhr, cit., p. VIII, che la cita sovente nel suo apparato). Su Persona cf. anche Gentili, cit., pp. 170-173; P. Eleuteri – P. Canart, *Scrittura greca nell'Umanesimo italiano*, Milano, 1991, pp. 53-55. Fondandosi sull'identificazione dello scriba di $\mathbf{V}^{a}$ con Isidoro di Kiev e sul fatto che Persona per alcuni anni fu al servizio di quest'ultimo, Keydell ha ipotizzato che la *Vorlage* della traduzione di Persona sia lo stesso codice usato come antigrafo di $\mathbf{V}^{a}$, ma l'ipotesi perde consistenza ora che il primo argomento è stato confutato (vd. n. 15). Allo stato dei fatti, l'unico dato certo è che $\mathbf{V}^{a}$ e **P** (insieme a **R**) derivano da un antenato comune, ma poco si può dire dei reciproci rapporti tra i tre testimoni.

[17] Keydell, cit., p. XXXV. Anche dei testimoni *recentiores*, quali due copie quattro-cinquecentesche ($\mathbf{V}^{a}$ e **R**) e il testo greco ricostruibile da una traduzione umanistica (**P**), si rivelano pertanto *non deteriores*.

[18] L'esatta lezione di $\mathbf{V}^{a}$ non è registrata né da Keydell né da Costanza, dai cui apparati il lettore è portato a credere che *tutti* i codici leggano τῶν νόμων (vd. *infra* n. 20). In situazioni del genere, sono un valido monito le parole di Giorgio Pasquali (che portava ad esempio se stesso) sull'impossibilità di effettuare una collazione 'perfetta': cf. *Storia della tradizione e critica del testo*, Firenze, 1954^{2}, p. 73.

[19] Cf. Costanza, cit., p. VII.

[20] Per quanto riguarda i due testimoni imparentati con $\mathbf{V}^{a}$, la resa di Persona, *legum et eruditionis gratia* (riportata nell'apparato di Keydell *ad loc.* e da me ricontrollata su uno dei manoscritti, il Vat. Lat. 2004, esemplare di dedica a Sisto IV) fa pensare che la sua *Vorlage*

Il concorso dei fattori sopra esposti mi sembra pertanto offrire validi motivi per scrivere in *Hist.* 2.15.7 πρὸς τὸν νόμον.

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SUMMARY

This paper focuses on a disputed passage in Agathias' *Histories* (2.15.7 Keydell): through a review of previous scholarly debate and a fresh examination of a substantial part of the manuscript tradition, new evidence is offered in support of the reading πρὸς τὸν νόμον, which was already proposed by R. C. McCail in 1977.

avesse πρὸς τῶν νόμων; la stessa lezione viene attribuita anche a **R**, ma sarebbe opportuna una verifica, che al momento non mi è possibile effettuare. Ho invece avuto modo di ispezionare, per maggiore completezza d'informazione, gli altri due codici Vaticani, il Gr. 152 (= **W**, XIV-XV sec.), che fa capo a un altro ramo della tradizione, e l'Ott. Gr. 82 (= **O**, XIV sec.), testimone contaminato (cf. KEYDELL, cit., rispettivamente pp. XXVIII-XXXI e XXXII-XXXIII): in entrambi si ha πρὸς τῶν νόμων.

ADAPTATION DES NOMS ÉTRANGERS À LA GRAMMAIRE DU GREC BYZANTIN

LE CAS 'NARSIS' DANS LA *CHRONIQUE DE THÉOPHANE*

NOTE INTRODUCTIVE

Les auteurs byzantins d'expression grecque, lorsqu' ils devaient citer des personnages étrangers, se trouvaient devant le problème de la translittération des noms. Le problème se posait surtout quand ils avaient à faire à une source orale ou une source écrite dans une langue étrangère. Par contre, quand ils puisaient dans des sources rédigées en grec, ils y faisaient confiance et copiaient les noms translittérés. Dans ce cas d'autres problèmes surgissaient : si un auteur puisait dans plus d'une source, dont chacune translittérait différemment le même nom, cet auteur ou bien tranchait en optant pour une solution, ou bien il suivait servilement ses sources et citait le même personnage sous plusieurs noms créant ainsi des difficultés aux lecteurs. Or, même dans ce cas, à un certain moment un premier auteur avait translittéré un nom étranger qui était copié par d'autres après lui. Lors des translittérations, les auteurs devaient affronter les problèmes phonologiques de la langue d'origine et les possibilités phonétiques de la langue de réception, en l'occurrence du grec byzantin. Deux voies s'ouvraient devant eux : soit de translittérer un nom étranger sans tenir compte du système flexionnel grec, soit d'adapter le nom à ce système. Les deux cas sont attestés. Il va de soi que la deuxième solution présentait plus de complications que la première. Le comble est que dans certains cas un nom étranger était déjà adapté au système grec quand un autre nom, ayant une prononciation similaire, devait aussi être adapté ; la solution facile dictait aux auteurs byzantins d'utiliser l'exemple similaire sans créer d'autres complications. Le tout est finalement compliqué par la tradition manuscrite d'un texte et surtout par les éditeurs modernes pour qui les auteurs byzantins devaient être des bons connaisseurs de la grammaire classique, réalité presque jamais d'application.

Des cas pareils se trouvent par millions dans les textes byzantins. Nous avons choisi parmi eux la *Chronique de Théophane le Confesseur*, considérée comme la source historique la plus importante de l'époque mésobyzantine. Parmi les centaines de cas de noms translittérés, cités par la *Chronique de Théophane*, nous avons choisi le nom de 'Narsis', porté, selon Théophane, par deux personnages perses et deux personnages byzantins.

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Un mot sur Théophane

Pour composer la *Chronique*[1] qui porte son nom Théophane le Confesseur (769-818)

i) a copié les sources plus anciennes ;
ii) a exploité les notes que lui avait laissé son ami Georges le Syncelle ;
iii) a puisé dans ses propres souvenirs.

Comme c'est le cas chez presque tous les auteurs byzantins, la grammaire théophanienne pose des problèmes[2], mais il n'est pas toujours possible de savoir si ces problèmes sont dus à :

- des fautes dans les manuscrits utilisés par Théophane ;
- la négligence de Théophane qui a mal copié ses sources ;
- des copistes qui ont mal copié la *Chronique* ;
- le choix des éditeurs qui ont opté pour une graphie dans le cas où les manuscrits offraient des leçons différentes.

Nous analyserons les différentes formes attestées du nom propre 'Narsis', afin de voir le flou qui règne dans le domaine de la flexion de ce substantif et d'examiner si cette flexion illustre une phase propre de la grammaire byzantine au début du IXe s., ou s'il faut rendre responsables de cette situation les sources de Théophane ou encore ses éditeurs. Afin de pouvoir avancer dans notre recherche, certaines données techniques concernant la *Chronique de*

[1] Pour une présentation sommaire de la dite 'question théophanienne' voir P. Yannopoulos, *La question 'théophanienne', et la langue de la Chronique de Théophane*, dans B. Coulie et P. Yannopoulos, *Thesaurus Patrum Graecorum. Thesaurus Theophanis Confessoris, Chronographia* (*Corpus Christianorum*), vol. I, Turnhout, 1998, pp. xxvii-lxi.

[2] En réalité nous ne disposons que d'une étude, déjà très ancienne, de D. Tabachovitz, *Sprachliche und textkritische Studien zur Chronik des Theophanes Confessor*, Uppsala, 1926, sur la grammaire de la *Chronique*. L'étude de R. Maisano, *Il 'sistema' compositivo della Cronaca di Teofane*, dans *Syndesmos. Studi in onore di R. Anastasi*, vol. II, Catane, 1994, pp. 275-287, est très partielle. En outre, cf. les remarques de Hunger, *Hochsprachliche profane Literatur*, vol. I, p. 338 ; A. Karpozilos, *Βυζαντινοί ιστορικοί και χρονογράφοι*, vol. II, Athènes, 2002, pp. 134-135 ; A. Kazhdan, *A History of Byzantine Literature (650-850)*, en collaboration avec Lee F. Sherry et Christine Angelidi, Athènes, 1999, pp. 226 et 233 ; A. Kazdhan, *Polis and Kastron in Theophanes and in some other Historical Texts*, dans *ΕΥΨΥΧΙΑ. Mélanges offerts à Hélène Ahrweiler*, II (= *Byzantina Sorbonensia*, 16), Paris, 1998, pp. 345-360 ; Ilse Rochow, *Beiträge zur Chronik des Theophanes zum mittelgriechischen Wortschatz*, dans *Klio*, 69 (1987), pp. 567-572. Les mêmes remarques ont été faites, pêle-mêle, par les historiens de la langue grecque, dont F. R. Adrados, *Historia de la lengua griega de los orígines a nuestros días*, Madrid, 1999, pp. 199-220 ou G. C. Horrocks, *Greek : A History of the Language and its Speakers*, 2e éd., Malden, Oxford, Chichester, 2010, pp. 222-225, qui confondent la langue manifestement populaire de Jean Malalas et celle de Théophane, plutôt livresque.

Théophane s'avèrent nécessaires[3]. La *Chronique* en question a été rédigée en 814 par Théophane, supérieur du monastère de Mégalos Agros en Bithynie. Mais c'est à son ami Georges le Syncelle, mort vers 810, qu'il faut attribuer le projet de cette rédaction. En réalité, Georges, syncelle (= secrétaire) du patriarche de Constantinople Taraise, se retira au monastère de Mégalos Agros après la mort de Taraise en 806. Il avait déjà planifié la rédaction d'une *Chronique universelle* depuis Adam jusqu'à son époque. Avant sa mort il avait déjà publié la première partie intitulée *Extrait de Chronographie*, qui allait jusqu'au début du règne de Dioclétien, et il avait réuni une partie de la documentation qui devrait servir à la rédaction de la seconde partie. Théophane, le supérieur du monastère, l'aidait à sa besogne. Vers 810, Georges, présentant sa fin, demanda à Théophane de continuer le travail. Théophane, après avoir complété la documentation, rédigea, en 814 au plus tard, la seconde partie, qui est restée dans la postérité sous le titre de *Chronique de Théophane ;* elle couvre la période entre le règne de Dioclétien et la fin du règne de l'empereur byzantin Michel Ier (811-813).

La *Chronique de Théophane* a été transmise par un nombre de manuscrits assez important, dont les neuf plus anciens constituent la base des éditions modernes[4]. Les manuscrits se divisent en deux familles, 'A' et 'B'. La branche 'A', qui remonte plus loin dans le temps et qui est à la base de la traduction latine de la *Chronique*, faite à Rome par Anastase le Bibliothécaire vers la fin du IXe s.[5], est moins prise en considération par les éditeurs.

[3] En attendant la publication de ma monographie actuellement sous presse sur Théophane, la note la plus complète à son propos reste l'introduction de C. Mango et R. Scott, *The Chronicle of Theophanes Confessor. Byzantine and Near Eastern History AD 284-813*, Oxford, 1997, dans leur traduction de la Chronique de Théophane en anglais. Nous devons toutefois signaler que les propositions de ces deux auteurs au sujet de la paternité de la *Chronique* sont loin d'être admises par la communauté scientifique. Aussi valable reste l'étude d'Ilse Rochow, *Byzanz im 8. Jahrhundert in der Sicht des Theophanes. Quellenkritisch-historischer Kommentar zu den Jahren 715-813*, Berlin, 1991, pp. 34-41. Des remarques biographiques importantes aussi dans B. Menthon, *Une terre de légendes. L'Olympe de Bithynie. Ses saints, ses couvents, ses sites*, Paris, 1935, pp. 202-209, et de R.-J. Lilie, *Byzanz unter Eirene und Konstantin VI. (780-802)*, mit einem Kapitel über Leon IV. (775-780), von Ilse Rochow (*Berliner Byzantinistische Studien*, 2), Frankfurt, 1996, pp. 378-422. Par contre la notice de *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit*, I. Abteilung (641-867), Berlin - New York, 1998-2002, sur Théophane (# 8107) est plutôt médiocre, comme d'ailleurs les notices concernant les personnes de l'entourage de Théophane à savoir Léon (# 4311), Marie (# 4731), Marie (# 4733), Mégalo (# 4930).

[4] Cf. la présentation de la tradition manuscrite par P. Yannopoulos, *Les vicissitudes historiques de la Chronique de Théophane*, dans *Byz*, 70 (2000), pp. 527-553.

[5] Anastasii Bibliothecarii, *Chronographia Tripertita*, éd. Ch. De Boor, dans *Theophanis, Chronographia*, II, Leipzig, 1885. Quant à la date de la traduction G. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, I : *Die byzantinischen Quellen der Geschichte der Türkvölker*, 2e éd. Berlin, 1958, p. 533, propose une fourchette beaucoup plus étroite en situant la traduction entre 873 et 875. Mango et Scott, p. xcvii, réduisent d'avantage la fourchette en plaçant la traduction entre

La *Chronique* a connu quatre éditions notables. L'édition de J. Goar, parue dans le *Corpus Parisinus*[6], a été reprise par l'équipe de J. Migne dans la *Patrologia Graeca*[7] ; elle a été abandonnée parce qu'elle n'était pas critique. Les deux éditions réalisées au XIXe s., celle de J. Classen, parue dans le *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae* (le *Corpus de Bonn*[8]) et celle de Ch. De Boor[9], restent toujours valables, avec toutefois une nette préférence pour d'édition de Ch. De Boor, plus récente et surtout beaucoup plus critique. Tandis que J. Classen a choisi comme manuscrit de base le *Coislinianus 133*, appartenant à la famille 'A', Ch. De Boor a opté pour le *Barberinus V* 49, de la famille 'B'.

Dans le tableau suivant nous signalons les manuscrits utilisés par les deux éditeurs ainsi que le sigle sous lequel ces manuscrits sont indiqués dans les apparats critiques.

Édition de J. Classen	Édition de Ch. De Boor
a. Barberinus V 49 (2e moitié du XIIe s.)	f. Coislinianus 133 (fin XIIe–début XIVe s.)
b. Vaticanus 154 (début du XVIe s.)	g. Parisinus Reg. 1711 (1ère moitié du XIe s.)
d. Parisinus Reg. 1710 (vers 843)	h. Vaticanus 978 (XIIe/XIIIe s.)
c. Vaticanus 155 (fin IXe s.)	m. Monacensis Gr. 391 (début du XVIe s.)
e. Vaticanus Palat. 395 (fin du XVIe s.)	

Le cas 'Narsis'

A. *Présentation*

Comme nous avons déjà dit, nous allons faire une analyse, aussi poussée que possible, au sujet du nom propre *Narsis* cité dans la *Chronique de Théophane*. Signalons d'abord que l'étymologie du nom est peu claire ; il était courant chez les Arméniens sous les formes de Nersis ou de Nerses, et chez les Perses sous la forme de Narseh. Dans la *Chronique de Théophane* quatre personnes portent ce nom :

1. le Grand Roi de la Perse Narseh (293-302), cité sept fois
2. le fils de Sapor II (Grand Roi de la Perse entre 309/310 et 379), cité une fois

871 et 874. T. Loungis, *Η πρώιμη βυζαντινή ιστοριογραφία και το λεγόμενο 'Μεγάλο χάσμα'*, dans *Σύμμεικτα*, 4 (1981), p. 56, note 'vers 870', tandis que I. Ševčenko, *The Search for the Past in Byzantium around the Year 800*, dans *DOP*, 46 (1992), pp. 282-283, reste assez vague en disant : à peu près un siècle plus tard.

[6] J. Goar, *Theophanis Chronographia*, Paris, 1655 ; 2e éd. enrichie des notes et des scolies de F. Combefis, Venise, 1729.

[7] *PG*, vol. 108, col. 18-45.

[8] J. Classen, *Theophanis Chronographia*, dans *CSHB*, vol. I-II, Bonn, 1839, 1841.

[9] Ch. De Boor, *Theophanis, Chronographia*, Leipzig, vol. I, 1883, vol. II, 1885.

3. le cubiculaire et stratège de l'empereur Justinien Ier, cité huit fois
4. le stratège de l'empereur Tibère II, cité quinze fois.

Signalons que certains auteurs byzantins, dont Théophane, mentionnent encore un stratège perse dont le nom semble être Narseh, mais que Socrate, Théodore le Lecteur et Théophane l'appellent Ναρσαῖος[10]. Dans la traduction latine de Socrate par Cassiodore, le personnage est nommé 'Narseus', dans la traduction arménienne 'Narseos' et dans la traduction syriaque 'Nrsā'[11]. Nous ne tenons pas compte de ce cas, car aucune de nos sources n'appelle ce stratège 'Narsis'.

Pour avancer, nous mettons en colonnes parallèles les différentes formes sous lesquelles le nom de chacun de ces personnages est cité dans la *Chronique*. Dans la première sont reprises les graphies de l'édition de Ch. De Boor, dans la deuxième celles de l'édition de J. Classen et dans la troisième les leçons transmises par les autres manuscrits. Dans cette troisième colonne nous utilisons les sigles adoptés par J. Classen et Ch. De Boor pour indiquer les différents manuscrits.

I. Pour *le Grand Roi Narseh* les graphies adoptées et les leçons attestées par les manuscrits sont les suivantes :

De Boor	Classen	Autres leçons
p. 6,20 : Ναρσῆς	p. 8,5 : Νάρσεως	b : Νάρσης
p. 7,22 : Ναρσῆς	omission	b : Νάρσης
p. 9,1 : Νάρσεως	p.11,1 : Νάρσεως	b, d : Ναρσέως
p. 9,9 : Νάρσεως	p.11,10 : Νάρσεως	b, d : Ναρσέως
p. 9,10 : Νάρσεα	p.11,12 : Ναρσέα	c : Ναρσεα ; d, e, m : Ναρσέον ; f : Ναρσέων
p. 10,16 : Ναρσέου	p. 13,15 : Νάρσεως	c, g : Νάρσεως
p. 20,26 : Ναρσῆν	omission	b : Νάρσην

II. Narseh, *le fils du Grand Roi Sapor II*, n'est mentionné qu'une seule fois dans la *Chronique* et même au nominatif. Ch. De Boor adopte pour lui (p. 20,22) la graphie Ναρσῆς ; la même forme est adoptée par J. Classen (p. 29,8), tandis la seule variante attestée, Νάρσης, est celle du *Vaticanus* 154 (le *b*).

[10] Socrate, éd. G. C. Hansen, Sokrates, *Kirchengeschchite* (*GCS*, N. F., 1), Berlin, 1995, p. 364, 1-24 ; Théodore le Lecteur, éd. G. C. Hansen, Theodoros Anagnostes, *Kirchengeschichte* (*GCS*, N. F., 3), Berlin, 1995, p. 93, 4-13 ; Théophane, p. 85, 31. Signalons que la tradition manuscrite du texte de Théophane n'est pas unanime, car elle transmet aussi les formes Ἀρσαίος, Ἀρσαιος, Ἄρσεος, cf. Théophane, p. 85, apparat critique.

[11] Cf. Socrate, p. 364, apparat critique.

III. Pour *le cubiculaire et stratège Narsis*, les leçons attestées par les manuscrits et les graphies adoptées par les éditeurs sont les suivantes :

De Boor	Classen	Autres leçons
p. 185,13 : Ναρσῆς	p. 285,7 : Ναρσῆς	f : Νάρσις ; g : Ναρσής
p. 185,19 : Ναρσῆς	p. 285,14 : Ναρσῆς	
p. 205,27 : Ναρσῆν	p. 319,8 : Ναρσῆν	c, d, e, f, g : Ναρσήν
p. 227,17 : Ναρσῆς	p. 352,12 : Ναρσῆς	
p. 228,19 : Ναρσῆ (génitif)	p. 354,2 : Ναρσῆ (génitif)	c, d, e, m : Ναρσή
p. 237,13 : Ναρσοῦ	p. 367,7 : Ναρσοῦ	
p. 243,32 : Ναρσῆς	p. 376,9 : Ναρσῆς	e, g : Ναρσής
p. 244,2 : Ναρσοῦ	p. 376,11 : Ναρσοῦ	

IV. Le *stratège Narsis*

De Boor	Classen	Autres leçons
p. 251,28 : Ναρσῆν	p. 387,16-17 : Ναρσῆν	f : Ἀρσῆν ; d, e, g, m : Ναρσήν
p. 259,27 : Ναρσῆν	p. 400,7 : Ναρσῆν	e, f, g : Ναρσήν ; d : σύναρσιν*
p. 266,15 : (σὺν) Ναρσῇ	p. 410,7 : (σὺν) Ναρσῇ	c : (σὺν) Ναρσήν ; e, m : συναρσή**
p. 266,21 : Ναρσῇ	p. 410,13-14 : Ναρσῇ	
p. 266,23 : Ναρσῇ	p. 410,16 : Ναρσῇ	
p. 266,26 : Ναρσῆς	p. 410,20 : Ναρσῆς	c, d : Ναρσής
p. 266,29 : Ναρσῆς	p. 411,2-3 : Ναρσῆς	c, e, g : Ναρσής
p. 267,9 : Ναρσῆς	p. 411,18 : Ναρσῆς	c : Ναρσής
p. 291,27 : Ναρσῆς	p. 451,1 : Ναρσῆς	g : Ναρσής ; m : Νάρσης ; e : Ναρσης
p. 291,29 : Ναρσῆς	p. 451,4 : Ναρσῆς	c, g : Ναρσής
p. 292,15 : Ναρσοῦ	p. 451,19 : Ναρσοῦ	
p. 292,17 : Ναρσῆς	p. 452,1 : Ναρσῆς	
p. 292,29 : Ναρσῇ	p. 452,14 : Ναρσῇ	
p. 293,4 : Ναρσῆς	omission	
p. 293,5 : Ναρσοῦ	p. 452,19 : Ναρσοῦ	

* σύν+ναρσιν
** συν+ναρσή

B. *Analyse des données*

Manifestement le rédacteur de la *Chronique de Théophane* rencontrait une grande difficulté pour gérer les formes flexionnelles des noms, non seulement des personnages perses mais aussi ceux byzantins. Doit-on attribuer ces diversifications à une réalité linguistique ou au hasard, notamment aux sources utilisées pour la composition de la *Chronique* ? Analysons séparément chacun de ces cas, en commençant par celui qui paraît le plus problématique, à savoir la flexion des noms persans.

Les formes attestées pour les deux personnages perses, en excluant les cas manifestement fautifs, sont les suivant :

Nominatif	Ναρσῆς	Νάρσης	Ναρσής
Génitif	Νάρσεως	Ναρσέου	Ναρσή
Datif	*Non attesté*		
Accusatif	Ναρσέα		
	Ναρσῆν	Νάρσην	Ναρσήν

Ce cas est sans doute le plus compliqué. Les éditeurs sont plutôt portés en faveur de la solution -ῆς, -εως qui pourtant n'entre dans aucun groupe de noms masculins du système flexionnel grec. Un génitif en -εως renvoie normalement à la troisième déclinaison grecque. Or, les masculins qui présentent un génitif en -εως (non accentué) sont :

1° les noms du type πήχυς, πήχεως
2° le cas unique πρύτανις, πρυτάνεως
3° Ἄρης, Ἄρεως, autre cas unique, dont le génitif est le résultat d'une contraction de la forme primitive Ἄρηος.

Ναρσῆς, Νάρσεως non seulement n'entre dans aucun de ces cas, mais il présente aussi au génitif une remontée incompréhensible d'accent sur la troisième syllabe avant la fin. Pour S. B. Psaltes cette forme de flexion est acceptable pour les noms d'origine étrangère[12]. Or, le seul cas qui peut aller dans ce sens est celui de Μω(υ)σῆς, Μω(υ)σέως qui, son cas unique mis à part, est attesté seulement avec le génitif accentuée sur la pénultième. Les quelques noms étrangers adaptés au système flexionnel grec avec une terminaison en -ῆς présentent un génitif en -ῆ[13]. De ce point de vue, le choix du génitif Νάρσεως par les éditeurs n'est pas justifié. Par contre l'accusatif Ναρσέα est plus justifié, car il va dans le même sens que l'accusatif Μω(υ)σέα. Ces hésitations quant à la forme à adopter sont sans doute à l'origine des différentes graphies proposées par les manuscrits. Ainsi un nominatif du type Νάρσης peut justifier le génitif Νάρσεως, bien que le cas ne soit pas attesté dans le système flexionnel grec. Toutefois, un nominatif du type Νάρσης entre beaucoup plus dans la logique de l'écriture théophanienne où tous les noms perses en -ης, excepté Ναρσῆς, sont accentués sur la pénultième où ils portent un accent aigu[14].

[12] S. B. Psaltes, *Grammatik der Byzantinischen Chroniken* (= *Forschungen zur griechischen und lateinischen Grammatik*, 2. Heft), Göttingen, 1913, p.140 et p. 151.

[13] Nous avons localisé les noms propres d'origine étrangère : Ἀλῆς, Ναυῆς, Πετεφρῆς et Ραμψῆς, dont le génitif se termine en -ῆ. Aucun de ces noms n'est d'origine persane.

[14] Nous citons à titre d'exemple Ἀβανδάνης : p. 220,14 et p. 221,3 ; Ἀρδαμάνης : p. 247,4 et p. 247,14 ; Ἀρταβάνης : p. 210,3, p. 211,2, p. 212,12, p. 212,17, p. 213,14,

La question qui se pose est de savoir laquelle (ou lesquelles) des leçons transmises par les manuscrits peut/peuvent être attribuée(s) à la plume de Théophane. Il faut donc interroger d'abord les sources de Théophane pour voir sous quelle forme le nom en question a été transmis. Or, parmi les sources grecques utilisées par les rédacteurs de la *Chronique de Théophane*, sources qui rapportent les faits datant de la fin du IIIe-début du IVe s., aucune ne cite le nom du Grand Roi Narseh. Ch. De Boor pense que les citations en question ont pour origine Eutropius, un auteur du IVe s. qui a écrit, en latin, un *Breviarium ab urbe condita*. Ce texte ayant connu un succès énorme a été traduit en grec plusieurs fois, mais la traduction parvenue jusqu'à nous, due à Paianios, ne semble pas être la source de la *Chronique*. Puisque Théophane ignorait le latin, il ne pouvait pas utiliser directement Eutropius. Faut-il penser que Georges le Syncelle, en tant que secrétaire du patriarche de Constantinople, connaissait suffisamment le latin et que c'est lui qui a puisé dans Eutropius ? Nos connaissances à ce propos étant nulles, la question restera sans réponse. Mais même dans ce cas, nous ne pouvons pas savoir pourquoi les formes latines 'Narseos', 'Narsei' sont translittérées en Νάρσεως, Ναρσέα, tant que nous n'avons pas trouvé un nominatif latin dans Eutropius. Donc, nous ne saurons jamais si la *Chronique de Théophane*, en utilisant les formes que nous avons mentionnées, atteste une tendance grammaticale du début du IXe s. ou si elle transmet des formes provenant de sources anciennes, qui de ce fait renvoient à des pratiques grammaticales non valables au début du IXe s. En outre, nous ne pouvons pas rejeter l'hypothèse selon laquelle ces formes ne soient que des tentatives des copistes de donner une solution au problème de l'adaptation des noms étrangers au système flexionnel grec.

La situation est un peu plus claire pour les deux stratèges byzantins du VIe s., tous les deux d'origine arménienne. Dans ce cas aussi la question de l'adaptation d'un nom étranger, arménien en l'occurrence, au système flexionnel grec reste entière. Mais dans ce cas la question se pose autrement, car nous connaissons les sources utilisées par la *Chronique de Théophane ;* donc il est plus facile de donner une réponse valable aux questions qui se posent.

Pour le stratège et cubiculaire Narsis, les formes attestées sont les suivantes :

p. 214,3, p. 214,20 ; Βινδόης : p. 264,9-10, p. 264,12, p. 264,16, p. 265,1 ; Βααζάνης : p. 170,13 ; Γλωνάζης : p. 170,12 ; Γλώνης : p. 145,12, p. 147,8 ; Ζογγόης : p. 292,22 ; Οὐαρράχης : p. 6,6 ; Οὐσταξάδης : p. 25,16 ; Σεόσης : p. 123,23 ; Ταμχοσρόης : p. 250,19 ; Φεροχάνης : p. 264,1, etc. Par contre, sont accentués sur la finale, frappé d'un accent circonflexe, certains noms perses translittérés en -ᾶς, comme par ex. Σαραβλαγγᾶς, Σαρβαραζᾶς, etc. Or, le cas Ναρσῆς mis à part, aucun autre nom perse en -ῆς accentué sur la finale n'est rapporté par Théophane.

Nominatif	Ναρσῆς		Ναρσής
Génitif	Ναρσῆ	Ναρσοῦ	Ναρσή
Datif	*Non attesté*		
Accusatif	Ναρσῆν		Ναρσήν

Pour le stratège Narsis, les formes attestées, en excluant également les cas manifestement fautifs, sont les suivantes :

Nominatif	Ναρσῆς	Ναρσής
Génitif	Ναρσοῦ	
Datif	Ναρσῆ	
Accusatif	Ναρσῆν	Ναρσήν

Malgré une certaine standardisation apparente, chacun de ces deux cas mérite une analyse distincte.

Pour le stratège et cubiculaire Narsis, les éditeurs ne sont pas d'accord entre eux. Ch. De Boor a opté pour la solution -ῆς, génitif -ῆ, solution qui renvoie à la règle des noms étrangers adaptés, dont nous avons déjà fait état. Il est à noter que les versions attestées par la tradition manuscrite va dans le même sens, mais en optant pour la graphie avec accent aigu au nominatif (Ναρσής), selon la morphologie des masculins de la première déclinaison. Or, ni Ch. De Boor, ni les manuscrites ne sont conséquents au niveau du génitif. La forme Ναρσῆ, et encore moins celle de Ναρσή, ne sont pas conformes au système flexionnel grec. Pour pallier cette difficulté, J. Classen adopte la forme Ναρσοῦ pour le génitif, qui entre dans le système flexionnel grec mais qui n'est pas attestée par les manuscrits. La malaise est apparente, ce qui nous oblige de chercher la source de la *Chronique de Théophane*, afin de voir quelle est son attitude à ce propos. Concernant le stratège et cubiculaire Narsis, la *Chronique* puise dans Jean Malalas. Thurn, l'éditeur de Malalas, a rencontré moins de difficultés que les éditeurs de Théophane : son manuscrit de base mis à part, il ne devait tenir en considération que le *Baroccianus* 182 du XIIe s. Voici le tableau de ses références :

Thurn	*Barocc.* 182	Théophane
p. 392,51 : Νάρσην		
p. 392,52 : Νάρσου		
p. 399,85 : Ναρσῆς	Νάρσης	
p. 405,77 : Ναρσῆν		
p. 407,1 : Ναρσῆν	Ναρσήν	
p. 407,3 : Ναρσοῦ	Νάρσου	
p. 407,5 : Ναρσῆ		
p. 412,70 : Ναρσῆς		
p. 415,7 : Ναρσοῦ		
p. 425,29 : Ναρσοῦ	Νάρσου	Ναρσῆ

À la vue de ce tableau, le choix de Ch. De Boor (génitif Ναρσῆ) n'est pas justifié. La tradition manuscrite de Jean Malalas donne le génitif Ναρσοῦ, ce qui explique le choix de J. Classen de l'adopter. Il y a toutefois une conclusion qui se dégage : puisque le génitif Ναρσῆ ne provient pas de Jean Malalas, nous devons admettre qu'il a comme origine Théophane et qu'il illustre la tendance grammaticale au début du IXe s. Donc à ce moment-là, le grec byzantin essayait d'uniformiser les noms d'origine étrangère afin de les faire entrer dans son système flexionnel en optant pour des solutions qui n'avaient pas comme point départ le grec classique. Ainsi feront timidement leur apparition les formes masculines en -ῆς, -ῆ propres aux noms étrangers adaptés, sans que l'on puisse dire à quel type de déclinaison ils appartiennent. C'est manifestement la première faille dans le système monolithique des déclinaisons du grec classique et l'aube d'un nouveau système selon lequel les masculins perdent au génitif le -ς final du nominatif. L'adoption par le grec moderne d'une déclinaison pour les masculins caractérisée notamment par la disparition au génitif du -ς final ne serait donc pas aussi arbitraire qu'elle paraît. Mais une telle évolution n'est compréhensible que dans un système phonétique où l'accent ne joue pas un rôle qualitatif et la prosodie ne joue plus en faveur de la longueur de la syllabe finale du génitif.

Après ces remarques, il reste l'analyse des formes flexionnelles attestées pour le stratège Narsis. Dans ce cas nous devons reconnaître que la flexion semble plus standardisée. Le nom est régularisé et suit les règles des masculins de la première déclinaison en -ης, -ου. Les éditeurs toutefois ont opté pour la graphie avec un accent circonflexe sur la finale du nominatif, ce qui n'est pas le cas des nominatifs de la première déclinaison, mais celui des contractés de la troisième déclinaison avec un génitif en -έους, comme par exemple Ἡρακλῆς, Ἡρακλέους. Une telle solution paraît aussi arbitraire que les précédentes.

Stephanus qui, dans son *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*, se déclare ouvertement en faveur de la flexion Ναρσῆς, Ναρσοῦ, afin de contourner la difficulté apparente, note qu'il donne la préférence à cette forme, car c'est ainsi que l'utilise Procope[15], ce qui est vrai[16]. Cette justification n'est certainement pas satisfaisante, mais elle est intéressante car elle conduit au cœur du problème :

[15] Vol. V2, col. 1366.

[16] Cf. par ex. Procopii Caesariensis, *Opera omnia*, éd. J. HAURY, vol. II, Leipzig, 1905, p. 247,18, p. 247,24, p. 663,17, p. 665, 14, etc. Signalons au passage que la flexion du nom Ναρσῆς chez Procope, selon l'édition de J. Haury, est la suivante : nom. Ναρσῆς, gén. Ναρσοῦ, dat. Ναρσῇ, acc. Ναρσῆν ; il existe des leçons variantes. Donc Procope adopte d'une certaine manière les règles de la première déclinaison du grec ancien, dont les masculins barytons en -ης formaient un génitif en -οῦ. Apparemment Procope n'est pas gêné que Ναρσῆς porte un accent circonflexe et non pas un accent grave, encore une preuve que l'accent à l'époque de Procope n'avait plus une valeur de qualité ; ils remplissaient tous la fonction tonique.

dans ce cas concret, Théophane n'utilise pas la grammaire de son temps, mais celle de sa source qu'il copie servilement sans aucune adaptation normative. Cela ne le gêne pas, vu que l'accent avait perdu sa valeur qualitative et qu'à l'époque de Théophane il est devenu tonique, un signe d'intensité phonétique. Pour cette raison nous ne pouvons pas qualifier la graphie avec accent grave sur la finale comme une correction phonologique, mais comme une correction d'orthographe. Puisque les graphies en question viennent directement de Procope, nous devons accepter que, déjà au milieu du VIe s., l'accent du grec avait perdu son caractère qualitatif, réalité qui suppose la disparition parallèle de la distinction entre les voyelles aigues et graves, longues et brèves, au moins pour les mots dont l'étymologie n'était pas grecque.

EN GUISE DE CONCLUSIONS

La *Chronique de Théophane* n'est certainement pas représentative des tendances linguistiques du grec mésobyzantin au début du IXe s. Théophane, le responsable de la forme finale de cette *Chronique*, n'a pas eu le temps ou la volonté de retravailler son matériel, afin de l'uniformiser du point de vue morphologique, et l'a rendu, éventuellement, plus conforme aux données linguistiques de son temps. De ce fait, le texte qu'il nous a laissé est tributaire de ses sources qu'il copiait servilement. Il y a toutefois des passages, rares il est vrai, où l'auteur ne copie pas une source. Dans ces cas-là il est possible d'entrevoir les tendances de la grammaire grecque byzantine à l'époque de Théophane, et de constater une certaine évolution plus apparente notamment dans le domaine de l'adaptation de noms étrangers par le grec mésobyzantin.

Lors de l'adaptation normative des noms étrangers dans le système flexionnel grec, il semble qu'il n'y avait pas de règles précises ; chaque auteur faisait ce qu'il jugeait le plus convenable. Il est toutefois impossible de savoir ce que chaque auteur jugeait convenable, car les copistes ont souvent modifié le texte en corrigeant les formes qui à ce moment-là n'étaient plus d'usage, tandis que les éditeurs modernes sont aussi intervenus en optant pour des solutions qui leur paraissaient appropriées. Dans leur cas aussi, le choix de l'une ou de l'autre forme n'était pas guidée par la volonté de rétablir le texte original, mais par le souci de le rendre aussi conforme que possible aux normes que les éditeurs avaient fixé préalablement. Notre recherche paraît ainsi entièrement gratuite. Or, malgré l'étroitesse du champ disponible pour une recherche fructueuse, nos conclusions ne sont pas sans intérêt. D'abord nous avons constaté que le grec byzantin du IXe s. optait pour des solutions qui n'étaient pas toujours conformes aux règles du grec classique et qui font penser aux solutions adoptées par le grec moderne, quelques milliers

d'années plus tard. La perte de la prosodie et de la valeur phonétique qualitative de l'accent ont joué un rôle primordial dans cette évolution. D'ailleurs ces deux modifications phonologiques semblent avoir contribué, beaucoup plus que la morphosyntaxe, à l'évolution ultérieure du grec mésobyzantin vers le grec post-byzantin, le préambule du grec moderne.

L'adoption des noms étrangers par le grec a nécessairement obligé les auteurs byzantins à chercher des solutions pour les adapter au système flexionnel qu'ils connaissaient. Le fait que les règles phonologiques de ces noms échappaient aux auteurs byzantins, laissait à ces derniers une grande liberté non seulement phonologique, mais aussi morphosyntaxique. Du moment que l'origine étymologique de ces noms était oubliée et qu'ils étaient considérés comme des noms grecs, surtout par le peuple, ils ont influencé à leur tour le système flexionnel grec en le rendant plus souple et en ouvrant une brèche vers une évolution nouvelle, celle qui a conduit à la morphosyntaxe beaucoup plus simple du grec moderne.

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SUMMARY

When Byzantine authors cite a foreign name, they often adapt it to the Greek inflectional system. The analysis of the name *Narsis* in the *Chronicle of Theophanes* indicates that in the 6th century the original phonetic distinctions in vowels between long and short and between acute and grave escaped even trained men of letters because the accent had lost its earlier qualitative and tonal functions and had become a stress accent. At the beginning of the 9th century, the inflectional system had lost its classical rigidity. As foreign names did not necessarily follow the rules of classical Greek, a new system made its appearance here, especially in forms of the genitive case, and inaugurated the change into the modern Greek inflectional system.

COMPTES RENDUS

M. OP DE COUL et V. HUNINK, *Johannes Moschos*, De Weide. *Een verhalenboek over het laatantieke monnikenleven*. Introduction par K. DEMOEN, Groningue, Ta Grammata, 2010, XX + 195 pages. ISBN 978-90-808942-6-6.

This book offers a Dutch translation of the *Spiritual Meadow* of John Moschus (6th-7th c.), from the hand of M. OP DE COUL and V. HUNINK, two scholars who are based in the Netherlands and of whom each also translated other Greek writings into Dutch. The translation of the letter from Moschus to his friend and pupil Sophronius of Jerusalem, which precedes the *Meadow* in the manuscript tradition, is also from their pen (pp. 3-4). The anonymous prologue, on the other hand, is translated by K. DEMOEN (pp. XVIII-XIX). DEMOEN also authored the introduction to the volume (pp. V-XVI), which offers an overview – clear and enjoyable to read – of the author as well as of the contents, sources and other aspects of the *Meadow*. Background information is also given with regard to topics that are of pertinence for a correct understanding of the text, such as monasticism, the literature of *paterika* or dogmatic disputes of the 4th to 7th centuries. All in all, DEMOEN's introduction strikes the right note and manages – without being too highbrow – to offer the reader who is not acquainted with Byzantine literature let alone with the text of Moschus, access to the information that is needed in order to appreciate the text. A brief bibliography closes the introduction (pp. XVI-XVII ; this list partly overlaps with the one offered by OP DE COUL and HUNINK at the end of the book, p. 195).

The translation of the *Meadow* itself (pp. 5-186) is the first ever Dutch version of this text. (The book by Hesseling mentioned below does not contain any translation, notwithstanding its somewhat deceiving Dutch title.) It is followed by a short lexicon (pp. 189-191 : these pages briefly explain some terms that occur in Moschus' text and might puzzle the non-initiated reader, such as *theotokos* or *higoumenos*), a map of the late antique Near East (p. 192), and an epilogue from the pen of both translators (pp. 193-194). With the authors mentioning (p. 193) a plethora of older and more recent editions – published and unpublished, critical and uncritical – upon which the translation is based but not stating clearly when exactly which edition was used, the precise Greek text from which the translation was made is not identified very precisely, but this will not bother the audience for whom the translation has been made. In addition to the 219 stories that can be found in the standard edition, also 23 of the additional ones that have been edited separately have been translated. The extent to which the total of 242 stories, which differ in length and are numbered consecutively, reflects Moschus' original text is of course unknown. Each of them was given a title by the translators, which is not attested in Greek.

The existence of the volume under discussion – in a time when Dutch translations of Greek literature remain few in number and translations of Byzantine texts are rare (a notable exception is M. De Groote's translation of Oecumenius'

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commentary on the Apocalypse, published as *Oecumenius. Verklaring van de Apocalyps*, Gent, Academia Press, 2009) – is illustrative for the popularity of the *Meadow*. This popularity is not a new phenomenon : already in Byzantium and in the Middle Ages this text was read often, as show the amount of manuscript copies that have been made and the translations from the Greek that were authored in East and West. It is further expressed by the observation that the present translation is not the first effort to make the Dutch-speaking audience acquainted with the *Meadow* : more or less a century before OP DE COUL and HUNINK's translation appeared, a selection of excerpts from the Greek text was published (and completed with grammatical and other notes) in order to introduce Moschus' text to Dutch students of the classics and theology (*Bloemlezing uit het Pratum Spirituale van Johannes Moschus*. Van inleiding en aantekeningen voorzien door D. C. Hesseling (*Aetatis imperatoriae scriptores Graeci et Romani adnotationibus instructi*, 2), Utrecht, Ruys, 1916) – not too many Byzantine authors can pride oneself upon such promotion.

The translation underscores the attraction not only of this particular text but also of the genre to which it belongs : *gerontika* in particular and hagiography in general. (Compare the observation that the only other Byzantine text that is translated in the 'Greek prose' series of Ta Grammata, in which the book under discussion is vol. 22, is Leontius of Neapolis' biography of John the Merciful and Symeon the Holy Fool, translated by W. J. Aerts and H. Hokwerda and published as vol. 20, Groningen, Ta Grammata, 2006). It is not unlikely that in selecting the *Meadow* for translation, OP DE COUL and HUNINK were guided by the expectation that amusing stories and salient anecdotes about monks and anchorites will be enjoyed by the modern public as they were by the Byzantine reader. This assumption, should the authors have had it, is certainly correct : their fluent translation allows the reader to enjoy the text and is a delight to read.

The translators should be thanked for having opened the *Spiritual Meadow* to a new audience, which enjoys to read it – not because it wishes to be edified (as was hoped by Moschus himself) but to savour a piece of Byzantine literature.

R. CEULEMANS.

M. MARTELLI, *Pseudo-Democrito. Scritti alchemici. Con il commentario di Sinesio. Edizione critica del testo greco, traduzione e commento* (*Textes et Travaux de Chrysopœia*, 12), Paris et Milan, S.É.H.A. et Archè, 2011, XVI + 523 pages. ISBN 978-88-7252-319-3.

L'œuvre du ps.-Démocrite, le *Physika et mystika*, est le plus ancien des textes alchimiques grecs parvenus jusqu'à nous. Il est cité abondamment par les auteurs grecs postérieurs et il est traduit en syriaque. Il ne semble pas traduit en latin médiéval, mais les alchimistes latins font encore allusion à son adage particulièrement célèbre : 'La nature se réjouit de la nature, la nature vainc la nature, la nature maîtrise la nature' (Ἡ φύσις τῇ φύσει τέρπεται, καὶ ἡ φύσις τὴν φύσιν νικᾷ, καὶ ἡ φύσις τὴν φύσιν κρατεῖ (*CAAG*, II, p. 43, 20-21, §3, voir * ci-dessous)).

Cette œuvre et son commentaire feront partie de la seule traduction latine de textes alchimiques grecs parue au temps de l'Humanisme. Et depuis le XIXe s., de nombreux chercheurs se sont penchés sur ces textes, mais sans retourner nécessairement aux manuscrits. Bien des questions se posent toujours : quels étaient la structure initiale, le titre, l'auteur du *Physika et mystika* ? Quand ce dernier a-t-il vécu ? Était-ce déjà un texte alchimique ? De même, en ce qui concerne le commentaire : qui était Synesius et quelle était son époque ?

Dans les manuscrits, le *Physika et mystika* se présente en deux livres, l'un traitant de l'or, l'autre de l'argent. Le livre de l'or est introduit par deux paragraphes sur la teinture en pourpre, suivis d'un récit hermétique d'initiation de l'auteur qui pourrait être un prologue (§§1-3). Ce n'est ni un traité théorique, ni un recueil de recettes à proprement parler (sauf dans la première et dans la dernière de ces recettes, les quantités des ingrédients, les opérations à effectuer et leur durée manquent), mais c'est plutôt une évocation poétique en prose, présentée en paragraphes-strophes ponctués par un refrain reprenant une des trois propositions de l'adage et interrompus par une louange des natures. Dans son état actuel, l'ouvrage apparaît tronqué et mal structuré. Pour ce texte et son commentaire par Synesius, jusqu'à ce jour, nous ne disposions que de l'édition et de la traduction française de M. Berthelot et C.-É. Ruelle, parue à Paris en 1888 dans la *Collection des anciens alchimistes grecs* (* Nous la citons par le sigle *CAAG*. Le texte du ps.-Démocrite est édité en II, pp. 41-53, et traduit en III, pp. 43-57 ; celui de Synesius est édité en II, pp. 56-69, et traduit en III, pp. 60-75).

Le volume de M. MARTELLI vient donc à son heure et nous avons accueilli avec grand intérêt la parution de cette nouvelle édition critique et de cette première traduction italienne : un gros volume pour un texte court, accompagné d'une longue introduction et d'un abondant commentaire. Il se divise en trois parties : une introduction, l'édition du texte accompagné de la traduction, de l'apparat critique et des *testimonia*, enfin le commentaire sous forme de notes.

Dans la première partie de son introduction, pp. 3-60, MARTELLI parcourt la tradition manuscrite, y compris la tradition syriaque, ainsi que les traductions latines.

M. Berthelot et C.-É. Ruelle avaient opéré un premier repérage des manuscrits (*CAAG*, I, pp. 173-200) et basé leur édition sur trois principaux d'entre eux : le manuscrit de Venise *Marcianus gr.* 299, que l'on date des Xe-XIe siècles (= **M**), et des manuscrits de Paris, le *Parisinus gr.* 2325, du XIIIe s. (= **B**) et le *Parisinus gr.* 2327, copié en 1478 (= **A**). Ils y ajoutaient aussi, pour les passages devenus illisibles dans **B**, le *Parisinus gr.* 2275 (= **C**), copié sur **B** en 1465. Dans son édition de Zosime (*Les Alchimistes grecs*, vol. IV, 1, *Zosime de Panopolis, Mémoires authentiques*, Coll. des Univ. de France, Paris, 1995, pp. XX-XLIII), Michèle Mertens collationne également le *Laurentianus gr.* 86.16, datant de 1492 (= **L**), sans arriver à déterminer s'il dépend de **M** ou s'il en est le jumeau. Mais le manuscrit de Venise présente une fin amputée de la *IXe leçon* d'Étienne d'Alexandrie, et il en va de même dans les autres manuscrits. Aussi se pose-t-on la question depuis Reitzenstein en 1919 (R. Reitzenstein, 'Zur Geschichte der Alchemie und des Mystizismus', *Nachrichten von der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch-historische Klasse*, 1 (1919), pp. 1-37 (*non vidi*)) : les manuscrits de Paris dérivent-ils de celui de Venise ou d'une tradition parallèle ?

MARTELLI étudie ces cinq manuscrits et leur interdépendance possible. En plus des variantes du *Physika et mystika* et de celles de son commentaire par Synesius, il examine aussi la fin de la *IXe leçon* d'Étienne d'Alexandrie ainsi que la liste des signes et le lexique alchimiques. Il en arrive à conclure que les copistes des manuscrits parisiens ont eu accès à des sources plus nombreuses que celles conservées et différentes de **M**. Cependant, en ce qui concerne **L**, il pense que, pour Démocrite

et Synesius, le manuscrit dépend vraisemblablement de **A**. Pour faire le tour des manuscrits alchimiques grecs antérieurs au XVIe s., le chercheur examine encore le *Vaticanus gr.* 1174 (= **V**), que M. Berthelot datait déjà du XVe s., mais que I. Hammer-Jensen, dans le *Catalogue des manuscrits alchimiques grecs*, date du XVIe s. d'après l'écriture. Il se trouve, en effet, déjà mentionné dans le catalogue de la Bibliothèque de Sixte IV, rédigé par B. Platini en 1475 (R. Devreesse, *Le fonds grec de la Bibliothèque vaticane des origines à Paul V* (*Studi e Testi*, 244), Vatican, 1965, p. 55). Pour lui, le manuscrit semble dériver de **M**, mais il comporte des leçons qui peuvent être des corrections d'un copiste, faites à partir des variantes rencontrées dans les manuscrits parisiens ou leurs sources.

S'il est logique de penser qu'il existait au XIIIe ou au XVe s. des manuscrits perdus aujourd'hui, je pense qu'il peut y avoir d'autres corrections que celles basées sur la contamination avec des sources que nous ne connaissons plus. On peut se trouver aussi devant des variantes de langue et des corrections de copistes lettrés. Les exemples que MARTELLI donne, pp. 27-28, pp. 41-43, et d'autres variantes de **BAV** décelées lors de la lecture de l'apparat critique peuvent aussi bien provenir de la copie de **M**, je pense, que de celle de manuscrits différents. On y remarque, par exemple, une confusion entre des génitifs et des datifs qui fonctionne dans les deux sens, comme en *PM*[1], §5, 70, χαλκῷ **BA** et χαλκοῦ **MV** ou en *PM*, §6, 80, λιθαργύρου **BA** et λιθαργύρῳ **MV**. Cette confusion est courante à l'époque médiévale, car le datif est alors un cas mort dans la langue parlée. De même, en *AP*, §5, 44, on trouve τιτάνου **BVA** et τίτανος **M**. Τίτανος dans **M** est un complément du nom σύνθεμα, ce complément peut se construire comme une apposition au Moyen Âge. Un phénomène semblable se marque surtout dans les recettes où il est habituel de rencontrer un mélange d'ingrédients au génitif et à l'accusatif comme en *AP*, §9, 81, χυλοῦ **B** : χυλόν **MV**. Dans une recette, sont également équivalentes et interchangeables des formules comme en *PM*, §1, 14, ποιησάτω **BA** et ποιήσει **M**. Dans tous ces cas, il est impossible de juger si les copistes du XVe s. ont utilisé d'autres manuscrits ou bien s'ils ont corrigé **M** en voulant simplement améliorer sa langue.

Même des variantes tout à fait aberrantes peuvent s'expliquer par une correction d'un copiste. Exemple en *PM*, §2, 23, τὰ εἰσερχόμενα **BA** et τὰ ἀπερχόμενα **M**. Cette dernière leçon n'a pas de sens à première vue, mais si l'on se souvient qu'en grec byzantin une voyelle initiale non accentuée est caduque, qu'elle peut disparaître ou être remplacée par une autre, ἀπερχόμενα peut avoir eu le sens de ἐπερχόμενα. Ἐπί est peu utilisé à l'époque médiévale qui lui préfère εἰς (même cas en *AP*, §2, 13, et n. 9, p. 353, où εἰλικτοῖς de **MBVA** est l'équivalent de ἀλήκτοις, comme le conjecture Ruelle). Autre exemple en *PM*, §15, 154, ὑποβεβηκυῖαι **M** et ὑπερπεριβαίνουσαι **B**. Le double préverbe marque une forme plus tardive et la leçon de **B** pourrait être une correction de ce qui, à première vue, semble contraire à ce qu'on attend.

[1] M. MARTELLI cite le premier livre du *Physika et mystika*, celui de l'or, par le sigle *PM*, suivi du paragraphe et de la ligne du livre. À partir du §5, ses paragraphes sont décalés d'une unité par rapport à ceux de Berthelot et Ruelle. MARTELLI cite le deuxième livre, celui de l'argent, par *AP*, suivi du paragraphe et de la ligne de ce deuxième livre. Il recommence la numérotation des paragraphes à 1, alors que Berthelot et Ruelle continuent celle du livre premier.

Le problème devrait être repris *ab ovo*, je pense, auteur par auteur, en tenant compte aussi des équivalents linguistiques de la langue grecque à l'époque alexandrine et médiévale, des usages rédactionnels des recettes, des distractions habituelles des copistes et de leur propension à la correction. Pour le texte du ps.-Démocrite, le seul passage qui me paraissait pouvoir appuyer les dires du chercheur, *PM*, §7, 85, καὶ ὄπτησον, n'apparaît pas dans les versions syriaques et pourrait donc être une addition, car il n'est pas absolument indispensable. Le reste n'est pas convaincant, me semble-t-il. De toute façon, je pense que sur un texte aussi court il est difficile de départager les corrections d'humanistes amoureux de la langue classique et les vraies variantes. Si les œuvres du ps.-Démocrite et de Synesius contenues dans les manuscrits **BAV** n'ont pas été copiées sur **M**, elles paraissent l'avoir été sur un texte très proche, sans variantes significatives.

MARTELLI décrit ensuite les manuscrits syriaques édités par M. Berthelot et R. Duval et mentionne deux traductions latines faites sur des manuscrits grecs, celle de D. Pizzimenti et celle de M. Zuber. La première est parue en 1573, effectuée à partie de deux manuscrits que D. Pizzimenti possédait, les *Neapolitani gr.* III D 17, copie de **M**, et III D 18, copie de **V**. La seconde, faite sur un apocryphe de **M** et datant du début du XVIIe s., est restée manuscrite.

La deuxième partie de l'introduction, pp. 61-124, reprend les problèmes liés à l'œuvre : les renseignements tirés de la comparaison avec la version syriaque et ceux recueillis dans la tradition grecque indirecte concernant sa structure originelle, son titre, sa datation, son attribution éventuelle à Bolos de Mendès, ainsi que ceux liés au commentaire de Synesius et à l'identification de sa personne.

MARTELLI remarque d'abord que les traductions syriaques éditées par M. Berthelot et R. Duval ne reprennent pas le texte entier des manuscrits byzantins, mais qu'ils omettent les passages concernant la pourpre, le prologue hermétique (*PM*, §§1-3) et certaines recettes. D'après lui, dans la tradition manuscrite, ces traductions appartiendraient à une branche différente de celle des manuscrits byzantins.

Il analyse ensuite la tradition grecque indirecte. Grâce aux citations des auteurs grecs postérieurs et spécialement grâce au commentaire de Synesius (§1, 12-17), il est possible de reconstruire l'état initial de l'œuvre : elle comportait quatre livres appelés βίβλους βαφικάς, 'des livres de teinture', consacrés à l'or, l'argent, les pierres et la pourpre et basés sur les principes d'Ostanès repris dans l'adage. De plus, chacun de ces livres détaillait d'abord les recettes à base de substances sèches, ensuite celles à base de substances liquides. D'autre part, il existe aussi dans la *Chimie de Moïse* certains extraits non conservés dans le *Physika et mystika* que Zosime (*CAAG*, II, p. 147, 7) et Synesius (§2, 20) appellent les *catalogues* (κατάλογοι) et qui seraient les listes des ingrédients contenus dans les recettes relatives à l'or et à l'argent. Pour la chrysopée, deux listes sont conservées, celle des matières sèches d'une part, des matières liquides d'autre part ; pour l'argyropée, seule subsiste celle des matières sèches. Ces listes auraient introduit les livres du ps.-Démocrite consacrés aux mêmes sujets. MARTELLI les édite donc d'après **A** qui seul conserve ce texte. Quant au *Livre 5 adressé à Leucippe* (*CAAG*, II, pp. 53-56), d'accord avec les chercheurs antérieurs, il pense qu'il est un apocryphe plus tardif et il le laisse de côté.

En ce qui concerne le titre, Olympiodore (*CAAG*, II, p. 102, 17-18) intitule l'ouvrage du ps.-Démocrite *Le principe*, et lui donne ainsi un titre différent de celui des manuscrits. MARTELLI conteste ce témoignage et pense qu'Olympiodore a mal

compris une phrase de Synesius (§1, 11-14), mais il n'en dit pas plus, estimant sans doute que le titre donné par les manuscrits est le titre original. Il maintient la datation de l'œuvre du ps.-Démocrite au Ier s. après J.C., vraisemblablement sous Néron, ainsi que sa dépendance orientale, mais n'admet pas son attribution possible à Bolos de Mendès, car les dates ne concordent pas.

Pour Synesius, MARTELLI fait remarquer que, comme l'indique sa dernière phrase (§19, 321-322), son commentaire n'est qu'une introduction à un ouvrage plus étendu ; il maintient la date de la première moitié du IVe s. et récuse son identification à Synesius de Cyrène. Il attribue aussi à Synesius l'alchimiste le Περὶ λευκώσεως (*CAAG*, II, p. 211, 3-11), un extrait anonyme constitué de trois courtes phrases dont la dernière cite Dioscore, le correspondant de Synesius dans son commentaire, et il l'édite également.

La troisième partie de l'introduction, pp. 125-172, est plus générale. MARTELLI cherche à y préciser les thèmes sous-jacents à l'œuvre du ps.-Démocrite et son interprétation par Synesius, la conception de l'alchimie grecque primitive, ses rapports avec le milieu artisanal égyptien et avec Ostanès, le mage perse, adepte de la doctrine de la sympathie universelle.

D'après MARTELLI, il aurait existé dès l'origine deux conceptions simultanées de l'alchimie, l'une qui s'intéressait à toutes les teintures, celles des métaux, des pierres et des tissus, l'autre, plus restrictive, limitée à la fabrication de l'or et de l'argent. Cette dernière, sans toutefois disparaître, aurait prédominé avec le temps, ce qui expliquerait la seule conservation des livres consacrés à la chrysopée et à l'argyropée dans les manuscrits byzantins. Mais, peut-on déjà parler d'alchimie à cette époque, alors que le mot χυμεία et ses variantes ne sont attestés que plus tard ? (Sur les premières apparitions du terme, voir R. Halleux, *Les textes alchimiques* (*Typologie des sources du Moyen Âge occidental*, fasc. 32), Turnhout, 1979, p. 45, note 15). Les vieux auteurs parlent d''art sacré' et Synesius qualifie les livres attribués à Démocrite de 'livres de teintures' (§1, 12), ce qu'ils sont. En tout cas, dans les textes arabes et même latins, on traite encore de la teinture des pierres, mais de manière moins importante (Voir e. a. J. Ruska, *Al-Râzî's Buch* Geheimnis der Geheimnisse, *Quellen u. Studien*, 6 (1937), *passim* ; id., *Das Buch der Alaune und Salze. Ein Grundwerk der spätlateinischen Alchemie*, Berlin, 1935, pp. 76-78 ; Pascale Barthélemy, *La Sedacina ou l'Œuvre au crible : L'alchimie de Guillaume Sedacer, carme catalan de la fin du XIVe siècle*, Paris et Milan, 2002, pp. 148-191). On peut remarquer aussi que le texte du ps.-Démocrite suggère simplement que dans les teintures, il faut tenir compte de la sympathie et de l'antipathie des différentes natures et il est impossible de dire si son auteur pense que la transformation des substances est réelle ou seulement apparente. L'interprétation symbolique et philosophique du texte ne commence qu'avec Synesius.

Dans son édition, pp. 180-255, MARTELLI utilise comme manuscrits, **MBA**, comme M. Berthelot et C.-É. Ruelle, il y ajoute **V**, mais il ne tient pas compte de **C**, même quand **B** est illisible. Il n'explique pas, dans ses règles d'édition, pp. 173-174, le choix de ses différentes leçons et l'on ne voit pas bien quel principe le guide, sinon la préférence pour la forme classique. Plusieurs options étaient possibles. Fallait-il transformer le texte en un texte classique par respect du lecteur, au risque de l'infantiliser ? Fallait-il au contraire privilégier le texte au maximum, au risque de le désarçonner ? Ou bien, fallait-il adopter une position médiane ? MARTELLI a choisi la première option et va jusqu'à corriger des formes que l'on trouve couramment dans la *koinè*.

Son apparat critique est très détaillé : il y inclut les signes alchimiques dont il reproduit les dessins ; il note des leçons tirées de la *Chimie de Moïse* ou d'autres auteurs alchimiques grecs, des manuscrits syriaques et des traductions latines des humanistes ; il y mentionne aussi toutes les conjectures des chercheurs modernes. Dans ses *testimonia*, il cite de nombreux passages de la tradition grecque indirecte et mentionne les omissions des traductions syriaques.

Son commentaire très fourni, pp. 257-464, détaille les leçons choisies et les conjectures qu'il n'a pas retenues, compare le texte avec d'autres textes grecs, essaie d'identifier les substances quand c'est possible ou de déterminer les opérations chimiques dont il est question. Dans cette partie, et aussi dans l'introduction, il donne le texte et la traduction italienne de toutes les sources qui lui servent d'appui dans son argumentation ou de comparaison.

Le nombre de renseignements que nous fournit le chercheur dans son livre est impressionnant, j'aurais cependant aimé y trouver une synthèse des apports de ses prédécesseurs plus détaillée que ce qu'il esquisse dans les pages 125-126, ainsi qu'une distinction plus claire entre les contributions de ceux-ci et ses découvertes personnelles. J'aurais aimé aussi rencontrer dans sa bibliographie quelques titres complémentaires de livres consacrés à la langue de l'époque alexandrine et médiévale.

Avant de terminer, quelques suggestions :

- *PM*, Titre. Je crois qu'il faut voir un hendiadys dans le titre Φυσικὰ καὶ μυστικά et traduire *Secrets de la nature*. C'est ainsi que l'ont compris les alchimistes arabes ou latins.
- *PM*, §2, 26, ἐκ τοῦ ἐρῴ^υ^ γενόμενος, est présent seulement dans **M**. MARTELLI croit à une glose, mais suivant sa note 20, p. 274, dans un article précédent, il avait proposé de corriger ἐρῴ^υ^ en πρίνου. Je pense qu'il faut aller dans ce sens, mais lire, au lieu de ἐρῴ^υ^, δρύου, un génitif mediéval de ὁ δρῦς, δρυός, le chêne, plus proche paléographiquement. Il est question, en effet, de la 'cochenille pourpre du chêne'. Les noms changent facilement de déclinaison, cf. *AP*, §9, 80. On trouve déjà des génitifs en -ου pour des mots de la 3e déclinaison chez Zosime.
- *PM*, §2, 26, ῥόδιον désigne la 'grenade', voir Du Cange, col. 1304. C'est un agent tinctorial encore utilisé aujourd'hui. Pour identifier les noms de plantes, il n'est pas inutile de consulter également les lexiques botaniques édités par A. Delatte (A. Delatte, *Anecdota Atheniensia et alia* (Bibl. de la Fac. de phil. et lettres de l'Univ. de Liège, fasc. 36 et fasc. 88), 2 volumes, Liège et Paris, 1927 et 1940 ; id., 'Le lexique de botanique du *Parisinus Gr.* 2419', dans *Serta Leodensia* (Bibl. de la Fac. de phil. et lettres de l'Univ. de Liège, fasc. 44), Liège, 1930, pp. 59-101).
- *PM*, §2, 33, ὃ καλοῦσιν κόγκος, 'que l'on appelle κόγκος'. Tous les manuscrits ont κόγκον. Confusion entre ὃ καλοῦσιν et ὃ καλεῖται de la l. 32 ?
- *PM*, §3, 39, φησίν **MV** est supprimé par l'éditeur. Il peut pourtant être maintenu, car, déjà chez Zosime, il est un équivalent de φασίν. Il peut être une incise et signifier 'dit-il, dit-on' ou 'disent-ils'.
- *PM*, §5, 70, γέαν **MV** et γαίαν **BA**, est corrigé en γενομένην. La phrase a du sens en gardant γαῖα et les arguments de MARTELLI ne me semblent pas convaincants. Il se base avant tout sur le texte syriaque, mais ce texte est parfois loin du texte grec (voir l. 71). Il ajoute que γαῖα est un mot poétique, mais il y en a d'autres comme μήνη (*PM*, §17, 187), que ce terme est un *hapax* chez lui, mais

il y en a d'autres aussi (*PM*, §17, 188 et n. 81, p. 335 ; p. 385, n. 14, recette 3 des *Catalogues*), que le terme utilisé habituellement pour désigner une terre est γῆ. Mais il s'agit dans ces derniers cas de 'terres' extraites du sol, tandis qu'ici le terme désigne le sublimé mercuriel, une poudre, une poussière, recueillie sur les parois du sublimatoire. Le paragraphe résume les trois traitements du mercure dans les recettes : la solidification, la sublimation en blanc pour le blanc (argent) et la sublimation en rouge pour le rouge (or).

- *PM*, §12, 117, γῆν est accompagné de λευκόν, un adjectif au masculin et d'un article masculin dans **M**. De plus, le terme est expliqué par ψιμύθιον, la céruse, un composé de plomb qui est blanc. Le syriaque a traduit par 'le plomb'. À mon avis, le mot γῆν est une mauvaise lecture du signe du plomb d'un manuscrit antérieur à **M**, ce qui expliquerait les trois masculins des ll. 117 et 122.

Quoi qu'il en soit, on appréciera chez le chercheur une nouvelle approche de la question : édition de nouveaux passages à attribuer au ps.-Démocrite, comparaison avec la tradition syriaque, collecte de nombreux *testimonia*, recherche d'une documentation abondante concernant le sujet de près ou de loin. On ne peut que saluer l'ampleur de ce travail, nous nous en réjouissons et souhaitons à MARTELLI une carrière féconde dans les domaines des alchimies grecque et syriaque qui ont bien besoin de chercheurs.

Andrée COLINET.

H. MAGUIRE, *Nectar and Illusion. Nature in Byzantine Art and Literature*, Oxford et New York, Oxford University Press, 2012, XX + 198 pages + 20 planches en couleurs et 72 figures en noir et blanc. ISBN 978-0-19-976660-4.

This beautiful book is, according to the author himself, 'the product of over forty years of research, reflection, and interactions with friends and colleagues' (p. xix). It is the result of a series of lectures sponsored by the *Onassis Foundation* and may be regarded indeed as a *summa* by perhaps the most important scholar studying the intersection of Byzantine literature and the visual arts: see his monographs *Art and eloquence in Byzantium* (1981) and *The icons of their bodies: saints and their images in Byzantium* (1996), and the *Variorum* volumes *Rhetoric, nature and magic in Byzantine art* (1998) and *Image and imagination in Byzantine art* (2007). In this book MAGUIRE sets out to discuss the origins and consequences of the contradictory Byzantine reception of nature in both the verbal and the visual arts: he shows and explains how the Byzantines embraced or distanced nature through the manner of its representation by drawing from a multitude of material (archeological, architectural, artistic) and textual (literary and epigraphic, Greek and Latin, religious and profane) sources. His basic tenets are that in many respects the iconoclastic period served as the watershed, and that overall the visual arts had less freedom than the spoken word.

In the first chapter, *Nature and Idolatry* (pp. 11-47), MAGUIRE describes the rich decoration of plants, animals, and personifications on floors, walls and furniture in sacred and secular buildings all over the early Byzantine empire (5th and 6th centuries), and contrasts it with the apparently austere or even aniconic period of the 4th (a less well documented period, it must be said), and especially with medieval (iconoclastic and post-iconoclastic) Byzantium. Overall, one observes a gradual

change from an art that was embedded in nature to one that was 'anthropocentric'. Even before the iconoclastic crisis the depiction of nature raised difficulties for Christian viewers, as MAGUIRE induces for instance from archeological remains. We read fascinating pages (pp. 30-34) on the erasure of the personifications of *Ktisis* and *Ananeosis* in the floor mosaic of a private house ('of the Sea Goddess') in Antioch, which he interprets, informed by convincing parallels and the broader context, as a token of the Christian sensitivity concerning the appropriateness of nature-related personifications. The iconoclastic crisis itself brought about the excision of many more animal and human depictions. The author expresses a nuanced view on the influence of Muslim attitudes and the role of existing debates within the Christian community itself. His central thesis is that in order to keep the holy portraits, the iconophiles 'had to jettison the profane imagery of the natural world' (p. 38). Here again, a careful look at the material evidence (selective erasures, for instance) helps to qualify the sometimes contradictory statements in polemical rhetoric of both sides in the conflict.

The second chapter, *Nature and Rhetoric* (pp. 48-77), raises important issues, but it contains, in my view, some less convincing pages. It starts with a section on the 'Byzantine Suspicion of Rhetoric', a somewhat misleading title, since the three examples discussed (from Anna Comnena, Michael Psellos, and Nicholas Mesarites) do not appear to warrant the generalizing notion of 'suspicion': Anna's passage on Italos is clearly positive; the two others are at most ambivalent, and their professed suspicion of rhetoric is itself a rhetorical *topos*. Nor am I entirely convinced by the interpretation of a passage from John of Damascus' encomium of St. Barbara (pp. 54-55), which is said to mean that 'an eloquent eulogy, even if it is carefully arranged according to the divisions set out in the manuals, is, like the beauties of nature, fated to be deconstructed by decay'. The wider context of John's §21 suggests that the point of the passage is rather that Barbara's virtues, unlike the charms of nature, cannot be properly described by speech. The decay of such an eloquent eulogy of bodily qualities is not 'like' that of the beauties of nature, but rather the result of the decaying object it praises. Conversely, the praise of Barbara, insufficient as it may be, will last forever. The section on 'Nature and Rhetoric in the Byzantine Middle Ages' is, again, fascinating. MAGUIRE starts with the observation that the *Hexaemeron* sermons and similar texts including natural ekphraseis lost popularity in the later periods (with a brief revival in the 12th century), unlike in Western Europe. He sees two conflicting views of nature in Byzantine culture: (1) nature as corruptible, fleeting, transient, and false: 'we have the impression that the authors felt that their rhetorical descriptions of nature needed to be censored, corrected, or at least excused' (p. 62, I tend to agree most with the last term), and (2) nature as redeemed and sanctified through the incarnation of Christ, as appears, for example, in a Vatican manuscript of James of Kokkinobaphos (Vat. Gr. 1162, with beautiful illustrations used throughout the book), and in the tradition of the ekphrasis of springtime. (Incidentally, I was surprised by the consistent spelling 'ekphraseis' for the singular; the *Index* (p. 190) gives the usual form 'ekphrasis'.) The most intriguing case study in this chapter is the remarkable difference in the depictions of the Annunciations to the Virgin and to St. Anne, even within the same church (Chora and Daphni) or manuscript. In the former (the Virgin), Byzantine artists were reluctant to accept the motifs associated with the rhetoric of natural ekphrasis, whereas in the latter (St. Anne) they indulged freely in natural and animal motifs. The interpretation of this observation is a daring one: 'Through its

more austere portrayal of the Annunciation of Christ's incarnation, Byzantine art itself made a critique of the earthbound rhetoric of the Annunciation to St. Anne, reproved it, and put it in its place' (p. 74). The term 'reproved' may be somewhat severe (compare above, 'censored', for the ekphrasis of nature). MAGUIRE himself quotes Leo VI, who described the birth of Christ as a miracle 'above nature' (*PG* 107.1B-4A: θαύματος ὑπερφυοῦς). Would this metaphysical aspect of the Annunciation to the Virgin not suffice to explain the absence of natural elements in its depiction, without reading those scenes as a kind of self-criticism? It would be, moreover, more in line with the next chapters.

The third chapter, *Nature and Metaphor* (pp. 78-105), deals with the 'disjunction between constantly reiterated verbal metaphors on one hand and sporadically appearing visual imagery on the other' (p. 78), focusing on literary descriptions and artistic representations of the Virgin and of paradise respectively. In the introductory section the author proposes sensible definitions of 'metaphor' (inherently multivalent) and 'symbol' (fixed in some way). The diachronic treatment shows that, once again, animals and plants eventually became unwelcome in the visual arts, even in association with the Virgin, whereas natural metaphors for the Theotokos continued to abound in church literature. MAGUIRE relates this observation to the importance of the 82nd canon of the Quinisext Council (Christ should be portrayed as a human being and not symbolically as a lamb). For the later period, the author discusses the medieval paintings of the *Akathistos* and the use of vegetal motifs in the Pammakaristos and in the Chora (here it is said that, in the scenes from the infancy of the Virgin, 'both plant and, unusually, animal motifs were deployed *in her celebration*', p. 88: this would be difficult to reconcile with a 'critique' or a 'reproval' of such an 'earthbound rhetoric', see above). In the two Constantinopolitan churches, MAGUIRE shows that some logic governed the use of vegetal motifs, creating a hierarchy of spaces, yet in both cases in a different manner. This leads him to draw an important general lesson – that will be corroborated by the rest of the book: in Byzantine art, symbolism is not absolute, but relative, and varies according to context. The chapter ends with a comparison of the Byzantine ambivalence toward visualized metaphors from nature with their acceptance in the West, for example, churches of Rome and Torcello, the *Libri Carolini*, the official response to the acts of the Second Council of Nicaea. Once again, an observation is followed by a thought-provoking explanation. MAGUIRE posits that, in the West, the portrayals of saints functioned essentially as symbols or as reminders, rather than as authentic likenesses that were thought to be true, as in Byzantium. Hence, the Western culture displayed less fear of nature worship when it comes to the visualization of metaphor, whereas, paradoxically, the iconophile Byzantines avoided the depiction of creation.

The chapter on *Nature and Abstraction* (pp. 106-134) starts again from a similar evolution: whereas in early Byzantine churches various kinds of animals, fruits and plants were represented on floors, walls and vaults, and apparently a delight was taken in their careful distinction and recognition, posticonoclastic pavements are characterized by their abstract compositions in opus sectile ('the switch from opus sectile to tessellated floors', p. 111, is an erroneous reversal). Possible explanations for this switch are, according to MAGUIRE: a change of taste generated by an increasing scarcity of materials (making a marble floor into a display of wealth and power); the growing influence of monastic asceticism (which associated natural bounty with gluttony); and the wish to distinguish churches from mosques (with

vegetation, but without human portraits). Yet, abstraction to modern eyes is not necessarily aniconic or meaningless. Polychromatic stones depicted nature, albeit in a completely unspecific way. The comparison of rhetorical descriptions of buildings with the objects that they describe reveals that patterns that appear to viewers today as abstract were identified by the Byzantines with a range of landscape features. This is, yet again, MAGUIRE at his best, as he traces the mutual influence of visual aesthetic and literary rhetoric. He concludes that 'for both artists and spectators, the marbles on the walls and floors of churches really did represent the earth' (p. 125). Moreover, when plants were depicted in the medieval period, the images became more generic and less differentiated, in marked contrast to the portrayals of saints, which became more specific and recognizable. MAGUIRE insists – another general lesson – that there was no general tendency towards abstraction in Byzantine art. Closeness of definition was apparently reserved for the spiritual, while the avoidance of definition was associated with the mundane: 'this conclusion reverses the conventional view of Byzantine art, which tends to associate abstraction with the depiction of the transcendental' (p. 134).

The final chapter, *Nature and Architecture* (pp. 135-165), discusses different types of architectural symbolism. Since depictions of buildings brought no danger of idolatry they were especially suitable to act as conveyors of spiritual meaning. Of course, it is sometimes hard to determine whether a given motif was intended by the artist to be read as a metaphor (e.g. the gate as a symbol of the Virgin), or only as a part of an actual building. In some cases, though, there are clear indications, whereas in other cases one may argue for a multiple significance. And here again symbolism is shown to be absolute rather than relative. The chapter contains exemplary interpretations of church paintings or mosaics (Lagoudera on Cyprus; Hagioi Anargyroi in Kastoria; Monreale) and manuscript illuminations (the Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus in Par. Gr. 510; James of Kokkinobaphos again). One example: the rich architectural settings for portraits of Evangelists (the heralds of incarnation) versus the austere presentations of other (more ascetical) saints in the same church or manuscript. This implies that the first role of architectural space was to indicate, by its relative presence or by its absence, the spiritual status of any given portrait or scene. The representation of architecture may suggest a hierarchy of subjects, or contrast the mutability of the earthly buildings with the immutability of the sacred actors. The final pages discuss the remarkable absence of architecture in many Byzantine depictions of the heavenly court. Once again MAGUIRE points to fundamental differences between the vocabularies of literature and of the visual arts, and to the contrast with the West. The latter is tentatively explained by the frequent illustration of the Apocalypse in the West.

The *Conclusion* (pp. 166-173) provides the reader with a synthetic recapitulation of the main observations and hypotheses. It is followed by a rich bibliography and an extensive index (pp. 187-198). The beautifully edited book makes for fascinating reading and satisfies both the literary and the visual taste by its engaging style and the many pictures. (The latter are mostly of very good quality, albeit with a couple of exceptions, which make it difficult to recognize the relevant details in a couple of images.) It will be clear from the summary above that this is a magisterial book, full of insightful observations and interesting hypotheses, ranging from the provocative, over plausible to the persuasive. Through the lens of nature MAGUIRE draws a general picture of Byzantine, especially sacred, art and literature.

K. DEMOEN.

Lora TASEVA, *Triodnite sinaksari v srednovekovnata slavjanska knižnina. Tekstologično izsledvane. Izdanie na Zakcheevija prevod. Slovoukazateli* [*Synaxaries to the Triodion in Medieval Slavonic Literature. Textological Study. Edition of Zakchej's Translation. Word Indices*] (*Monumenta linguae slavicae dialecti veteris fontes et dissertationes*, 54), Freiburg, Weiher Verlag, 2010, 824 pages. ISBN 978-3-921940-50-1.

The substantial volume under review, written by the Bulgarian palaeoslavist Lora TASEVA, deals with the Slavonic tradition of the *Synaxaria in triodium et pentecostarium* (henceforth *Synaxaria*), a collection of thirty-one exegetical texts for the feasts of the time of Lent (cycle of the Lenten Triodion) and for the post-Paschal period (cycle of the Paschal Triodion or Pentekostarion). It offers a well-documented scholarly edition of the earliest Slavonic translation of these didactic and admonitory texts for the feasts from the Sunday of the Publican and Pharisee up to All Saints Sunday. The author of the *Synaxaria* is generally assumed to be the Constantinopolitan patriarchal cleric and writer Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos (late 13th - early 14th c.), who is best known for his *Historia ecclesiastica* and a number of liturgical and hagiographical writings (see, e.g., H. G. Beck, *Kirche und theologische Literatur*, p. 705; *PLP* 8 (1986), pp. 195-197 (n° 20826)). TASEVA makes a case for Xanthopoulos's authorship by pointing out that the earliest Greek copies link the *Synaxaria* to his name, esp. the *Oxoniensis Bodleianus Auctarium* E.5.14, dated to 1303-1309 and possibly produced in the author's entourage, which includes the *Synaxaria* (ff. 104r-180v) in a larger collection of Xanthopoulos's writings (p. 31) (see, e.g., the detailed description of the manuscript's contents by I. Vassis, *Zu einigen unedierten Gedichten des Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopulos*, in *Byzantinische Sprachkunst. Studien zur byzantinischen Literatur gewidmet Wolfram Hörandner zum 65. Geburtstag* (*Byzantinisches Archiv*, 20), edited by M. Hinterberger and Elisabeth Schiffer, Berlin and New York, 2007, pp. 330-345, esp. pp. 330-337). No scholarly edition of the under-researched Greek *Synaxaria* exists, although each synaxarion can be found, inserted in the place of the corresponding feast, in (ecclesiastical) editions of the *Triodion*, both old (as the first printed edition of Venice 1522) and more recent – TASEVA uses the editions of Athens 1960 (*Triodion*) and Athens 1959 (*Pentekostarion*). In the absence of a critical edition and of philological studies of the Greek tradition, TASEVA's achievement is all the more remarkable. The book consists of three major sections: besides an introduction to the *Synaxaria* and their place in medieval Slavonic literature, the first part contains a survey and a textological analysis of the manuscript evidence (pp. 29-140), the second part is the actual text edition of the earliest Slavonic translation of the *Synaxaria*, viz. the one by Zacchaeus the Philosopher (Zakchej Filosof or Zakchej Zagorjanin) (pp. 143-521), and the third and last part presents the reader with an exhaustive Slavonic-Greek and Greek-Slavonic *Index verborum* (pp. 533-818). The *Table of Contents* is on pp. 5-7, the list of *Literature cited* on pp. 11-22, and a list of abbreviations and symbols can be found on pp. 23-28; the German summary at the end of the volume (pp. 819-823) is helpful for anyone with limited reading skills in Bulgarian.

The introductory part of TASEVA's monograph explores the Slavonic tradition of the *Synaxaria* on the basis of an impressive, although far from exhaustive, list of some seventy text witnesses, dated from the 14th up to the 17th c., of Bulgarian, Serbian, Moldavian, Russian and Ukrainian recension. First, however, TASEVA

deals cursorily with the hitherto unexplored Greek tradition (pp. 30-36), represented by a selection of twenty-three 14th-/15th-c. manuscript sources – in most part of Athonite provenance, that is, apart from the already mentioned *Bodl. Auct.* E.5.14, three *Vaticani* and two manuscripts kept in Saint-Petersburg. TASEVA touches briefly upon questions of authorship and distribution before listing short descriptions of the Greek manuscript sources that are used (pp. 32-36) together with the editions of the *Triodion* and the *Pentekostarion* (henceforth *Triod* and *Pent*). The author then returns to her main subject, viz. the reception of Xanthopoulos's *Synaxaria* in *Slavia orthodoxa* and the prolific manuscript tradition of the Slavonic translations. Indeed, the author refutes the earlier assumption that only one Slavonic translation was made, and she distinguishes between the earliest translation of Zacchaeus the Philosopher (*A*), a Tărnovo-based redaction of the latter, revised against a Greek copy and containing only the texts for the period of Lent (*T*), and two additional, partial translations, probably of Serbian origin (*C* and *D*), all four with their own further subgroups. On pp. 38-51 short descriptions of the Slavonic text witnesses are listed. The texts of the *Synaxaria* are found in these manuscripts either as one compact whole – mostly at the end of the Triodion and Pentekostarion or in a separate volume – or as separate readings united in service books with the texts for the corresponding feasts. The list is headed by the *Codices Sinaitici Slavici* 23 and 24, dated to before 1360 and containing the Triodion and Pentekostarion with all thirty-one texts of Xanthopoulos's *Synaxaria* in Zacchaeus' translation. Interestingly, notes made by the copyist Gavriil from the Zograph Monastery throw some light on the history of the text, as they tell us that Zacchaeus the Philosopher brought a new version of the Triodion from Constantinople, containing the *Synaxaria* for the Sunday of the Publican and Pharisee up to All Saints Sunday (*Sin.* 23, f. 385v), and that 'I, poor Gavriil, copied [litt. *nucax*, 'wrote'] this from the text [litt. *изводъ*, which here could be interpreted as 'translation', 'version' or as 'copy', 'model'] of Zacchaeus of Zagorje' (*Sin.* 24, f. 26v) (see pp. 52-53). It is interesting to note how Xanthopoulos's original *Synaxaria* antedate the earliest witness to the Slavonic translation by no more than some six decades, which is typical of the 14th c., in which many works of Byzantine contemporaries found their way to the Slavs.

TASEVA uses most of the first section of the book to untangle the extremely complex textual history of the *Synaxaria* (pp. 51-139), which is tightly bound up with their liturgical usage, the multifarious channels of their distribution and their twofold tradition – compact on the one hand, fragmentary on the other (and complicated even more by the persistent intersection of the two), not to mention the different types of division between the Triodion and the Pentekostarion. As a result, the 'anatomy' of the text collection – compact or fragmentary, complete or partial, belonging to one single text version or conflated – varies greatly throughout the corpus of text witnesses (which makes it necessary, in the edition part, to define the relevant corpus for each of the thirty-one synaxaria). Each Slavonic translation/version of the *Synaxaria* is discussed in great detail with regard to questions of attribution and dating, the corpus of synaxaria (as only *A* and its subgroup *As* comprise all thirty-one texts), the characteristics of the translation and, finally, the distribution of that particular version and its subgroups, amply illustrated by exemplary readings accompanied by their Greek source texts. Zacchaeus's translation, viz. version *A* (pp. 52-87), is carefully discussed on the basis of a comparison with the Greek tradition, viz. esp. *Triod & Pent* and *Bodl. Auct.* E.5.14. However, only

a summary description is given of Zacchaeus's interesting translation technique, based on a formalistic orientation towards the language of his source text: a striving for numerical and positional correspondence with the Greek, the use of syntactical and morphological calques, purist tendencies in the replacement of well-established Greek loanwords by new calques and other coinages, etc. – as TASEVA has discussed extensively in numerous previous articles, published between 2000 and 2006. The detailed exposition on the distribution and the subgroups of *A* sets the tone for the rest of the introductory part: all kinds of editorial intervention pass under review, especially revisions on the basis of Greek copies (as in the *As*-group, linked to the literary activity of the Chilandar Monastery, or in *Ad*, attested, e.g., in two manuscripts from the Dečani Monastery) and contamination with other groups (e.g., *Az*), or even with other translations (e.g., *Ac*). Group *T* (pp. 87-99) is shown to represent a revision of *A*, in part on the basis of a comparison with a Greek copy, as are some of the subgroups of *A*. Even if the author states that it is the number and nature of the editorial interventions that make her treat this group as a new version (p. 87), it is not fully clear why it was necessary to set this group so markedly apart; even in the stemma on p. 135 no line (not even a dotted one) runs from *A* to *T*. Perhaps this is not wholly unconnected with the author's identification of this group as an authoritative Tărnovo redaction, with a wide circulation, represented in predominantly Bulgarian witnesses, on the one hand (*Tb*), and Russian witnesses, on the other (*Tr*). The suggestions of possible links with Theodosius of Tărnovo (p. 88) and, for the Russian branch, with Cyprian of Moscow and his circle (p. 99), are readily made, though TASEVA admits that there is no real proof to substantiate these hypotheses. As mentioned earlier, *T* contains only the texts for the period of Lent, with the exception of the synaxarion for the fifth Saturday of Great Lent, viz. the Saturday of the Akathist, which is simply lacking in *Tb*, while in *Tr* it is replaced by an independent translation, which seems to have been made on Russian soil. The text is dealt with independently on pp. 99-102, and it is published as a supplement to the text edition of Zacchaeus's translation on pp. 522-531. An independent translation *C* (pp. 102-118), situated by TASEVA in the third quarter of the 14th c. in Serbia, or possibly the region of north-western Bulgaria and northern Macedonia, covers fifteen synaxaria, viz. those for the Sunday of the Publican and Pharisee up to Tuesday of Holy Week. The text corpus includes three homilies on the Gospels, translated from a hitherto unidentified Greek model, to supplement Xanthopoulos's synaxaria for the second, fourth and fifth Sunday of Lent. The most peculiar version, however, is definitely *D* (pp. 118-131), a Serbian translation of twenty-five synaxaria, from the first Sunday of Lent up to All Saints, with a limited distribution, transmitted exclusively in Serbian (non-Athonite) manuscripts and created at the latest in the 70s of the 14th c. Its language is very different from that of *A*, *T* or *C*, all of which testify to a greater or lesser extent to the formalist tendencies typical of the period, while formal concerns have been abandoned in *D*, in which vernacular elements are undeniable.

The case of the Slavonic *Synaxaria* of Xanthopoulos is a highly interesting example of the 14th-c. Slav reception of Byzantine (liturgical) literature, and, more generally, of the vigorous cultural contact and exchange in that period, especially in literary centres such as Athos or Tărnovo, with, as typical characteristics, the nearly immediate translation into Slavonic, the continuous contact with Greek copies of the text throughout the Slavonic tradition (especially in the Southern branch, which is much more versatile and fluid than its more conservative Russian counterpart), and

the parallel creation and mutual influence of various translations made in different literary centres. The example is important from another point of view as well, viz. as a test case for traditional philological practice, not only because of the problems that traditionally inhere in the edition of translated medieval texts (most importantly the need to explore both traditions with all their complexities to gain insight into their mutual relationship), but also because of the intricate intertwining, throughout the textual history of the *Synaxaria*, of different branches within the Slavonic and the Greek traditions (revisions), of various branches within the traditions of different Slavonic translations and redactions (contamination), and of the Southern and Eastern branches within the larger Slavonic tradition (linguistic differentiation). From this point of view, TASEVA's work is a real *tour de force*. Fortunately, the complex textual history of the Slavonic *Synaxaria* is visualized on pp. 135-139 in 'stemmas' and tables: the 'stemmas' (p. 135), however, are by no means traditional (Lachmannian) stemmas, but rather visualizations of TASEVA's groups and sub-groups; the tables (pp. 136-139), listing the individual synaxaria/feasts, the various translations/versions in which they are represented, and the individual text witnesses in which they occur for the cycle of Lent, for the period from Lazarus Saturday up to Easter, and for the Paschal cycle from the Sunday of St Thomas up to All Saints helpfully summarize the long and complicated preceding chapter.

The text edition itself – as already mentioned, Zacchaeus's translation or the *A*-version – is preceded by TASEVA's editorial principles, laid down on pp. 143-148. As is not unusual in the field of palaeoslavistics, the text is presented as a diplomatic rendering of the most reliable copy, in this case the already mentioned *Sin. Slav.* 23 and 24, folio by folio and line by line, with folio numbers on top of the page and line numbers in the margins for easy reference. This also means that the graphical peculiarities of the witnesses – writing variants of letters, abbreviations, accentuation – are preserved in the edition, as are (later hand) corrections and additions. Typically, this kind of edition documents but does not induce a reading. One disadvantage of this type of edition is the difficulty for the reader in navigating through the text, which is divided into *syntagmata*, rather than sentences, which lacks capital letters and modern punctuation, and which preserves scribal and other mistakes in the text, especially as there is no Greek parallel text to serve as a guide to the literally translated Slavonic. In the absence of such a Greek parallel, it would have been helpful to have at least references to the corresponding pages in the *Triod* and *Pent* editions. However, the fact that the text has been rendered diplomatically does not imply that the text critical work has not been done. The outcome of TASEVA's painstaking investigation is found in a dense double apparatus, one underneath the text and the other on the left opposite page. The apparatus on the left offers variant readings of text witnesses of the *A*- and *T*-versions with their subgroups, while a first paragraph underneath the text contains remarks on the readings of the *codices Sinaitici* as they are represented in the text (e.g., on copyist errors, peculiarities of writing, additions in other hands, etc.); in a second paragraph various sorts of non-correspondence with the Greek are listed, as well as some instances where the Greek helps to understand problematic passages in the Slavonic text. This is done mainly on the basis of *Bodl. Auct.* E.5.14 and *Triod & Pent*, while only in case of double non-correspondence recourse is had to other Greek manuscripts. As is made clear on p. 144, TASEVA is fully aware of the limitations of this selective approach in the absence of more solid research into the Greek tradition.

One of the greatest achievements of this publication is the carefully established *Index verborum*, which consists of a Slavonic-Greek (pp. 545-686) and a Greek-Slavonic section (pp. 687-808), supplemented by Greek-Slavonic lists of anthroponyms (pp. 809-815) and toponyms (pp. 816-818). With this index, TASEVA makes an important contribution to the ongoing lexicographical mapping of later (southern) Church Slavonic onto the Greek of its source texts. The thoughtful introduction to the *Index* (pp. 533-544) reveals an editor with a keen awareness of the practical and conceptual problems that inhere in the making of bilingual indices to editions of translated (especially late) Church Slavonic texts. Many of the issues dealt with here – the selection, organisation and presentation of the material, the exceptionally difficult problem of lemmatization and orthographical standardization of later Church Slavonic, the rendering of instances of source and target language asymmetry – have been dealt with by TASEVA on earlier occasions (see esp. her *Lemmatizacija v slovarjach južnoslavjanskich perevodnych tekstov épochi pozdnego srednevekov'ja (V poiskach kompromissa meždu istoričeskoj lingvistikoj i filologičeskoj pragmatikoj)* [*Lemmatization in glossaries of South Slavonic translated texts of the later medieval period (In search of a compromise between historical linguistics and philological pragmatics)*], in *Scripta & E-scripta*, 6 (2008), pp. 233-268 – a publication referred to as 'Taseva 2008' on p. 542, but unfortunately left out of the bibliographical list on pp. 11-22). The editor's choice for orthographic normalization of a late Church Slavonic text according to the Old Church Slavonic norm, as laid down in the *Slovník jazyka staroslověnského* (Praha, 1959-1997), with minor adaptations, could be debated, but the archaizing approach has the advantage of clarity of reference and ease of use. For the establishment of the *Index*, TASEVA rightly focuses on the original version of the *A*-text and on her goal 'to systemize the lexical wealth of Zaccheus' translation' (p. 535), which implies that those parts of the text that do not for certain belong to Zacchaeus's original have been left out. The privileged *Codices Sinaitici* are used as a basis – references are to the Sinai manuscripts' folia and lines – with the introduction of readings from other manuscripts only in case of *lacunae*, scribal errors or problematical readings. The Greek part of the index is, again, based on *Triod & Pent* as well as on *Bodl. Auct.* E.5.14, occasionally supplemented by variant readings from other Greek copies. TASEVA's overall circumspect approach is felt in the way in which she cautiously marks instances of Greek-Slavonic asymmetry by means of various custom symbols. It should be noted that some unease remains with regard to the inclusion of a bilingual index as a supplement to an edition that does not offer a Greek parallel text. It certainly leaves the user frustrated by the impossibility of going from the lemma to the text to check particular instances of a word in context.

Finally, some minor remarks: on p. 31 TASEVA pinpoints the date of N. K. Xanthopoulos's death as '† ca. 1335' – this should rather be: '† before 1328' – on the dates of his life, see S. Panteghini, *Die Kirchengeschichte des Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos*, in *Ostkirchliche Studien*, 58/2 (2009), p. 248, notes 3 and 4. Also on p. 31 TASEVA mentions '1305-9' as the date of *Bodl. Auct.* E.5.14 with reference to the online catalogue of the collection (on http://www.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/bodley), where it reads '1303-9' – correct on p. 32. In the introductory chapter, p. 144, the author mentions '23 Greek manuscripts of the XV-XVIth c.', while many of the manuscripts listed on pp. 32-36 belong to the 14th c. The following typos caught the reviewer's eye: in the *Bibliography*: Welzer instead of Wetzer (p. 20 *sub* Ehrhard 1895); Fourteenth-Centyry for Fourteenth-Century (p. 21 *sub* Sels 2009a); in the

edition: τέτεικε for τέθεικε (correct in the Triodion edition) (p. 157 *apparatus*); in the *Indices*: τὰ ἔζω for τὰ ἔξω (lemma вънѣшьнь, p. 560); недовьлѣаемо for недовьлѣемо (p. 600), опасьствовати → опасьствовати instead of опаствовати → опасьствовати (p. 609); пѣсньнно (съдѣлати) (p. 755 *sub* μελουργέω), with double н as in the manuscript instead of normalized пѣсньно (correct on p. 635).

To conclude: the luxurious appearance of this voluminous linen hardcover publication, typical of Weiher's prestigious *Monumenta* series, fits the fact that this book is the crowning achievement of a decade of excellent scholarship. A weak spot of the book remains the missing groundwork on the Greek tradition and the absence of a Greek parallel text, despite TASEVA's admirable effort to work with the unexplored Greek material. That the book will not reach a broader – also Byzantinist – readership because of the choice to publish it in Bulgarian is a pity for a work of such scope and high scholarly standards.

Lara SELS.

NOTICES BIBLIOGRAPHIQUES

Byzantine Religious Culture. Studies in Honor of Alice-Mary Talbot (*The Medieval Mediterranean. Peoples, Economies and Cultures, 400-1500*, 92), éd. par D. SULLIVAN, Elizabeth FISHER et S. PAPAIOANNOU, Leyde et Boston, Brill, 2012, XXXV + 473 pages + 11 planches sans numérotation continue. ISBN 978-90-04-21244-2 ; ISSN 0928-5520.

This volume consists of 25 papers written by an impressive list of colleagues and friends who have all been close witnesses of the long and fruitful career of Alice-Mary Talbot from the very start (some contributors shared high school classes and university seminars with her) until her tenure as Director of Byzantine Studies at Dumbarton Oaks (1997-2009) and beyond. All readers of this journal who have had the pleasure of meeting her at conferences, assisting her lectures or being guest or fellow at Dumbarton Oaks, will recognize the warm feelings expressed in the dedications of many contributions. The editors have chosen three appropriate topics encompassing the main fields of interest of A.-M. Talbot: 'Women' (6 articles, by Susan ASHBROOK HARVEY, Alexander ALEXAKIS, Michel KAPLAN, Maria MAVROUDI, Stamatina MCGRATH, and Stratis PAPAIOANNOU), 'Icons and Images' (9 articles, by Annemarie WEYL CARR, Paul MAGDALINO, Jaroslav FOLDA, Sharon GERSTEL, Elizabeth FISHER, Henry MAGUIRE, Cécile MORRISSON & Simon BENDALL, Brigitte PITARAKIS, and Nancy PATTERSON ŠEVČENKO) and 'Texts, Practices, Spaces' (10 articles, by Claudia RAPP, John DUFFY, Arietta PAPACONSTANTINOU, John NESBITT, Stephanos EFTHYMIADES, Michael GRÜNBART, Denis SULLIVAN, Angela CONSTANTINIDES HERO, Paul STEPHENSON & Brooke SHILLING, and Manolis PATEDAKIS). Hagiography is, understandably, very prominent in all three sections. Equally reflecting a permanent area of attention in Dr. Talbot's own publications (a list of which is to be found on pp. xxvii-xxxiv) are the several translations and *editiones principes* throughout the volume. The hardback format, careful editing (including a general index) and the high quality illustrations make the book into an offering worthy of this towering figure of Byzantine Studies.

K. DEMOEN.

Irini CHRISTIANAKI-GLAROU, *Το δίκαιο των ιερών πραγμάτων της Ορθόδοξης Εκκλησίας. Ιστορικοκανονική θεώρηση μέχρι και τους μεταβυζαντινούς χρόνους*, Athènes, Ηρόδοτος, 2013, 412 pages. ISBN 978-960-485-001-3.

Toutes les religions ont besoin d'un certain nombre d'objets qui servent pour le culte ou qui font partie d'un patrimoine culturel ; ces objets sont couramment qualifiés de 'sacrés' et même parfois de 'saints'. Le droit qui concerne ces objets, leur usage et leur gestion au sein de l'Église orthodoxe font l'objet de cet excellent travail. Avant d'entrer dans le vif du sujet, l'A., dans un chapitre introductif, passe en revue

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la présence des 'objets sacrés' dans le monde païen et dans le culte judaïque, tandis que dans un premier chapitre elle envisage la question du 'sacré' et du 'saint' dans le Nouveau Testament et chez les Pères de l'Église. Ensuite elle tire au clair la terminologie officielle adoptée par le droit canon établi par les conciles œcuméniques au sujet des objets sacrés. Ainsi, elle constate qu'il faut faire une distinction claire entre les objets ou les matières ayant une action sanctifiante (les dons sanctifiés, l'eau du baptême, l'huile de l'onction, l'eau bénite, l'encens, les reliques, etc.) et les objets sacrés à cause de leur usage (les églises, les icônes, les habits pastoraux, les livres liturgiques, les tombeaux, etc.). Après avoir déterminé les objets sacrés, l'A. fait une recherche systématique dans les sources aussi bien canoniques que législatives afin d'élucider la question du statut juridique et canonique de ces objets durant d'abord la période byzantine et ensuite durant la période post byzantine. Puisque l'étude ne concerne que l'Église orthodoxe, il va de soi que la recherche ne prend pas en compte le droit canon de l'Église romaine après la période conciliaire.

Le livre est d'une grande qualité, car il fait un appel direct aux sources, dont plusieurs n'étaient pas jusqu'alors exploitées de manière scientifique. Il s'agit d'un regard à la fois juridique et historique dans un domaine qui d'habitude faisait objet des travaux théologiques parfois engagés. Signalons au passage une conclusion en anglais ainsi qu'une bibliographie très fouillée. En un mot, un livre qui mérite une lecture attentive.

P. YANNOPOULOS.

Δῶρον ῥοδοποικιλον. Studies in Honour of Jan Olof Rosenqvist (*Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, Studia Byzantina Upsaliensia*, 12), éd. par D. SEARBY, Ewa BALICKA WITAKOWSKA et J. HELDT, Uppsala, Uppsala Universitet, 2012, VI + 239 pages. ISBN 978-91-554-8107-0 ; ISSN 0283-1244.

Jan Olof Rosenqvist, former professor of Byzantine Studies at Uppsala University, is mainly known for his work on Byzantine hagiography and for his brief history of Byzantine literature (6th century to 1453), first published in Swedish (2003) and translated into German (2007) and Greek (2008). In their foreword the editors express their gratitude to Rosenqvist for his 'persevering service both to his field of scholarship and to his university'. The list of contributing authors reflects both circles of academic life. Most articles are written by scholars currently or formerly working at Scandinavian universities: their topics range from biblical linguistics (*The particle πλήν from LXX to NT* by Jerker BLOMQVIST) to religious politics in contemporary Russia (*Canonization and Politics in Post-Soviet Russia* by Per-Arne BODIN), but most deal with (or make a link with) Byzantine culture and literature – thus offering a nice sample of current research in our field in Sweden and Norway – and several articles focus on hagiography. The latter is, without exception, the case for the 'non-Nordic' contributors, who represent the *fine fleur* of different national and linguistic traditions in hagiographical research: notably Augusta ACCONCIA LONGO (*Le fonti di Teodoro Prodromo negli epigrammi per San Basilio di Cesarea* – part of an ongoing edition project on Prodromos' tetrastichs); Vincent DÉROCHE (*'Tout d'un coup': l'épiphanie masquée dans les recueils de miracles de l'Antiquité tardive* – pointing to the continuity between pagan and Christian traditions); Stephanos EFTHYMIADIS (*A Game of Dice and a Game of Chess: a Byzantine vs. a Scandinavian Allegory* – a surprising comparison of Symeon the

Holy Fool with scenes from Scandinavian visual art: Albertus Pictor's 14th century mural paintings and Ingmar Bergman's *The Seventh Seal*); Alice-Mary TALBOT (*Nikodemos, a Holy Fool in Late Byzantine Thessalonike*, mainly consisting of an English translation of Nikodemos' *Life* by Philotheos Kokkinos). The other authors are Dmitry AFINOGENOV (Moscow), Johanna AKUJÄRVI (Lund), Christine AMADOU (Oslo), Ewa BALICKA-WITAKOWSKA & Witold WITAKOWSKI (Uppsala), Per-Arne BODIN (Stockholm), Börje BYDÉN (Stockholm), Stavroula CONSTANTINOU (Cyprus), Britt DAHLMAN (Lund), Bente KILERICH (Bergen), Leena Mari PELTOMAA (Vienna), Denis SEARBY (Stockholm), Staffan WAHLGREN (Trondheim), and David WESTBERG (Uppsala).

K. DEMOEN.

Encyclopedic Trends in Byzantium ? Proceedings of the International Conference held in Leuven, 6-8 May 2009, éd. par P. VAN DEUN et Caroline MACÉ (*Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta*, 212), Leuven, Paris et Walpole (MA), Uitgeverij Peeters et Departement Oosterse Studies, 2011, XIX + 458 pages. ISBN 978-90-429-2557-1.

The introduction by the editors and the general article by Peter SCHREINER, entitled 'Die enzyklopädische Idee in Byzanz' (pp. 3-28), reopen the debate started by Lemerle in his famous book 'Le premier humanisme byzantin' where he labels the period of 850 to 1000 CE as 'an age of encyclopedism'. The volume here discusses encyclopedic trends in the whole Byzantine period. Lemerle and his 'encyclopedism' have rightly been criticized by Paolo ODORICO. As we all know the genre of the encyclopedia only started in France in the 18th century. ODORICO has famously described Byzantine culture as 'la culture du recueil'. In his article entitled 'Cadre d'exposition / cadre de pensée: la culture de recueil' (pp. 89-108), he shows us that we do not need the term 'encyclopedism', since there are genuine Byzantine terms that far better describe what the Byzantines were doing, namely making collections (συλλογή, ἀνθολογία, γνωμολογία, ...), not encyclopedias. It is, he argues, very important that we study cultures of the past by transferring our mind to the time of our research field, not by transferring our research field to our own times. Many contributors to this book follow this understanding and agree with ODORICO.

Alexander ALEXAKIS, in his article entitled 'Some remarks on dogmatic florilegia based mainly on the florilegia of the early ninth century' (pp. 45-56), points to the practical needs that defined, explained and led to the creation of Byzantine collections (p. 55). Jacques SCHAMP, in his article entitled 'Le projet pédagogique de Photios' (pp. 57-76), discusses the pedagogic project of Photios and clearly states that he is a teacher, a man of letters and not an encyclopedist. In Odorico's steps Francesca MALTOMINI, in her article entitled 'Selezione e organizzazione della poesia epigrammatica fra IX e X secolo – la perduta antologia di Costantino Cefala e l'Antologia Palatina' (pp. 109-124), gives an extensive discussion of the role Kephalas played in the making of the Anthologia Palatina, which she considers to be a library instead of an encyclopedia. Paul MAGDALINO, in his article entitled 'Orthodoxy and history in tenth-century Byzantine "encyclopedism"' (pp. 143-160), agrees with Odorico and revaluates the orthodoxy and history in tenth-century Byzantine 'encyclopedism'. Alessandra BUCOSSI also joins Odorico's view. She shows in her contribution entitled 'Dialogue and anthologies of the Sacred Arsenal

by Andronikos Kamateros – sources, arrangements, purposes' (pp. 269-286), how the Sacred Arsenal by Andronikos Kamateros has to be placed in the tradition of the 'culture de la συλλογή'.

A small number of contributors still want to apply the term 'encyclopedia' to the Byzantine period. In his article entitled '"Encyclopedism" in the Byzantine question-and-answer literature – the case of Pseudo-Kaisarios' (pp. 29-44), Yannis PAPADOGIANNAKIS (p. 30) asks whether some characteristic features of an encyclopedia, the fact that they encompass the totality of knowledge and that they are organized, are really necessary for the definition of this genre. Hereby he tries to change the definition of 'encyclopedia' so that it could still be applied to the Byzantine period. By doing so he is, of course, not dealing with encyclopedias anymore. Barbara CROSTINI's article is entitled 'Spiritual "encyclopedias" in eleventh-century Byzantium? Miscellaneous evidence for an encyclopedic outlook' (pp. 213-230). She concludes: 'We need not apologize for using the word "encyclopedic", provided we keep in mind the semantic range and specificity of this word within the medieval *mentalité*'. In her article entitled 'Iakovos Monachos and spiritual encyclopedias' (pp. 231-244), Elizabeth JEFFREYS, although referring to many caveats, suggests that both the letters and the homilies of Iakovos Monachos are spiritual encyclopedias, 'whether the compilation was written down or stored in his memory, or both' (p. 242).

This volume contains many other contributions. Michael GRÜNBART's article is entitled 'Byzantinische Brieflorilegien. Kopieren und Sammeln zur Zeit der Makedonenkaiser' (pp. 77-88). His conclusion is that the rhetorical quality of letters helps their chances to survive in a florilegium. Tomás FERNÁNDEZ' contribution is entitled 'Byzantine tears – a pseudo-Chrysostomic fragment on weeping in the Florilegium Coislinianum' (pp. 125-142). Claudia SODE concludes in her article entitled 'Sammeln und Exzerpieren in der Zeit Konstantins VII. Porphyrogennetos. Zu den Fragmenten des Petros Patrikios im sogenannten Zeremoniebuch' (pp. 161-176) that the famous book of Ceremonies has to be seen as a typical dossier, an archive, a collection of several documents and loose papers. Reinhart CEULEMANS' contribution is entitled 'The catena Marciana on the Song of Songs' (pp. 177-212). He points to the particular status of this catena. The article by Ilse DE VOS is entitled 'East or West, home is best. Where to situate the cradle of the De Oeconomia Dei?' (pp. 245-256). It reopens the debate on the question whether or not the *De oeconomia Dei* was written in Sicily. No indisputable evidence was discovered yet. In his contribution entitled 'The De Oeconomia Dei by Nilus Doxopatres – a tentative definition' (pp. 257-268), Stefaan NEIRYNCK tries to give a definition of the *De oeconomia Dei*. He concludes that it was 'meant to be a sort of basic theological manual' (p. 268). Philipp ROELLI's contribution entitled 'Teaching hesychasm by means of florilegia: sources of Mark the Monk's florilegium' (pp. 287-296) shows us how Mark was part of a tradition of writers of spiritual anthologies. In his article entitled 'Les anthologies scolaires commentées de la période des Paléologues, à l'école de Maxime Planude et de Manuel Moschopoulos' (pp. 297-332), Paul CANART discusses anthologies as didactic material in the education programs of Maximos Planoudes and Manuel Moschopoulos. In his contribution entitled 'Theodore Metochites's Seimeioseis [sic] Gnomikai – Personal Encyclopedism' (pp. 333-344), Michael FEATHERSTONE gives an overview of the content of this work. One of the conclusions is that Metochites wanted to become the Byzantine Plutarch. Franz TINNEFELD's article is entitled 'Zur intellektuellen Polemik des Nikephoros Gregoras' (pp. 345-360). He discusses the 'encyclopedic' mind of Nikephoros Gregoras and his dialogue Φλωρέντιος and the dialogue aspects in his Ῥωμαϊκὴ ἱστορία.

He shows us how Aristotle's logic and 'encyclopedic knowledge' is applied in these works. In her contribution entitled 'Les Kephalaia de Chariton des Hodèges (Paris, BnF, gr. 1630)' (pp. 361-386) Inmaculada PÉREZ MARTÍN identifies the scribe of the Par. gr. 1630 as Chariton. Antonio RIGO, in his article entitled 'Une summa ou un florilège commenté pour la vie spirituelle? L'œuvre Μέθοδος καὶ κανών de Calliste et Ignace Xanthopouloi' (pp. 387-437) identifies the famous work as an ascetic rule.

To conclude we can point to the fact that the editors state that 'encyclopedia' is 'probably not' the correct term to characterize the process of reception and re-creation in Byzantium (p. XIX). Why then use it? The fact that this volume deals with a range of different topics and the fact that the terms 'encyclopedia' and 'encyclopedism' are defined in so many different ways are strong arguments to avoid these terms when referring to Byzantium. The editors are well aware of this problem and considerately speak in the title of 'encyclopedic trends' and not of 'encyclopedism'.

R. MEESTERS.

L. M. FIELDS, *An Anonymous Dialog with a Jew. Introduction, Translation and Notes* (*Corpus Christianorum in Translation*, 6), Turnhout, Brepols Publishers, 2012, 238 pages. ISBN 978-2-503-53445-9.

This book, which is largely based on the author's 2001 doctoral dissertation, provides a translation of the sixth-century *Anonymus Dialogus cum Iudaeis* (previously edited by José Declerck in the *Corpus Christianorum* series). This is one of a number of anti-Jewish dialogs which became common especially between the fifth and the eighth century AD. The book also contains an elaborate introduction, in which the author discusses four specific issues, that is, (a) the dialog genre as part of the *Adversus Iudaeos* literature; (b) the authenticity of the dialogs; (c) the *Anonymus Dialogus cum Iudaeis* (contents, tone and style, authorship etc.); (d) the question of evangelistic motive for the dialogs and more specifically the *Anonymus Dialogus cum Iudaeis*. The translation itself is literal, 'retaining Greek word order as much as proper English would allow' (p. 9). It contains ample notes discussing, among others, translational difficulties, intertextuality, problems concerning the Greek text, religious/socio-historical background, and textual coherence/interpretation, rendering it an indispensable tool for further research.

K. BENTEIN.

J. FLORI, *Chroniqueurs et propagandistes. Introduction critique aux sources de la Première croisade* (*École Pratique des Hautes Études. Sciences Historiques et Philologiques, V. Hautes Études Médiévales et Modernes*, 98), Genève, Droz, 2010, 353 pages. ISBN 978-2-600-01329-1.

Cette étude concerne d'une manière indirecte le monde byzantin, puisque son objet est l'étude des chroniques occidentales qui parlent de la Première croisade. Mais, l'objet du livre n'est pas d'étude de la croisade ou même des relations tellement difficiles entre Byzantins et croisés. L'A. se donne pour objectif de repérer les raisons qui ont dicté le choix de tel ou tel récit par les auteurs occidentaux, quand ces derniers se réfèrent à la Première croisade. L'analyse du vocabulaire mais aussi des thèmes de prédilection prouve que ces chroniques sont dans une large mesure

des œuvres de propagande, que les auteurs étaient loin d'être objectifs et que de ce fait leur vision de la réalité est fortement colorée par leurs propres préoccupations et par leur idéologie.

Une étude d'une richesse d'information extraordinaire par un spécialiste. Même si elle ne concerne pas directement Byzance, elle permet une ouverture vers l'Occident, sa production littéraire et sa vision de l'Histoire qui ne diffère pas beaucoup de celle des Byzantins.

P. YANNOPOULOS.

A. GLAROS, *Ο Άγιος Νεόφυτος ο Έγκλειστος και η Τυπική διαθήκη του*, I, Athènes, Ηρόδοτος, 2013, 523 pages. ISBN 978-960-485-045-7.

Le manuscrit 224 de la bibliothèque universitaire d'Edimbourg (*olim* Laing III 811) transmet le testament moral du moine chypriote Néophytos le Reclus, qui est en réalité le *Typikon* du monastère fondé par lui-même. Dans ce texte sont exposés les idées et les principes sur la vie monastique et ecclésiastique d'un moine orthodoxe du XIIe s. vivant loin de la capitale byzantine et n'étant pas influencé par celle-ci. Le Testament est mis en pages par le copiste Basile Tavoularios ; son travail terminé était revu et corrigé par Néophytos une première fois en 1175 et puis une seconde fois en 1214.

Le texte fut déjà édité en 1779 par le moine chypriote Cyprien afin que les moines de Chypre puissent s'en servir. Une nouvelle édition fut donnée par F. Warren en 1881, tandis qu'en 1914 J. Hatziïoannou entreprenait une autre édition à Alexandrie fondée sur celle de F. Warren. En 1952, J. Tsiknopoullos publia à Larnaka une nouvelle édition avec scolies, avant l'édition critique entreprise en 1998 par le professeur de l'Université de Thessalonique J. Stephanis. Toutefois l'A. de ce livre trouve que les éditions précédentes doivent être revues et pour cette raison il a entrepris une nouvelle édition critique (pp. 281-416) assortie d'une translittération en grec moderne (pp. 417-479) et précédée de trois chapitres introductifs sur notamment (i) la date de la rédaction du Testament, (ii) son aspect linguistique, et (iii) la description de l'unique manuscrit. Parmi ces questions celle qui préoccupe particulièrement l'A. est la date de rédaction du Testament. Tenant compte du fait que Néophytos a revu le manuscrit en 1175, la rédaction doit être placée à cette même année.

Le Testament transmet plusieurs détails autobiographiques sur Néophytos. D'ailleurs Néophytos donne parfois des détails autobiographiques ou historiques dans ses autres écrits. L'A. a réuni dans la partie introductive du livre toutes ces données et après les avoir complétées à partir d'autres sources, il rédige une biographie historique de ce personnage hors du commun. Ainsi il signale que Néophytos est né en 1134 dans le village de Leukara de Chypre, non loin de l'Amathonte. Vers 1152 il est devenu moine. N'ayant pas reçu une éducation notable, il se mit à s'instruire lui-même en tant que moine. En 1159 il quitta son monastère pour s'enfermer dans une grotte dans la région de Paphos. Vers 1170 un groupe de moines s'installa autour de la grotte et un monastère vit ainsi le jour, dont Néophytos devint le supérieur. Néophytos mourut le 12 avril 1219. Il a laissé derrière lui un nombre impressionnant d'écrits, dont son Testament. De ce fait il constitue la source la plus importante pour connaître l'histoire chypriote à la fin du XIIe s. et au début du XIIIe s.

Ce livre est un travail scientifique qui mérite d'être lu aussi bien par les historiens que par les philologues et les théologiens. Il est en tout cas indispensable pour

ceux qui s'occupent de l'histoire chypriote. L'auteur a en outre jugé utile de donner ses conclusions aussi en anglais (pp. 481-492), permettant ainsi un certain accès à ceux pour qui le grec moderne reste un mystère.

P. YANNOPOULOS.

Guillaume de Machaut, La prise d'Alexandrie, éd. et trad. en grec par A. CHATZISAVVAS, Besançon, Éditions Praxandre, 2011, vol. 37A : 440 pages ; vol. 37B : 409 pages. ISBN 978-2-910407-37-7.

Il n'y a rien de plus légitime que de s'occuper de l'histoire de son pays, ce qui fait le prof. A. CHATZISAVVAS, qui depuis de longues années travaille sur les manuscrits transmettant le long poème épique de Guillaume de Machaut sur la prise d'Alexandrie par le roi de Chypre Pierre Ier (1359-1369). L'édition du texte et sa traduction versifiée en grec moderne mise à part, la partie la plus intéressante pour un historien reste l'introduction (pp. 1-88), rédigée toutefois en grec. Elle tourne autour de trois axes principaux : le poète, la transmission du texte et la chronologie des événements rapportés.

Au sujet du poète, Guillaume de Machaut est né en Champagne vers 1300. Il se mit au service de différentes couronnes de son époque, mais vers 1340 il s'installa près de Rouen où il a rédigé plusieurs poèmes épiques. Le poète a fait connaissance de Pierre Ier de Chypre en 1364, en tant qu'invité au couronnement de Charles V. Le poème est transmis par cinq manuscrits, dont celui de la Bibliothèque nationale de Paris, fonds français MS 1584, est sans doute le plus fiable. Quant au fond historique, le poème n'est pas biographique au sens qu'il ne donne pas de détails ni sur la naissance ni sur l'accession de Pierre au trône de Chypre. Il se concentre sur les exploits du roi dans l'esprit chevaleresque de l'époque, à savoir l'expédition de la flotte chypriote à Coricos en Asie Mineure en 1360, l'expédition maritime contre Attalia en 1361, et surtout les efforts du roi pour organiser une croisade, quand, en 1365, la flotte chrétienne quitta Rhodes pour l'Égypte. Pierre, en tête des croisés, put prendre Alexandrie, sans toutefois y rester, car le jour même de la prise de la ville il mit à la voile pour Chypre. Les événements qui ont suivi la prise d'Alexandrie sont exposés de manière plus systématique, comme d'ailleurs l'assassinat du roi le 16 janvier 1369.

Guillaume de Machaut s'avère une source d'une importance majeure pour l'histoire non seulement de Chypre, mais de tout le Proche Orient. Disposer d'une nouvelle édition soignée est toujours utile pour la recherche historique.

P. YANNOPOULOS.

L'héritage byzantin en Italie (VIIIe-XIIe siècle). I. La fabrique documentaire (Collection de l'École française de Rome, 449), éd. par J.-M. MARTIN, Annick PETERS-CUSTOT et V. PRIGENT, Rome, École française de Rome, 2011, 334 pages. ISBN 978-2-7283-0923-8 ; ISSN 0223-5099.

Comme l'expliquent dans l'*Introduction générale* du volume (pp. 1-4) J.-M. MARTIN, Annick PETERS-CUSTOT et V. PRIGENT, la domination byzantine en Italie après la reconquête de Justinien Ier a duré pour certaines régions jusqu'à la fin du VIIIe s., tandis que d'autres étaient très rapidement reprises par les Lombards. Ainsi l'influence byzantine a imprégné différemment chaque région. Un projet de recherches

est alors établi par l'École française de Rome afin de déterminer l'héritage byzantin pour chaque région italienne, excepté la Sicile et l'Italie du sud, dont l'histoire est différente de celle des régions reconquises par Justinien. Entre 2009 et 2011, cinq tables rondes ont été organisées, autour des thèmes suivants : (i) La fabrique documentaire, (ii) Les cadres juridiques et sociaux, (iii) Les institutions publiques, (iv) Les caractères originaux de l'espace rural, (v) La mosaïque culturelle. Les communications faites lors de ces tables paraîtront dans la Collection de l'École française de Rome ; le présent volume en est le premier dans l'ordre.

Le volume est divisé en trois parties appelées 'chapitres' ; elles sont assorties d'un index (pp. 315-326) et d'un résumé des contributions (pp. 327-331), et précédées d'une introduction (pp. 5-6) due à la plume de PRIGENT, qui met l'accent sur l'ampleur de l'usage de l'acte écrit dans l'administration byzantine.

Le premier 'chapitre', intitulé *Origines et rémanences*, englobe deux articles. Dans le premier, Francesca SANTONI, *I papiri di Ravenna : gesta municipalia e procedure di insinuazione* (pp. 9-32), analyse une cinquantaine de documents juridiques d'origine ravennate afin de tirer des informations concernant les institutions municipales et judiciaires de la cité de Ravenne. L'autre article, dû à Cristina CARBONETTI VENDITTELLI, *I supporti scrittorii della documentazione : l'uso del papiro* (pp. 33-48), plus technique, analyse la documentation italienne entre le VIIe et le Xe s. pour dire que la partie écrite sur papyrus est en majorité perdue à cause de la fragilité du matériel. L'usage du parchemin était au départ très limité, surtout à Rome et à Naples, et se généralisa vers le Xe s.

Le deuxième 'chapitre', ayant pour titre *Écriture et diplomatique des actes, fonctionnement du notariat*, comporte cinq articles. J.-M. MARTIN, *Les documents de Naples, Amalfi, Gaète (IXe-XIIe siècle) : écriture, diplomatique, notariat* (pp. 51-85), après une étude des documents des duchés tyrrhéniens conclut que les curiales napolitains, très hiérarchisés, utilisaient une écriture cryptée, tandis que les scribes-curiales d'Amalfi, moins hiérarchisés, recouraient à une écriture plus abordable. Gaète subit vite l'influence de Bénévent et adopta les usages lombards. Cristina CARBONETTI VENDITTELLI, *Il sistema documentario romano tra VII e XI secolo : prassi, forme, tipologie della documentazione privata* (pp. 87-115), constate que Rome est attachée à la tradition notariale romano-byzantine plus que les autres territoires, mais vers le milieu du XIe s. il y a eu un renouveau dans ce domaine et l'abandon des éléments d'origine byzantine. Pour Francesca SANTONI, *Ravenna : tabellioni e notai* (pp. 117-149), le même renouveau à Ravenne eut lieu vers la fin du XIIe s. Elle signale toutefois l'absence des sources tant pour les scribes de la cité que pour ceux de l'église. M. POZZA, *Scrittura, diplomatica, notariato a Venezia* (pp. 151-168), note que Venise constitue un cas particulier, non seulement parce que ses relations avec Byzance sont restées intenses plus longtemps que pour d'autres régions d'Italie, mais aussi à cause de la nature insulaire de la cité. Ainsi Venise développa une écriture 'romane' avec des racines byzantines. Giovanna NICOLAJ, *Breve viaggio fra i documenti altomedievali dell'Italia bizantina (cenni di sintesi)* (pp. 169-187), fait une tentative de synthèse en tenant compte des résultats obtenus grâce à l'étude des documents notariaux. Les actes des différentes cités italiennes continuèrent jusqu'au IXe s. à être influencés par la tradition byzantine, adaptée aux conditions locales. Rome et Ravenne font toutefois exception, car elles ont développé plus vite que les autres un système juridique et administratif local.

Dans le dernier 'chapitre', intitulé *L'entourage*, sont rangées quatre études, dont une est assortie d'un appendice. J.-M. MARTIN, *Les actes sardes (XIe-XIIe siècle)* (pp. 191-205), consulte les rares documents diplomatiques sardes pour constater que la seule validation est le sceau en plomb d'un *iudex*. Par contre il n'y a aucune unité stylistique de l'écriture, tandis que la langue est un latin vulgaire de la région. Comme le note V. PRIGENT, *L'usage du sceau de plomb dans les régions italiennes de tradition byzantine au haut Moyen Âge* (pp. 207-240), le sceau constituait un système d'authentification d'un acte au Moyen Âge. Pour la région italienne, ces bulles sont d'inspiration byzantine, et disparaissent en même temps que la tradition byzantine. Antonella GHIGNOLI et F. BOUGARD, *Elementi romani nei documenti longobardi ?* (pp. 241-285), ne s'étonnent pas que les actes lombards aient été si peu influencés par la tradition notariale de Rome. À vrai dire, les Lombards ont très vite développé une langue et une écriture propres pour leurs actes. Pour confirmer cette vision les auteurs ajoutent un appendice *Strutture tradizionali e strutture attuali nelle chartae longobarde : tentativo di descrizione* (pp. 286-301), qui donne l'idée de la structure d'un acte lombard. Pour terminer, la contribution de Vera VON FALKENHAUSEN, *Da Roma tardoantica a Bisanzio medievale. Un percorso diplomatistico : riflessioni conclusive* (pp. 303-314), est une récapitulation conclusive des contributions présentées lors de la table ronde et qui sont contenues dans le volume.

Un volume très riche et sans doute incontournable pour les chercheurs du Moyen Âge italien.

P. YANNOPOULOS.

F. LO MONACO, F. MORES, P. CESARETTI et W. POHL, *I Longobardi e la storia. Un percorso attraverso le fonti* (*Altomedioevo*, 7), Rome, Viella, 2012, 167 pages. ISBN 978-88-8334-644-6.

Ce petit volume est un travail collectif ; il contient les quatre études suivantes : P. CESARETTI, *I Longobardi di Procopio*, pp. 19-74 ; F. LO MONACO, *Dai* Fasti *a Fredegario*, pp. 75-104 ; W. POHL, *Origo gentis Langobardorum*, pp. 105-122 ; F. MORES, *Come lavorava Paolo Diacono*, pp. 123-140. En outre, il faut faire état d'une très intéressante introduction par F. MORES, pp. 9-18, d'une bibliographie très soignée et complète et des deux index utiles.

Comme son titre l'indique, le volume a pour objet les Lombards, peuple d'origine germanique, initialement installés comme fédérés de l'empire en Pannonie, avant de se déplacer vers l'Italie du nord où ils avaient créé un État puissant, généralement hostile aux Byzantins, avant d'être supprimé par Charlemagne. Toutefois, ils continuèrent encore pour longtemps à jouer un rôle dans les affaires de l'Italie grâce à différentes petites formations étatiques (duchés, comtés, principautés). Leur histoire est connue surtout à travers quatre sources majeures qui font chacune l'objet d'une étude dans le volume. Il est signalé que les auteurs n'ont pas l'intention d'écrire encore une Histoire des Lombards, ni même de faire un exposé systématique sur les sources transmettant des informations au sujet des Lombards, opération d'une envergure beaucoup plus grande. Ils essayent simplement d'exposer comment les Lombards sont vus par les auteurs contemporains des événements qui sans avoir pour objet spécialement l'histoire de ce peuple, y font toutefois souvent référence.

Un bon travail qui jette de la lumière sur les Lombards et leur histoire, un peuple qui présente un intérêt particulier pour les études byzantines, surtout celles qui concernent la période antérieure au IXe s.

P. YANNOPOULOS.

K. NIKOLAOU-PATRAGAS, *Γενετήσιος παραβατικότης κατά τε το ιουστινιάνειον και το ισλαμικόν δίκαιον. Η μοιχεία και έτερα συναφή εγκλήματα* (*Islamica, Arabica et Turcica*, 7), Athènes, Ηρόδοτος, 2012, 354 pages. ISBN 978-960-485-029-7.

Ce livre est une dissertation doctorale présentée à la Faculté de Droit de l'Université d'Athènes. Son objectif : comparer les dispositions du *Corpus Juris Civilis* à celles du droit islamique au sujet des délits d'ordre sexuel. En réalité la législation codifiée sous Justinien Ier prévoyait neuf délits de cette nature, à savoir : la relation entre consanguins, le rapt, la bigamie, l'homosexualité, la zoophilie, la prostitution, le proxénétisme, le viol, l'adultère. Les dispositions concernant ces délits font l'objet de la première partie du livre. La seconde partie, beaucoup plus longue, est consacrée aux délits sexuels prévus par le droit islamique. En réalité pour le droit islamique n'existe qu'un seul délit de cette nature : l'adultère, dont les autres délits sexuels ne sont que des variantes. Comme le signale l'A. dans le deuxième chapitre de cette seconde partie, le droit islamique ne fait que reprendre les traditions et les habitudes tribales préislamiques en leur donnant un caractère sacré.

Considérant que les dispositions du droit justinien sont déjà largement étudiées, l'A. se consacre à l'étude du droit islamique en analysant tous les cas attestés où une relation sexuelle peut être considérée comme contraire à la loi, les procédures prévues dans ce cas et les peines applicables. Dans ce domaine le livre présente un intérêt particulier notamment à cause du manque d'une bibliographie scientifique accessible. Toutefois, les conclusions auxquelles aboutit l'A. après une comparaison entre les deux attitudes législatives nous paraissent peu convaincantes. Il est d'avis que dans les deux cas les attitudes sont au fond similaires, car elles sont inspirées par l'idée d'un droit d'origine divine. Or, le droit justinien est en réalité d'inspiration romaine et malgré le manteau du christianisme, n'est pas théocratique tel que le *saria* islamique. Cette objection ne met toutefois pas en doute la valeur de ce livre qui comble une lacune scientifique en matière d'histoire du Moyen Âge oriental.

P. YANNOPOULOS.

K. NIKOLAOU-PATRAGAS, *Ο θεσμός των βακουφίων κατά το ισλαμικόν δίκαιον* (*Islamica, Arabica et Turcica*, 9), Athènes, Ηρόδοτος, 2013, 112 pages. ISBN 978-960-465-046-4.

Ce petit volume est consacré à une institution islamique, dont l'origine remonte selon la tradition musulmane à Mahomet, l'institution du *vakuf*. L'auteur étant un juriste envisage l'institution sous l'angle du droit et notamment du droit islamique, dont il est spécialiste. Cela rend la lecture difficile pour un historien, car il n'y a même pas une définition claire de cette institution pour guider le non initié. En réalité il s'agit d'une pratique charitable, qui n'a pas sa correspondante dans le droit chrétien, selon laquelle une personne physique ou morale cède entièrement ou partiellement pour une période limitée ou illimitée un bien immobilier ou mobilier à une personne ou à une communauté pour des raisons charitables. Cette forme de base connaît en droit islamique des formes multiples, aussi bien concernant les donateurs que les bénéficiaires ; l'A. analyse ces formes dans leurs plus infimes détails. L'intérêt de l'ouvrage pour les études byzantines consiste dans le fait que cette institution a connu une application assez large dans les régions chrétiennes sous occupation musulmane.

P. YANNOPOULOS.

S. SAMERSKI, *La Nikopeia. Immagine di culto, palladio, mito veneziano* (*Centro tedesco di studi veneziani, Venetiana*, 10), Rome, Viella, 2012, 125 pages. ISBN 978-88-8334-701-6.

Au cours du XVe s. fait son apparition à Venise une icône de la Vierge Nikopoios qui à ce moment fut utilisée par les habitants de la lagune contre une épidémie de peste. L'icône actuellement fait partie du trésor de St-Marc. L'A. suit l'histoire de l'icône dans le temps et analyse ses interventions miraculeuses en faveur de la ville. Dans le premier chapitre de son livre il parle de l'origine de cette icône qui à son avis date de la période des Comnènes et fait partie d'un nombre impressionnant de représentations de la Vierge à l'enfant confectionnées à cette époque ; elle est arrivée en Occident vers 1261, peu avant ou peu après la fin de l'empire latin de Constantinople. Cela permet à l'A. un intéressant exposé sur les icônes 'porteuses de la victoire' (Nikopoios) depuis le VIe s. jusqu'au XIIIe s. En tout cas, celle de Venise confectionnée sous le gouvernement d'Andrea Dandolo (1343-1354), décorée d'un certain nombre d'émaux cloisonnés de style byzantin, acquit la réputation de protectrice de la ville et elle est considérée comme telle jusqu'à nos jours.

P. YANNOPOULOS.

Studia Ceranea. Journal of the Waldemar Ceran Research Centre for the History and Culture of the Mediterranean Area and South-East Europe, 1 (2011), 246 pages. ISSN 2084-140X.

Cette nouvelle revue doit son nom à Waldemar Ceran (1936-2009), l'éminent collègue de l'Université de Łódź en Pologne, fondateur du département des études byzantines dans cette même université.

Ce premier numéro contient onze articles, dont quatre concernent les relations entre l'empire byzantin et la Bulgarie ; ces quatre articles seront présentés ensemble. Parmi les six autres, M. KOKOSZKO et Katarzyna GIBEL-BUSZEWSKA, *Kandaulos : the Testimony of Select Sources* (pp. 11-22), se donnent pour objectif de découvrir la recette et l'origine d'un plat, connu sous le nom de *kandaulos*, dont font mention plusieurs sources depuis l'Antiquité. G. MINCZEW, *John Chrysostom's Tale on How Michael vanquished Satanael – a Bogomil Text ?* (pp. 23-54), compare une homélie en grec qui traite le sujet de la bataille entre l'archange Michel et Satanael et deux versions en slavon d'une homélie pseudépigraphe qui traitent la même question. Il pense que cette homélie en slavon fut rédigée entre le XIIIe et le XIVe s., dans un milieu bogomile, puisqu'elle incorpore des détails dualistes, propres aux Bogomiles, absents du texte grec. S. BRALEWSKI, *The Porphyry Column in Constantinople and the Relics of the True Cross* (pp. 87-100), analyse les sources qui font état de la colonne rouge que Constantin Ier avait érigée au centre du *Forum Constantini* ; le nombre des cérémonies qui s'y déroulaient la mettent en relation avec la relique de la Vraie Croix. Teresa WOLIŃSKA, *Constantinopolitan Charioteers and their Supporters* (pp. 127-142), après avoir parlé du rôle des dèmes en

tant qu'organisateurs des spectacles à l'hippodrome, centre son intérêt sur les conducteurs de chars qui, pour leurs supporters, étaient des vrais 'stars' au même titre que certains joueurs des clubs de football actuellement.

Małgorzata SKOWRONEK, *The First Witnesses : Martha, Longinus and Veronica in the Slavic Manuscript Tradition (Initial Observations)* (pp. 101-126), fait d'abord une recherche dans l'Écriture afin de localiser les témoignages concernant ces trois premiers témoins de la résurrection, avant de procéder à une recherche analogue dans la tradition chrétienne et finalement dans les manuscrits en langue slave. Anna-Maria TOTOMANOVA, *A Lost Byzantine Chronicle in Slavic Tradition* (pp. 191-204), pense que la traduction en slavon – ou celle qui passe pour telle – de la *Chronique* de Georges le Syncelle est en réalité faite à partir d'une version actuellement perdue de cette *Chronique*, raisonnement qui est appuyé par les références aux sources non utilisées par Georges le Syncelle.

Les relations entre l'empire byzantin et l'État bulgare font l'objet d'abord d'une étude de M. J. LESZKA, *The Monk versus the Philosopher : From the History of the Bulgarian-Byzantine War 894-896* (pp. 55-70), qui compare les attitudes byzantines et bulgares lors de la guerre entre Syméon et l'empire byzantin qui en réalité est la première guerre entre deux nations orthodoxes. Il est clair que Syméon était considéré comme un chef d'État, dont le talent militaire ne faisait pas de doute. Or, K. MARINOV, *In the Shackles of the Evil One. The Portrayal of Tsar Symeon I the Great (893-927) in the Oration 'On the Treaty with the Bulgarians'* (pp. 157-190), présente un autre aspect de ces relations : Théodore Daphnopatès dans un discours prononcé peu après la mort de Syméon Ier à l'occasion du traité de paix entre l'empire byzantin et la Bulgarie, traite Syméon comme un ennemi de Dieu en le comparant avec les personnes damnées de l'Ancien Testament. I. IVANOV, *Tsar Samuel against Emperor Basil II : Why did Bulgaria loose the Battle with the Byzantine Empire at the Beginning of the 11th Century* (pp. 205-212), procède à l'analyse des raisons qui ont contribué à la perte du pouvoir militaire de l'État bulgare et finalement à sa disparition au début du XIe s. La supériorité militaire byzantine était sans doute une de ces raisons, mais non la seule ; l'évolution de la société bulgare vers une vie plus pacifique en est une autre.

Les guerres byzantino-bulgares ne sont pas le seul sujet des auteurs de ce volume. Elka BAKALOVA, *The Perfect Ruler in the Art and Literature of Medieval Bulgaria* (pp. 71-86), consacre en réalité son étude au tzar Ivan Alexander (1331-1371), présenté comme le roi idéal. Pour définir le chef idéal, l'A. fait une recherche dans les sources byzantines, quand elles parlent des qualités des empereurs.

P. YANNOPOULOS.

I. TAXIDIS, *Ὄνειρα, οράματα και προφητικές διηγήσεις στα ιστορικά έργα της ύστερης βυζαντινής εποχής*, Athènes, Εκδόσεις Κανάκη, 2012, 310 pages. ISBN 978-960-6736-15-5.

Les récits concernant les prophéties, les devins, les visions et les rêves symboliques ont trouvé un sol fertile dans la littérature médiévale et particulièrement à Byzance. Ces récits sont encore plus présents pour les périodes de crises et d'instabilités, telle que la période postérieure au XIIe s. à Byzance. L'A. du livre fait une recherche approfondie dans les œuvres des historiens byzantins tels que Georges Acropolite, Georges Pachymère, Nicéphore Grégoras, Jean Cantacuzène, Laonicos Chalcocondylès, Ducas, Georges Sfrantzès et Michel Crétoboulos, et analyse tous les cas où ces auteurs font état d'une vision, d'une révélation, d'un rêve etc. à caractère prophétique. La matière est organisée autour de quatre unités. La première a pour objet les mentions des rêves et les autres, successivement celles des visions, des oracles et prophéties, des signes révélateurs ; dans cette dernière unité sont groupés les phénomènes météorologiques inhabituels, les éclipses, l'apparition des comètes, etc. Tous ces cas, après analyse, sont évalués comme sources de l'histoire des mentalités et, dans une partie finale, sont groupés sous forme de tableaux, de manière que le lecteur puisse avoir une idée globale pour chaque type de citation et pour la fréquence de pareilles citations par auteur.

Les auteurs byzantins exploitent ces données sous l'angle chrétien, c'est à dire comme expression de la volonté et de la providence divines. De ce point de vue, ces récits font beaucoup plus penser aux visions bibliques par lesquelles la divinité communiquait avec l'homme dans le but de lui prédire l'avenir. Du point de vue littéraire, ces passages sont extrêmement intéressants car non seulement ils donnent de la vivacité au récit plutôt plat des historiens de cette période, mais ils révèlent en outre une mentalité d'un certain pessimisme devant l'incapacité qu'avait l'empire de faire face à ses ennemis.

Un livre remarquable qui de plus offre un vrai plaisir de lecture.

P. YANNOPOULOS.

The Ashgate Research Companion to Byzantine Hagiography. Volume I : Periods and Places, éd. par S. EFTHYMIADIS, Ashgate, Farnham et Burlington (VT), 2011, XXIV + 440 pages. ISBN 978-0-7546-5033-1 (relié) ; 978-1-4094-0724-9 (version électronique).

This first volume of *The Ashgate Research Companion to Byzantine Hagiography* is divided in two main parts, discussing 'periods' and 'places' respectively. Under Byzantine hagiography is understood 'the literature on holy men and women who lived in the Roman East after the age of the martyrs and was written in literary languages other than Latin' (p. 9). Each chapter is accompanied by extensive bibliographical references. The book is introduced by S. EFTHYMIADIS (pp. 1-14), who sketches the history of hagiography as a discipline.

In the first part (pp. 15-195), Byzantine hagiography is divided into four chronological sections. The first two chapters focus on the earliest period, from the fourth to the seventh century AD. T. HÄGG (pp. 17-34) discusses one of the key texts from this period, the *Life of St. Antony*. He concentrates on questions of authorship, readership and purpose, next to giving a detailed overview of the different parts of the *Life*, and the literary techniques used. S. EFTHYMIADIS and V. DÉROCHE (pp. 35-94) provide a rich and detailed overview of Greek hagiography in late antiquity, in chronological order and by region. In the third chapter, S. EFTHYMIADIS (pp. 95-142) discusses hagiography from the eighth to the tenth century AD, arguing that there was a break in the tradition. Various hagiographical works are summarized, and comments are also given on matter of language and style, as well as literary technique. S. PASCHALIDIS (pp. 143-172) discusses hagiography of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, re-evaluating the traditional view according to which this period is one of decline, situated in between two other major periods. In the fifth and final chapter of the first part, Alice-Mary TALBOT (pp. 173-195) treats hagiography in

Late Byzantium (from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century AD), arguing for the liveliness of the hagiographic genre in the Palaiologan era. She distinguishes between the writing of *vitae* of contemporary holy men, and that of compositions about the saints of old.

The second part (pp. 198-399) focuses on the different places in which Byzantine hagiography can be located (and in most cases also the different languages in which it was composed). In the sixth chapter, B. FLUSIN (pp. 199-226) discusses Palestinian hagiography (from the fourth to the eighth century AD), which he divides in three main periods. M. RE (pp. 227-258) concentrates on Italo-Greek hagiography, a corpus which is defined by the place of birth of the protagonists, rather than the origin of the authors. RE treats the genres and texts, narrative motifs and style. In the eighth chapter, S. BROCK (pp. 259-284) discusses Syriac hagiography (from the fourth to the fourteenth century AD), both texts originally written in Syriac and those translated from other languages. BROCK's discussion is arranged under two main headings, that is, 'literary forms' and 'character'. In one of the shorter chapters, Bernadette MARTIN-HISARD (pp. 285-298) introduces Georgian hagiography (from the fifth to the fourteenth century AD). She argues that hagiography is one of the most important domains of Georgian medieval literature, and notes that it is composed of two branches, that is, 'translation hagiography' and 'original hagiography'. In the tenth chapter, S. P. COWE (pp. 299-322) gives an overview of Armenian hagiography, providing a detailed overview of some of the key hagiographical texts. Arietta PAPACONSTANTINOU (pp. 323-344) discusses hagiography in Coptic (mostly written between the fourth and the eighth century AD), focusing on *vitae* and martyrologies. In the next chapter, M. SWANSON (pp. 345-368) discusses Arabic hagiography (from the eighth to the fifteenth century AD), showing that this corpus is in the first place a literature of translation (texts originally written in Greek, Syriac or Coptic being translated into Arabic). New compositions in Arabic were also made, however. Ingunn LUNDE (pp. 369-384) treats Slavic hagiography, which is intimately connected to the Cyrillomethodian mission. In her treatment, LUNDE distinguishes between the hagiography of Rus', Serbian hagiography and Bulgarian hagiography. The final chapter does not deal with a 'place' in a narrow sense: X. LEQUEUX (pp. 385-399) discusses Latin hagiographical literature translated into Greek, showing that much less Latin texts were translated into Greek than vice versa.

To conclude, this is a very stimulating volume, which will undoubtedly serve its main purpose, that is, 'to function as a *vademecum*, a guide which will incite further in-depth study of texts, authors, periods and languages in their chronological, geographical and typological diversity and expansion' (p. 11).

K. BENTEIN.

Francesca Paola VUTURO, *La lode delle donne – Ο έπαινος των γυναικών* (*L'Armilla*, 7), Caltanissetta, Edizioni Lussografica, 2011, 157 pages. ISBN 978-88-8243-292-8.

Édition critique et traduction en italien d'un poème en grec vernaculaire composé en Crète durant la seconde moitié du XVe s. quand l'île se trouvait sous la domination vénitienne. L'édition est précédée d'une approche littéraire du texte, d'une étude de sa transmission manuscrite et d'une analyse linguistique et stylistique. Elle est en outre complétée par des notes et des commentaires.

Sans doute cette édition servira aux chercheurs qui s'occupent de la littérature post byzantine développée dans les régions sous contrôle de Venise, mais elle ne concerne ni la période byzantine, ni l'espace purement byzantin.

P. YANNOPOULOS.

Alexandra-Kyriaki WASSILIOU-SEIBT, *Corpus der byzantinischen Siegel mit metrischen Legenden, Teil I : Einleitung, Siegellegenden von Alpha bis inklusive My* (*Wiener byzantinistische Studien*, XXVIII/1), Vienne, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Institut für Byzanzforschung. Institut für Byzantinistik und Neogräzistik der Universtät Wien, 2011, 619 pages + 8 planches. ISBN 978-3-7001-7009-9.

Ce gros volume constitue la première partie d'un catalogue des sceaux byzantins dont la légende est métrique. Il s'agit de documents déjà publiés, dont l'A. en général adopte les données chronologiques ou l'identification proposées par les éditeurs. Il ne s'agit donc pas d'une édition de nouvelles sources, mais d'une exploitation de documents déjà connus.

Dans ce premier volume sont réunis, la bibliographie très abondante mise à part, huit paragraphes introductifs. Y sont traités successivement les questions concernant l'état de la question des sceaux métriques, le cadre chronologique dans lequel ces sceaux sont habituellement placés, la titulature et les formes sous lesquelles elle est exprimée, les sceaux anonymes, la langue et les formes rhétoriques, la métrique, la relation entre les légendes et les éventuelles images ainsi que l'étude iconographique et finalement les données techniques tenues en considération pour la présentation des lemmes. Ensuite sont rangés les sceaux dans l'ordre alphabétique du texte des légendes.

L'étude présente un intérêt particulier pour les philologues ; pour les historiens elle n'apporte pas de nouvelles données. Elle est toutefois importante car elle réunit dans un seul volume les sceaux publiés dans différents articles ou collections, qui ne sont pas toujours d'accès facile. Nous n'en doutons pas, le second volume sera muni de plusieurs index, qui faciliteront la tâche des chercheurs.

P. YANNOPOULOS.

OUVRAGES REÇUS PAR LA RÉDACTION DU 1ER JUILLET 2012 AU 30 JUIN 2013

Ambassadeurs et ambassades au cœur des relations diplomatiques. Rome – Occident Médiéval – Byzance (VIIIe s. avant J.-C. – XIIe s. après J.-C.), éd. par Audrey BECKER et N. DROCOURT (*Centre de Recherche Universitaire Lorrain d'Histoire. Université de Lorraine – Site de Metz*, 47), Metz, Centre de Recherche Universitaire Lorrain d'Histoire, 2012, X + 436 pages. ISBN 2-85730-054-9.

Analecta Bollandiana. Revue critique d'hagiographie, 130.1 (juin 2012), 240 pages. ISSN 0003-2468.

Analecta Bollandiana. Revue critique d'hagiographie, 130.2 (décembre 2012), 240 pages. ISSN 0003-2468.

M. J. BARTOLDUS, *Palladius Rutilius Taurus Aemilianus. Welt und Wert spätrömischer Landwirtschaft*, Augsbourg, Wißner-Verlag, 2012, 316 pages. ISBN 978-3-89639-875-8.

M. BONNET, *Amphiloque d'Iconium. Homélies. Tome I. Homélies 1-5. Introduction, traduction, notes et index*. Avec la collaboration de S. J. VOICU (*Sources Chrétiennes*, 552), Paris, Les Éditions du Cerf, 2012, 375 pages. ISBN 978-2-204-09979-0 ; ISSN 0750-1978.

M. BONNET, *Amphiloque d'Iconium. Homélies. Tome II. Homélies 6-10, Fragments divers, Épître synodale, Lettre à Séleucos. Traduction, notes et index*. Avec la collaboration de S. J. VOICU (*Sources Chrétiennes*, 553), Paris, Les Éditions du Cerf, 2012, 389 pages. ISBN 978-2-204-09980-6 ; ISSN 0750-1978.

Bullarium Cyprium, III. *Lettres papales relatives à Chypre 1316-1378* (*Sources et Études de l'Histoire de Chypre*, 68), éd. par Ch. PERRAT et J. RICHARD avec la collaboration de Ch. SCHABEL, Nicosie, Centre de Recherche Scientifique, 2012, 548 pages. ISBN 978-9963-0-8126-4.

Byzantines, Latins, and Turks in the Eastern Mediterranean World after 1150, éd. par J. HARRIS, Catherine HOLMES et Eugenia RUSSELL, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2012, XIII + 378 pages. ISBN 978-0-19-964188-8.

Byzantine War Ideology between Roman Imperial Concept and Christian Religion (Akten des Internationalen Symposiums (Wien, 19.-21. Mai 2011)) (*Veröffentlichungen zur Byzanzforschung*, 30), éd. par J. KODER et I. STOURAITIS, Vienne, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2012, 139 pages. ISBN 978-3-7001-7307-6.

N. G. CHRISSIS, *Crusading in Frankish Greece. A Study of Byzantine-Western Relations and Attitudes, 1204-1282* (*Medieval Church Studies*, 22), Turnhout, Brepols Publishers, 2012, XLII + 335 pages. ISBN 978-2-503-53423-7.

A. CHRYSSOSTALIS, *Recherches sur la tradition manuscrite du* Contra Eusebium *de Nicéphore de Constantinople*, Paris, CNRS Éditions, 2012, 328 pages. ISBN 978-2-271-07336-5.

Byzantion 83, 467-469. doi: 10.2143/BYZ.83.0.2988930
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M. DAL SANTO, *Debating the Saints' Cult in the Age of Gregory the Great*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2012, XII + 399 pages. ISBN 978-0-19-964679-1.

Δῶρον ῥοδοποίκιλον. Studies in Honour of Jan Olof Rosenqvist (*Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, Studia Byzantina Upsaliensia*, 12), éd. par D. SEARBY, Ewa BALICKA WITAKOWSKA et J. HELDT, Uppsala, Uppsala Universitet, 2012, VI + 239 pages. ISBN 978-91-554-8107-0 ; ISSN 0283-1244.

Ireland and Armenia : Studies in Language, History and Narrative, éd. par M. FOMIN, A. JIVANYAN et S. M. MATHÚNA (*Journal of Indo-European Studies Monograph Series*, 61), Washington D.C., Institute of the Study of Man, 2012, XIV + 265 pages. ISBN 978-0-9845383-8-6 (relié) ; 978-0-9845383-7-9 (livre de poche).

I. N. KAZAZIS et al., *Λεξικό της Μεσαιωνικής Ελληνικής Δημώδους Γραμματείας 1100-1669*, vol. 18 : *προβιδιάζω-ραβέντι*, Thessalonique, Κέντρο Ελληνικής Γλώσσας, 2012, IX + 366 pages. ISBN 978-960-7779-53-3.

B. KINDT, Anastasia YANNACOPOULOU et CENTAL, *Thesaurus Ducae Historiae Turco-byzantinae. Accedunt Concordantiae Narrationis de Obsidione Constantinopolitana a Ioanne Canano necnon Homiliarum a Dorotheo Mitylinensi et Anonymo Auctore* (*Corpus Christianorum. Thesaurus Patrum Graecorum*), Turnhout, Brepols Publishers, 2012, LXVII + 373 pages. ISBN 978-2-503-53421-3.

J.-C. LARCHET et Françoise VINEL, *Maxime le Confesseur. Questions à Thalassios. Tome 2 (Questions 41 à 55)* (*Sources Chrétiennes*, 554), Paris, Les éditions du Cerf, 2012, 303 pages. ISBN 978-2-204-09932-5 ; ISSN 0750-1978.

La vie et l'œuvre théologique de Georges/Grégoire II de Chypre (1241-1290), patriarche de Constantinople (*Théologie byzantine*), éd. par J.-C. LARCHET, Paris, Les Éditions du Cerf, 2012, 332 pages. ISBN 978-2-204-09715-4 ; ISSN 0761-4330.

Les échanges en Méditerranée médiévale. Marqueurs, réseaux, circulations, contacts (Collection *Le temps de l'histoire*), éd. par Élisabeth MALAMUT et M. OUERFELLI, Aix-en-Provence, Presses Universitaires de Provence, 2012, 338 pages. ISBN 978-2-85399-829-1 ; ISSN 1631-946X.

L'héritage byzantin en Italie (VIIIe-XIIe siècle). II. Les cadres juridiques et sociaux et les institutions publiques (*Collection de l'École française de Rome*, 461), éd. par J.-M. MARTIN, Annick PETERS-CUSTOT et V. PRIGENT, Rome, École française de Rome, 2012, 729 pages. ISBN 978-2-7283-0941-2 ; ISSN 0223-5099.

Liquid & Multiple : Individuals & Identities in the Thirteenth-century Aegean (Collège de France – CNRS, Centre de Recherche d'Histoire et Civilisation de Byzance, *Monographies*, 35), éd. par G. SAINT-GUILLAIN et D. STATHAKOPOULOS, Paris, ACHCByz, 2012, 297 pages. ISBN 978-2-916716-30-5 ; ISSN 0751-0594.

L'opera di Sergio Bettini, éd. par M. AGAZZI et Chiara ROMANELLI, Venise, Marsilio Editori, 2011, 262 pages. ISBN 978-88-317-1235.

H. MAGUIRE, *Nectar and Illusion. Nature in Byzantine Art and Literature*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2012, XX + 198 pages. ISBN 978-0-19-976660-4.

Medieval Narratives between History and Fiction. From the Centre to the Periphery of Europe, c. 1100-1400, éd. par P. A. AGAPITOS et L. B. MORTENSEN, Copenhague, Museum Tusculanum Press, 2012, VIII + 389 pages. ISBN 978-87-635-3809-1.

Ann MOFFATT et Maxeme TALL, *Constantine Porphyrogennetos. The Book of Ceremonies*, trad. avec l'édition grecque du *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae* (Bonn, 1829) (*Australian Association for Byzantine Studies. Byzantina Australiensia*, 18, 1-2), Canberra, Australian National University, 2012. Vol. 1 : Book I, including the Appendix to Book I (*Imperial Expeditions*), XXXVIII + 508 pages ; vol. 2 : Book II, including Philotheos, *Lists of Precedence (Kletorologion)* and Pseudo-Epiphanios, *The Hierarchical Summoning of Patriarchs and Metropolitans*, VI + 362 pages. ISBN 978-1-876503-42-0 (set) ; ISSN 0725-3079.

V. PUECH, *Constantin. Le premier empereur chrétien* (Collection *Biographies et Mythes historiques*), Paris, Ellipses Édition Marketing, 2011, 391 pages. ISBN 978-2-7298-6670-9.

D. SALACHAS, *Orient et institutions. Théologie et discipline des institutions des Églises orientales catholiques selon le Nouveau Codex canonum Ecclesiarum Orientalium* (Collection *Droit canonique, droit concordataire, droit civil ecclésiastique*), Paris, Les Éditions du Cerf, 2012, 486 pages. ISBN 978-2-204-09666-9 ; ISSN 1152-1155.

Sergio Bettini. L'inquieta navigazione della critica d'arte. Scritti inediti 1936-1977, éd. par M. AGAZZI et Chiara ROMANELLI, Venise, Marsilio Editori, 2011, 359 pages. ISBN 978-88-317-1234.

Nancy P. ŠEVČENKO, *The Celebration of the Saints in Byzantine Art and Liturgy* (*Variorum Collected Studies Series*), Farnham et Burlington (VT), Ashgate Publishing, 2013, XVI + 358 pages. ISBN 978-1-4094-1160-4.

I. TAXIDIS, *Μάξιμος Πλανούδης. Συμβολή στη μελέτη του corpus των επιστολών του* (*Βυζαντινά Κείμενα και Μελέτες*, 58), Thessalonique, Κέντρο Βυζαντινών Ερευνών, 2012, 331 pages. ISBN 978-960-7856-47-0.

I. TAXIDIS, *Όνειρα, οράματα και προφητικές διηγήσεις στα ιστορικά έργα της ύστερης βυζαντινής εποχής*, Athènes, Εκδόσεις Κανάκη, 2012, 310 pages. ISBN 978-960-6736-15-5.

I. TELELIS, *Georgios Pachymeres*, Philosophia *Book 5. Commentary in Aristotle's* Meteorologica, *Βιβλίον πέμπτον, τῶν* μετεωρικῶν. *Editio princeps. Prolegomena, Text, Indices* (*Corpus Philosophorum Medii Aevi Commentaria in Aristotelem Byzantina*, 6), Athènes, Κέντρον Ἐρεύνης τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς καὶ Λατινικῆς Γραμματείας, 2012, X + 132* + 139 pages. ISBN 978-960-404-232-6 ; ISSN 2241-1933.

Trade and Markets in Byzantium, éd. par Cécile MORRISSON, Washington D.C., Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2012, IX + 459 pages ; illustré. ISBN 978-0-88402-377-7.

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ΠΑΝΕΠΙΣΤ Ε